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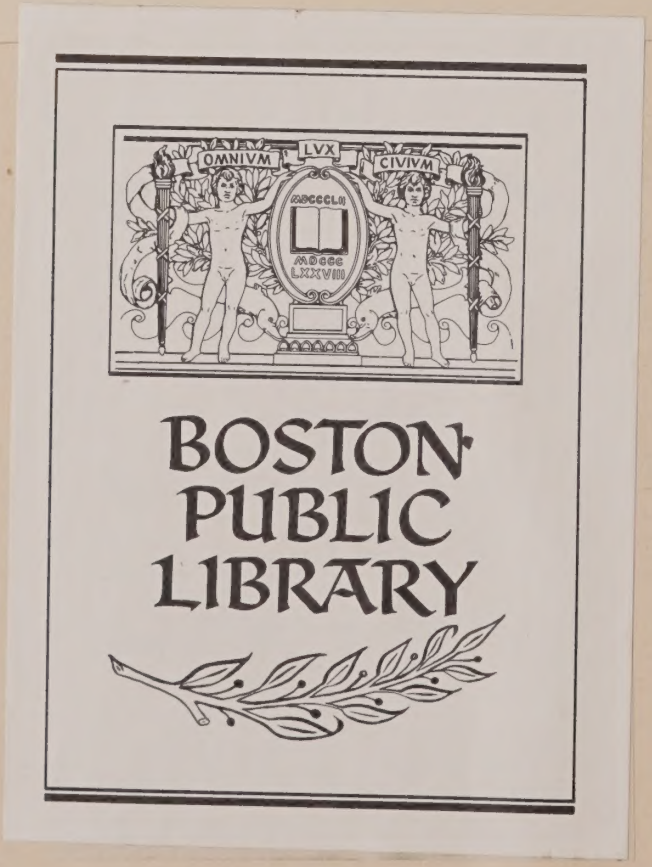

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 2, 1879.

The Week.

THE Investigating Committee of the Senate, under Mr. Blaine's resolution, were taken aback early in the week by the opinion of Mr. Porter, the Comptroller of the Treasury, that they could not use the appropriation made by the Act of June 8, providing money for the expenses of enquiry "into alleged frauds in the late Presidential election." This bill originated in the House, and was intended to supply money for the Potter Committee; but the Senate amended it by providing that a similar sum should be placed at the disposal of the Senate for the expenses of "said investigations and enquiries as have already or may hereafter be directed by the Senate during the period of the Forty-fifth Congress." As the phraseology stands, it seems as if the Senate Committee could have no money except for enquiries into Presidential election frauds, and so the Comptroller at first decided; but he has since reconsidered his decision and submitted himself to that of the Attorney-General, who has declared that the word "said" is evidently a mistake for "such," and that, therefore, the money is applicable to any enquiry the Senate may please to direct. This is a rational view of the matter; but whether the Attorney-General can make rectifications in a statute in this way is something on which we do not venture to offer an opinion. His action, at all events, will prevent the labors of the Committee from coming to an untimely end. A detachment of them has gone to New Orleans.

The Committee have heard from Mr. Blaine in reply to their enquiry as to the line of investigation they were expected to pursue, and asking him for "information," "evidence," and "names of witnesses." He observes, a little tartly, that they must not look to him for guidance, as the investigation is the investigation of the Senate, but he does not mind telling them that they ought to examine in South Carolina the "tissue-ballot frauds," the laws of the State about polling places, "the practice" of breaking up Republican meetings unless Democratic speakers were allowed to divide the time, and "all the methods by which, in Sumter and other counties, a full and free election was prevented." In Louisiana, he "invites their attention" to "murder and frauds" in Tensas parish, to "frauds and outrages on the ballot" in New Orleans, and to the "alleged assassination, even while I write," of two witnesses on their way to testify, etc. He would say more, but that he was "just leaving for New England." He gives the names of nine witnesses, and refers the Committee to "a large mass of valuable information in the Attorney-General's office," and concludes by denying that he is in any sense a "public prosecutor." It does not appear from his letter that he has any knowledge of the Southern frauds and outrages except what he got, or might have got, from the *Times* or *Tribune* of this city. Nothing has as yet been heard from Mr. Thurman, who is expected to furnish indications with regard to "frauds and outrages" at the North.

The New York *Times*, on the day after Christmas, devoted seven and a half columns of leaded type to a biographical sketch of Franklin J. Moses, the late Governor of South Carolina, under the taking title of "A Romance of Rascality." It traces the hero's career from before the war down to our own time, in four chapters, three of which are entitled respectively, "Speaker (of the Assembly) and Thief," "Governor and Wholesale Robber," "Downfall—Beggar and Criminal." There are some inaccuracies in the narrative, which we shall not take the trouble to point out. What is remarkable in it, and in a certain sense very entertaining, is that the biographer talks through the first three chapters as if his hero had since the war lived and acted *in vacuo*, and had committed all his villanies without assistance; as if, in short, he had become "Speaker and Thief" and "Governor and Wholesale Robber" without a Legislature and the "Republican party" at his back. The first intimation we get of anybody's being responsible for him is in chapter iv., which describes the "Beggar and Criminal" stage. At the point where Moses escaped from indictment for fraud and larceny through a technicality, the historian calmly relates that "the thoughtful men among them [the negroes] began to doubt Moses, and some of the most respected white Republicans—men like Daniel H. Chamberlain—openly declared that he was a disgrace to the party which supported him." To appreciate this—which is, we think, the richest thing in the literature of carpet-baggery—we must remember that Moses was at this time in the fourth year of his crimes, and that he had been elected Governor while "Speaker and Thief." It would seem, indeed, as if the South Carolina Republicans did not suspect a man until he publicly confessed his enormities and clamored for admission to the penitentiary.

We need hardly say that the real reason why "the thoughtful black men" and "the respectable white Republicans" repudiated Moses in 1874 was that embezzlement of the taxes had become difficult or impossible, through the exhaustion of the people, and the State credit was ruined by Kimpton's bond sales, and their operations had attracted the attention and were rousing the indignation of the Northern public. Moses was the most foolish and brazen of the lot, though probably not the worst morally, so they threw him overboard and began shouting for reform. Poor Moses himself tried to play the same game, by delivering a lecture on "Infidelity," which might have helped him if it had not been discovered that he stole it bodily from Robert Hall. He is now in this city in a state of absolute destitution, and, we believe, ascribes his forlorn condition to the President's treacherous course towards "the party" at the South, and would go down to Washington and "rouse the nation" if he could procure the needful funds for a railroad ticket. A wiser, though perhaps more profitable, course would be to lecture on himself and "the party." If he has even mediocre power of statement he can in this way contribute an absolutely unique chapter to the history of Christian civilization.

The newspapers which have been giving publicity to the grievances that respectable Republicans at the South have suffered at the hands of the Democracy seem to have performed an ungrateful task. Some of the persecuted ones disclaim the crown of martyrdom which is thrust upon them, and flatly deny the accounts of terrorism which correspondents have been at such pains to collect. Among those who decline to be the objects of what they consider a misplaced sympathy is the Rev. Dr. Cooke, the president of Claflin University for colored people, of South Carolina. The *Tribune* of November 29 contained an account of intimidation at the South in which it was asserted that Dr. Cooke had been carried to the polls this year in a wagon used by the Democrats to bring in aged and infirm voters, and that he had openly voted the Democratic ticket. The writer said that this painful sight was the result of dreadful ill-treatment which Dr. Cooke had received at the hands of roughs on a railway train at the time of Governor Hampton's election in 1876, which treatment had frightened him into complete submission to Democratic wishes. Dr. Cooke writes to the *Tribune* that "not one true or fair statement is contained in the paragraph relating to himself." He denies explicity that his political action has ever been influenced by intimidation, and adds that, although a Republican himself, he claims no political fraternity with many Republicans in the South. His vote was cast on good and satisfactory grounds, especially because, after watching Governor Hampton's

course for two years, he believes that he is a "true friend of the colored man, and is doing vastly more for his elevation in this commonwealth [South Carolina] than any Northern man could under bayonet rule." Dr. Cooke adds that he "need only point to the improved common schools and the increased facilities for the negro's intellectual training in proof of this assertion."

The *Tribune* correspondent replies by a reference to the "high character" of his informants, but, apparently feeling shaken in regard to the grievances of Dr. Cooke, he puts his best talent into corroborating the story about the Democratic wagon for the aged and infirm. This incident is supported by the testimony of one Democrat and three Republicans, whose names he sends the editor privately, but does not feel at liberty to publish. And so the wretched fight is kept up.

During the week the only remaining condition that was unfavorable for the successful beginning of specie payments by the United States Treasury changed so as to be favorable; that is to say, the market for sterling bills, which, by reason of the financial disturbances in London, had advanced to near the point which draws gold from here, became weak, and rates declined to nearly three points below that at which gold would be exported. The trade exchanges between the United States and Europe continue to be much in our favor, but it was feared that the London money market might get into such a condition as would compel us to send gold there. Gold-coin exports from here, even if it were known that they could only be temporary, would have been most unfortunate, in that they would have impaired the full confidence necessary during the early weeks of specie payments. Nowhere except in the Gold Room has there been any difference between gold and legal tender and national bank-notes. The banks have exchanged one for the other on equal terms, and the foreign bankers late in the week sold their drafts on London for ordinary bank-checks; this is the first week that they have done so in about seventeen years. They will continue this practice so long as U. S. legal notes are paid with gold dollars. When they come to be paid with silver dollars then specifically gold checks will, of course, be required for drafts on London. The London Stock Exchange closed the year on buoyant markets. The same is true of the New York Stock Exchange. Silver ruled at 49½*d.* to 49⅝*d.* per oz. in London. The bullion value of the 412½-grain silver dollar here at the close of the week was $0.8391.

An important decision of the United States Supreme Court has been made in Washington which threatens to unsettle some questions that were supposed to have been decided by Congressional and State legislation. In the year 1838 the State of Tennessee organized the Bank of Tennessee, providing by a clause in its charter that all its issues of circulating notes should be received in payment of taxes. But by a constitutional amendment in 1865, when the State was undergoing reconstruction, it declared the issues of the Bank made during the war to be void, and forbade their receipt for taxes. The Supreme Court now declares this amendment to be contrary to the provision of the United States Constitution against impairing the obligation of contracts; and decides, further, that the political society which in 1796 was admitted as a State into the Union by the name of Tennessee has remained the same body politic up to this time, and all its acts, legislative and otherwise, unless contrary to the United States Constitution or done in aid of the Rebellion, are valid and binding at the present time. The decision of the Court concerning the issues of the Bank of Tennessee during the period of Rebellion is that they are not proved to have been done in aid of the war, and hence cannot be declared void. The Chief-Justice and two associate justices dissented from the Court on this point.

The House Committee authorized by the last Congress to investigate the administration of Secretary Robeson have completed a majority report. It is well known that the condition of our Navy is in no way proportionate to the immense sums of money which have been professedly spent in its maintenance, but the immediate cause of the present investigation lies in the following facts: Ex-Secretary Robeson had asked for an appropriation of $2,003,861 27 to meet certain deficiencies, and at the same time the present Secretary of the Navy states that there existed an actual indebtedness of various bureaus of the Department amounting to the sum of $3,217-738 76, and a contingent liability besides of $3,600,263 09, arising from certain agreements made by his predecessor in office, which he had found no adequate appropriation for, and hence had suspended. In prosecuting their enquiry the committee gained the following information from the officers and books of the Department concerning the manner in which ex-Secretary Robeson had executed his trust. More than $20,000,000 had been spent by him in direct and almost ceaseless violation of those sections of the Revised Statutes which provide that purchases and contracts for supplies or services should be let to the lowest bidder who is a regular manufacturer or dealer in the articles which he wishes to supply. Large amounts of public money were expended by him without their first being appropriated by Congress, and he involved the Government in large liabilities without authorization, both of which proceedings were of course directly contrary to law. It appeared by the testimony that thirty-one ships, whose original cost was $13,775,837 52, were sold for $542,524 47; and ships that cost the Government $12,614,390 45 were broken up and sold for $541,831 16, from which is to be deducted the sum of $101,874 44, cost of destruction. Materials whose cost is not ascertainable have been sold for trifling sums, and these sums have been expended without being first appropriated by law. The report contains many other instances of illegal sales and expenditure. In the work done for the Government extraordinary extravagance has been exhibited. Five double-turreted monitors, not yet completed, have cost in property for which the Government paid over $10,000,000, and in money over $1,500,000, and by present estimates it will take the sum of $2,500,000 to complete them, exclusive of machinery. Their cost will therefore be on an average over $4,000,000 each, and in considering this estimate it must be borne in mind that the ships destroyed were valued as old material. The report concludes by a recommendation that the ex-Secretary be indicted. He, however, continues to be lively and hopeful, is in favor of another term for General Grant, and has just been returned to Congress, where he will "make it hot under the old flag."

Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati, is furnishing the world with an illustration of the extreme imprudence of mixing up religion and business; or, in other words, of taking people's money because they like your theological opinions or respect your ecclesiastical position. It appears that he has now for several years been in the habit of acting as a savings-bank for poor people of his own church, paying them a moderate interest on their money and lending it at a higher rate for the building of Catholic churches, schools, and asylums. It is said that as much as two millions has in this way found its way into his hands and been disposed of. Of course, security of this kind is, strictly speaking, no security at all. The churches and schools and asylums cannot be sold out to satisfy the depositors, among whom a panic has broken out, and the Archbishop, being unable to meet the run on him, has been obliged to appeal publicly to the charity of the faithful—which is really what he lent the money on—to extricate him from his difficulties. It is extraordinary that a prelate of his standing should expose himself to such embarrassment and humiliation, and that he should not have foreseen its possibility. The Catholic Church in this country has thus far kept itself singularly free from money scandals, but if it means to keep up its reputation it will have to avoid the savings-bank business, and avoid also the raising of large sums by games of chance, to which it resorted so coarsely recently in the Cathedral in this city.

The previsions of those who opposed Mr. F. L. Olmsted's removal from the supervision of the work on the Central Park appear to be fully justified by what has since occurred. The construction of the Riverside Park—a beautiful drive that is to be, overlooking the Hudson River—is still in progress, ostensibly on Mr. Olmsted's plans. The contractor soon after Mr. Olmsted's removal rose up and declared that the superintending engineer, Mr. Aldrich, whom Mr. Olmsted had left there, was requiring him to do work not specified in the contract. Thereupon the majority of the Commissioners promptly removed the engineer, and appointed in his place a Mr. Franklin without requiring testimonials as to his professional competency, Mr. Lane, one of the Commissioners, alone opposing it. This gentleman has since succeeded in obtaining a report to the Board from three competent outside engineers on the work already done. They declare that the contractor has "materially failed" in some "details and requirements," with the connivance of the superintending engineer, and that

"the boundary of the avenue, the dimensions, location, and arrangement of walks, grass-surfaces, etc., have been altered from the original design as submitted to and approved of by your department; that alterations in the dimensions or material and character of work have been made and permitted by the present superintending engineer, wholly arbitrary on his part, being not only without the sanction of, but even the knowledge of, your department."

They further state that the supervision exercised has been "in disregard of the original design," and "in nowise calculated to meet the just expectations of those who are to bear a moiety of the cost, and of the public at large." And yet the report has evidently been written with great reserve.

There has been a most painful "conflict of veracity" between a reporter of the New York *World* and the Duke of Edinburgh, whom the former interviewed on board his ship some time ago, and professed to have obtained his views upon Lord Beaconsfield and his policy. He made the Duke declare his "disgust" with both. The British Admiralty, however, by a timely communication to the London papers, declared the whole story to be without foundation—of course on the Duke's authority. The reporter, however, reiterates his original story, which he corroborates by a description of the mode in which he reached the ship, and his editor evidently stands by him, and cites the testimony of a rival journal, the New York *Times*, "that a *World* reporter cannot lie," which is certainly very strong and gratifying. But the same paper declares that a Royal Duke "cannot lie," thus tacitly denying the force of the principle of Excluded Middle, which we had supposed was not deniable, and leaving the public in a very awkward position. It is to be said in favor of the reporter that it is also alleged on good authority that Lord Salisbury declared some years ago that he regarded the Earl with "loathing"; and that numerous highly-placed persons in England regard him with "disgust" there is no manner of doubt.

The report of the British delegates to the International Silver Conference has appeared in England, though no copy of it has reached us, and we are indebted to the London *Economist* for a summary of its contents. It appears from it that the English Government had at first determined not to take part in the Conference at all, and were induced to do so by an appeal from the Indian Office, but only on the understanding that England would not in any way agree to alter its currency policy. Sweden, Norway, Belgium, and Switzerland also appeared pledged to the gold standard, which made it plain from the first moment that the Conference would prove a failure. The other Governments occupied an "expectant attitude," and the only ally of the United States was Italy. The *Economist* says it was "rather amusing" to find that the American delegates, who called the Conference, had no distinct proposals to make, and only moved their two vague declarations of opinion after much urging. Mr. Groesbeck, the American spokesman, did not, the report says, devote himself to advocating the propositions of the silver-men, but to explaining the attitude of the United States. He made, to the foreign commissioners, the astounding assertion that silver was demonetized by a kind of inadvertence. Of course such a statement about a civilized Government, coming from its own representative, could not be easily criticised; but we are glad to know, for the credit of the country, that the commissioners did not believe a word of it. That a man of Mr. Groesbeck's standing should carry such a story about his own country to an assembly of European financiers shows the debasing effect of "politics" even on the best minds. Silver was demonetized here after careful and prolonged discussion and consideration. Americans are not such savages as to alter their coinage without knowing it.

The news from England since the renewed triumph of the Ministry in Parliament on the motion of censure consists of little but accounts of commercial failures, and deep and increasing distress among the working classes. But that imperialism begins to pall on the voters, and that a dissolution would probably ruin the Government majority, seems daily more probable. The Conservatives have just lost two boroughs, Bristol and Malden, which they have held triumphantly since the last election, and their defeat in Bristol, which is a great city, has made a deep impression, which has been lightened, however, with Lord Beaconsfield's usual luck, by the news of the death of the Princess Alice, the most popular of the Queen's children. The expressions of sympathy and sorrow which it has called forth are a striking illustration of the hold of the reigning house on the imagination of the upper and middle classes, though Lord Beaconsfield's rhetorical announcement that it was "a great calamity" would probably hardly express their feelings. The failure of the West of England Bank, striking about 2,000 shareholders, several hundreds of them spinsters and widows, with unlimited liability for at least $1,500,000, has spread and intensified the consternation which the continued industrial depression is everywhere exciting, though the outbreak of strikes on a large scale in some of the trades shows how little the working classes as yet appreciate the gravity of the situation.

The situation in Afghanistan remains substantially unchanged. Yakub Khan's adhesion to the British is not yet confirmed, and, as we remarked last week, if it were he could only be maintained by a British guaranty. The whereabouts of his father, meanwhile, is still vaguely guessed, and his retreat is no longer taken to be the end of the campaign. Nor do we hear any more of the readiness to surrender Candahar, of which the Governor is said to have ordered a levy *en masse* for resistance, and to have met with a hearty support from the people. But the only well-informed parties just now as to what is going on beyond the British lines are the Russian mission, with whom the Amir is supposed to be travelling, and the Government at St. Petersburg.

In France everything is in a kind of suspense waiting for the Senatorial elections on the 1st of January, which are expected to transfer the majority in that body to the Left, and put an end completely to the influence of the Monarchists in the Government. In the meantime a good deal of interest has been excited by a speech of M. Waddington's explaining the position now occupied by France towards the Eastern complication. He spoke highly of the Treaty of Berlin, not as an ideal arrangement, but as the best possible one, and declared his belief in its complete execution, but denied emphatically that France had contracted any engagement about its execution that was not already known. He took to himself the credit of securing the recognition of the right and expediency of giving Greece an extension of her frontier, not only for the sake of the Greeks, but for that of the Turks. At present, however, France was pursuing her traditional policy as the patron and protector of Greece, was pushing her claims to the rectification of her frontier, and was taking care that in pushing it she (France) was not acting alone.

THE LAST TRACE OF THE WAR.

THE disposition to believe that the calendar year furnishes also a moral division of time, and that when a man is going to make changes in the conduct of his life, or "turn over a new leaf," as it is called, the first of January is the proper time to begin, is not an unnatural one, but it does not derive any great support from observed facts. The close of the year always sets people reflecting very seriously on their experience of one sort or another, and causes them to make a note of many of its lessons and suggestions, and there is a certain hopefulness in the air which predisposes them to make good promises on New-Year's day; but it is usually found in practice that reform is not easier in January than in any other month, and that, in fact, changes in one's life and manners are made without much regard to dates. They come from influences and events with which the calendar has nothing to do, and which are just as likely to spring on us in summer as in winter, and which work, for the most part, with ruthless or happy disregard of fêtes and anniversaries. Good resolutions which begin to be carried out on New-Year's day are usually the result of agencies which have been long in operation, and the selection of the day on which the outward and visible sign of them is to appear is, or may be, entirely arbitrary, or the result of merely material convenience. The reason, for instance, for choosing the first of January, 1879, for resumption of specie payments by the United States is not that it is easier to keep one's promises on this day than any other, but that, some day having to be fixed, the day when new accounts are opened in business was probably the most desirable for the purpose. But the *animus* of paying, of which resumption is the external indication, has been long forming, and was probably as strong a year ago as it is to-day.

Having been selected, however, as the day on which the last striking trace of the Civil War was to disappear, it furnishes a convenient point for recalling some of the great moral changes which have passed over the country since gold was last in circulation. There has, in the first place, been an enormous increase of confidence in the future of the nation as a nation, in its strength, its power, and its continuance. The fear which haunted the imagination of some of the founders of the Government, and which grew during the anti-slavery agitation, that the Union would some day break into a number of warring fragments, may be said to have wholly disappeared. There is no longer any appreciable doubt that the American people will remain under one government, and will continue to be one of the great powers of the world, both in war and peace, and, even without raising a finger for the acquisition of influence, will through mere mass, and visible though unwielded strength, acquire immense weight in the commonwealth of western nations. It would be difficult to overestimate the depth of the impression which the spectacle of its prodigious bulk and force as revealed by the war has produced on the mind of European political observers. The revelation has, in fact, forced nearly all foreign thinkers to readjust their whole system of political calculation, and to make a very serious revision of their forecast about the future of the Christian world. It has opened up many possibilities, both social and political, not previously thought of, and has given sharpness and definiteness to many previously vague and even extravagant anticipations. At home it has greatly diminished the habit of self-assertion and the eagerness for recognition which were marked national characteristics before the war. All the old fidgetiness has gone out of the national self-confidence, because there is now no reason to fear comparison with any other power in the things by which national greatness is roughly estimated in the international forum—the ability of the Government to call great armies and fleets into existence, to levy heavy taxes for their support, and try the endurance of the people by prolonged calls on their moral and material resources.

On the other hand, there has been since 1861 a marked and undeniable decline in the confidence of the reflective class in the particular kind of machinery by which the Government has hitherto been carried on, and in the ability of universal suffrage to provide readily for new situations and exigencies. All legislatures, both national and State, are held in less respect than they were before the war, and this decline of confidence in them is not successfully met by the method so often resorted to, of showing how foolish some of the statesmen of the olden time were. This looks effective in a magazine or newspaper article, but it really satisfies few readers. People who take politics to heart feel that even if the men have not changed, the times have; that the demands of American society on its rulers are far greater than they used to be, because it has grown in complexity as well as in size, and they are chagrined if the country cannot produce such statesmen as they think it needs. There is more doubt now than there has ever been that such men exist, but there is a great and widespread disbelief in the possibility of having them brought to the front by means of existing institutions, and grave questioning as to the possibility of going on much further prosperously without their aid. The material future, it is true, never looked brighter: it seems as if the country were only just beginning to draw on its magnificent natural resources; but in drawing on them and in increasing trade, commerce, and population we increase also the intricacy of the problems, both political and social, with which we have to deal. If the experience of the last seventeen years has taught anything clearly it has taught the necessity of the application to the work of government of a greater amount of the inventiveness, adaptability, forethought, and shrewdness which are so lavishly displayed in trade and industry. In the conduct of business enterprises of every kind Americans stand in the front rank—no other nation displays such ingenuity in its processes. In politics, however, we still transport our goods on pack-horses, cut our grain with the sickle, and thresh it with the feet of oxen, and light our fires by rubbing two sticks together, and have a kind of Turkish pride in our backwardness. The arguments by which any attempt to improve the administration of the Government is resisted recall the old defences of the stage-coach against the railroads.

With regard to this, however, good reason for hopefulness is to be found in the discredit which since the war has overtaken the whole school of transcendental politicians. There are very few men now—they abounded at the close of the war—who venture to ascertain what ought to be done in a given case by tapping their breasts, or profess to be the possessors of a hidden light on public affairs, or who insist upon embodying "broad principles" in legislation, without any regard to the experience of mankind as to their working. There were men at the close of the war who would have advocated negro suffrage even if it was sure to ruin their country; there is hardly anybody now who does not acknowledge that suffrage, like other things, has to be considered and regulated with strict regard to its effect on civilization and human happiness. Even the friends of female suffrage have grown utilitarian in their talk. There has been, too, in politics, at least, a great and most beneficial diminution of

> ". . . the restless will
> That hurries to and fro,
> Seeking for some great thing to do,
> Or secret thing to know";

and with great gain to the country. Even ten years ago multitudes of good people were possessed with the idea either that they had made or were on the point of making in politics a discovery with which they would in a year or two change the face of human society. The natural eagerness among them to be first in the field with their patent caused a prodigious commotion, and a kind of dread silence and expectation which no critic or doubter was allowed to disturb on pain of stripes and expulsion. This captivating illusion has, however, almost wholly passed away. The generation which cherished it is somewhat older, sadder, and much more patient. Both it and the one which is coming forward to take its place in the arena have turned again to the old truth that in the affairs of nations, no matter what improvements may be made in machinery, things are made to go well not by sudden flashes of inspiration, but by watchfulness, by patience and deliberation, by "toil of hearts and

knees and hands," or, in short, by making to-morrow the chief care of to-day.

THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY AND THE REPUDIATORS.

"NO city, town, village, county, or other municipal or public corporation shall be sued in the courts of the United States."

Such is, in part, the language and the *gist*, as the lawyers would say, of a bill recently introduced into the Senate of the United States by Mr. Garland, of Arkansas. The inspiration of the measure can doubtless be traced to the following resolution, adopted by the Arkansas Democrats at their latest State convention, held July 6, 1878:

"We demand by Congress such legislation as shall prevent the interposition of the Federal courts, by *mandamus* or otherwise, between the courts of the States and the counties and cities of the States. Such interference, being hostile to the theory of our government, leads to centralization, and also deprives the State of a free and rightful exercise of its sovereignty."

What is meant by the foregoing language is easily explained. When the war was over, the people of Arkansas and similarly situated districts realized the need of railroads and other public improvements to develop their country. Not having the money to supply what they wanted, they issued their promises-to-pay in that form of commercial paper known as bonds, and put them on the market to be purchased by those having money. The means thus obtained was, in part at least, applied to the purposes intended, and in part, possibly, was wasted or stolen by officials for whose delinquencies those who elected them alone ought to suffer. All this was satisfactory enough until the time came that principal or interest of the bonds was to be paid. Then it was discovered by the involved communities, as has been done by many another debtor, that a mistake had been made, and repudiation was resolved upon. At first the courts of the States followed the rules governing in cases of other commercial paper in the hands of innocent purchasers for value; but judges being elective, and for short terms of office, it did not take the people who wished to escape liability long to reverse objectionable decisions by changing the courts. In that way numerous securities, held legally valid and sold under that guarantee, were soon afterwards pronounced of no account by the very tribunals that had endorsed them. And that would have been the end of it had it not happened that the Federal courts for the districts concerned, which were presided over by men holding office for life, and thus raised above local influences besides possessing a regard for law, had jurisdiction in such cases in behalf of non-resident plaintiffs, and not only rendered judgments in their favor against the indebted communities, but proceeded by mandamus to compel their officers to levy taxes and provide the means of their payment. Then it was that the people of such communities began to perceive that the jurisdiction of the Federal courts in such matters was "hostile to the theory of our government," that it led to "centralization," and—worst of all—that it was in conflict with the convenient, but exploded, doctrine of State sovereignty.

As to the practical effect of the proposed measure, if adopted, there can be but one conclusion. It would wipe out the debts of a great majority of Western counties, cities, and towns, amounting to very many millions of money, "as with a sponge." The legal rights of bondholders would remain, but with no remedy except what might be provided by tribunals supplied and governed by their debtors—subject to the principle, as applicable in law as in physics, that the stream cannot rise above its source—and their bonds would be worth just about the same as so much Confederate paper. As to the morality of the thing there can be no uncertainty. The object is to facilitate repudiation. It is simply proposed to leave the question of payment or non-payment to the debtor, after he has announced his purpose not to pay. But behind this proposal there is a question possibly even more serious than the financial one, and which it may be well at this point to consider. That question is, Whether the Federal Judiciary shall be extinguished? A few historical facts will show how real and pertinent that enquiry is.

When the national Constitution was adopted the Government was divided into three separate departments, which were intended to be co-ordinate—namely, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. But before many days had gone by it was discovered that, under the equitable provisions of the Constitution, States were liable to be mulcted in judgments at the suits of private citizens in the Supreme Court of the United States; and as they had incurred many liabilities during the war just over, the accountability thus likely to be enforced promised to be formidable. The people, always sensitive to anything threatening the public purse, were alarmed. The result was the submission of an amendment to the Constitution, now known as the Eleventh, providing that while individuals might still be sued by States, States should not be suable by individuals—the jurisdiction of the national judiciary being abridged to that extent; and as the persons who were liable to contribute to claims against the States were much more numerous than those holding claims, the amendment was adopted. Nothing could be more unfair in practice or reprehensible in principle. It was bald repudiation. That amendment impaired the symmetry of the Constitutional plan as first adopted, and has been a standing reproach to the nation ever since, inasmuch as it has been a continuous cover for flagrant injustice. At this day, by reason of it, there are obligations of States, issued under their broad seals, outstanding to the amount of one hundred and eighty millions of dollars that are dishonored, and no legal remedy exists to their injured holders.

It is significant that, while the first great wrong on private citizens that was perpetrated by the American people under their new government was accomplished by an abridgment of the jurisdiction of the Federal judiciary, in restricting that portion which covered the States, now, when it is proposed to cheat private citizens out of some hundreds of millions of dollars, the method suggested is the further reduction of that jurisdiction by withdrawing from it communities which stand next to the States in dignity, viz., cities, towns, villages, counties, and other municipal and public corporations. And if corporations are to be independent of the Federal courts, why should not private persons be similarly exempt? And, indeed, we find this to be the position assumed by another party to the movement in which Arkansas seems to be the leader. At their last State Convention, held July 10, 1878, the Missouri Democrats put forth a platform in which they say:

"We declare that the jurisdiction claimed and exercised by the Circuit Courts of the United States over questions of corporate and *individual* rights, arising under the laws of the State, tends to oppress and burden litigants to such an extent as to amount to a practical denial of justice in many cases, and we consider the legislation which has conferred such jurisdiction as unwise and hurtful to the true interests of the people."

Here, then, we have the avowal of a policy which would extinguish the jurisdiction of the Federal courts over both corporations and individuals, so far as the interests of the great body of the people are ever likely to be affected, and practically leave the Government with but two departments. To the credit of the Missouri Democrats it must be said that they are, at least, logically consistent. The secret of Missouri's enlarged opposition to the Federal courts grows, it is understood, out of the fact that, in addition to her indebtedness on municipal bonds, her people owe largely to non-residents on what are known as "farm mortgages." A similar condition of things probably led the Grangers of Illinois, at their last State gathering, to pronounce against the Federal courts. They, too, want the privilege of appointing the tribunals that will decide between them and their foreign creditors. And here it is well enough to observe that Congressman Townsend, of Illinois, has introduced a bill in the House quite similar to that of Senator Garland.

How important the founders of our Government regarded the general authority of the Federal courts appears in that article of the Constitution defining their jurisdiction, which declares that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to controversies, among others, "between citizens of different States." The unrea-

sonableness of permitting one party to a controversy to designate and regulate the tribunal that is to decide it, was quite sufficient justification for that article; but nowhere has the argument been more forcibly presented than by Hamilton in the *Federalist*, in paper No. 80, in which he says:

"It may be esteemed the basis of the Union that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States.' Hence it follows that, in order to the inviolable maintenance of that equality of privileges and immunities to which the citizens of the Union will be entitled, the national judiciary ought to preside in all cases in which one State or its citizens are opposed to another State or its citizens. To secure the full effect of so fundamental a provision against all evasion and subterfuge, it is necessary that its construction should be committed to that tribunal which, having no local attachments, will be likely to be impartial between the different States and their citizens, and which, owing its official existence to the Union, will never be likely to feel any bias inauspicious to the principles on which it is founded. The reasonableness of the agency of the national courts in cases in which the State tribunals cannot be supposed to be impartial speaks for it. No man ought certainly to be a judge in his own cause, or in any cause in respect to which he has the least interest or bias. This principle has no inconsiderable weight in designating the Federal courts as the proper tribunals for the determination of controversies between different States and the citizens of different States."

While it is true that an ordinary corporation is not a "citizen" of a State in the sense of the Constitution, it is true, as the Supreme Court of the United States has several times declared, that a municipal corporation which is made up exclusively of citizens of a State so far partakes of their character as to come within the meaning of the Constitution. It is ridiculous to hold that a private person, because of his possible influence with the courts of his State, shall be subject to be sued by a citizen of another State in the Federal tribunals, and that a corporation, made up of ten thousand individuals, and whose influence over a local judiciary is proportionately increased, shall not be so subject. How Congress, in the interest of communities which are in favor of making, but not of paying, their bonds, can evade so plain a construction of a leading article of the fundamental law, it is not for us but for the projectors of the measure to explain.

Congress should interfere in the matter—not to release the grip of the Federal courts on municipal and other public corporations, that they may the more flagrantly trifle with their creditors, but to strengthen their hands in dealing with them. The dishonesty of such corporations in large portions of the country has become a national scandal. Hundreds of them are now refusing to pay their debts—some with a view to forcing their creditors to accept a part of what belongs to them in compromise, and some in the expectation of defeating all payment. In these endeavors they are, in too many instances, notoriously favored by local legislatures and courts. Even with the jurisdiction of the Federal tribunals extending over them, no debtors have proved so refractory and so difficult to bring to the law's requirements. Instead of interfering to make repudiation easy for these bodies, it is the plain duty of Congress to arm the national courts with whatever additional powers are necessary to be used in bringing them to a sense of their legal obligations.

OPTIMISTIC PESSIMISM.

THE angry way in which the Stalwarts every now and then speak of Mr. Hayes's "serenity" and hopefulness and "amiability," especially with regard to Southern matters, is a good illustration of the intolerance which is so often to be found even in the best optimistic circles. In fact, it is safe to say that a completely optimistic or completely cheerful person is hardly ever to be met with. It will be generally—indeed, almost invariably—found on close examination that the very best optimist keeps a gloomy corner in his mind to which he retires and revels in foreboding when he thinks nobody is watching him. It is not always easy to find out where he keeps it, or, in other words, what is the precise matter about which he is despondent; he is often as expert and vigilant in concealing it as those monomaniacs who have only one small screw loose and successfully resist all attempts to uncover it. Cases have often occurred in which an undoubtedly insane man has baffled for hours the efforts of able lawyers to lead him to lay bare his infirmity, and persons who make a specialty of cheerfulness sometimes display the same curious defensive cunning. There are, however, very few of them who keep up appearances to this extent. They generally make no secret of their anxiety; but, no matter how hopeful they may be in general, and how highly they may rate and inculcate a hopeful habit of mind, there is nothing they have less patience with than hopefulness about things of which they themselves despair. Their irritability and exactingness on this point are curiously like the impatience of early risers with people who lie late abed. The early riser, as a rule, maintains that the pure air, the silence, and the freshness of the morning quiet his nerves and raise his spirits, and give him a buoyant attitude towards the world and a kindly feeling towards his fellows. But if you press him hard, you are apt to discover that the failure of the rest of his household to get up as soon as he does secretly destroys his peace, and that he would, if he could, drag them all out of bed and make them share his enjoyment. He cannot understand how they can be indifferent to what he himself likes so much, and ascribes it to sloth and culpable self-indulgence.

The professed optimist, too, generally selects some one tendency of society or some class of persons as very hopeless cases, about whose future it is unseemly or foolish or wicked to take a cheerful view, while about that of everything and everybody else he displays a boisterous confidence in the future. The average Stalwart, for instance, is nothing if not a cheery American, who loves "the bright side of human nature," in general terms thinks his own country a happy place for rich and poor, in which all things are sure to be for the best, and in which man, of whatever race, is almost certain to grow in virtue and in knowledge. If you go into particulars with him, however, you find out speedily that he thinks about 12,000,000, more or less, of his countrymen are in a condition of the most frightful suffering and insecurity, with little or no prospect of improvement, and that 8,000,000 of these are not only cruel, idle, and vindictive, but so degraded, morally, that the only way to get them to behave decently is to stand guard over them with a musket. Sometimes, when he is more than usually downcast, he ventures on the opinion that they might as well all be killed, as it is useless to expect any of the ordinary civilizing agencies to produce any effect on them. If you suggest that, as all other races have come up out of barbarism through the education of circumstances, perhaps the Southern whites may do so too, he eyes you savagely, and asks whether you have ever been down amongst them, or whether you remember the conduct of the slaveholders in Congress before the war? Even at this point, however, by dexterously turning his attention to the Northwest or to New England, you can make him burst into triumphant song, and denounce Northern jails as places of needless and unjustifiable restraint. With Mr. Hayes he has no patience. His smiling, placid way of talking about "outrages" and the probability of their disappearance through natural agencies, almost infuriates him. He is willing that the Chief Magistrate should be cheerful about everything else, but on this point he demands deep gloom, as something due to the Republican party, which he maintains is essentially and fundamentally a gloomy, anxious party, and as such is entitled to a dismal President.

It is not about the South only, however, that he exacts despondency. He is apt to be equally exacting about any work or movement in which he is strongly interested or in which he is actively engaged. To keep up his enthusiasm about it, it is, of course, necessary that he should entertain a passionate belief in its necessity, or, in other words, feel certain that great mischief, or even ruin, would result from its abandonment. To have you come along smiling and cheerful, and declare *your* belief that he might safely let the matter alone, and that the problem will probably be solved by the mere course of events, is more than he can bear. There is no use in your protesting that you are as much interested in the subject as he is, and that you only differ with him as to the means of bringing about the desired end; he will not believe you. Your cheerfulness about it is in his eyes simply a cloak for indifference. If you were sincere, he feels sure you would look and talk sadly about it. Nor can you get off by pleading that you are sad about something else; that if, for instance, you are not as gloomy as he is about the Moderate Drinker it is because you are greatly depressed about the "little health" of women. He knows that there is nothing in the health of women to cause anxiety to a rational mind, while the state of the Moderate Drinker plainly calls for the prompt action of the whole community through its thinkers, its presses, its judges and policemen. He, on the contrary, having a clear head, is very cheerful about the health of

women. He says what makes all the fuss and talk is the fact that it is in a transition state; that what we are witnessing is the evolution of a new type of women, in which the mental and physical powers will be more equally balanced; that the wise course for croakers about women to follow is to let her alone, and let her adapt herself to her surroundings. In fact, he would let everything and everybody alone but the Moderate Drinker, whom, he confesses, he would like to clutch, and whom he constantly weeps over. Whenever he sees him walking down the street he feels sure he is making straight for a rum-shop, and always regards a protuberance in his coat-tails as indicating the presence of a bottle.

Another marked feature in the condition of the pessimistic optimist is his strange mixture of scepticism and credulity. For all "stories" which go to justify his gloom he has the greatest tenderness, and treats the paper which supplies him with them as a sort of second Bible. He thinks the editor must be a good man, and determines to call and have a look at him whenever he visits the city, and thank him for "the noble work he is doing." A very horrid story he now and then pronounces "worth the whole price of the subscription." The more improbable it is —that is, the more nonsensical and atrocious—the readier he is to believe it, because it justifies his previous impression about the wretches who figured in it. He knew already that they were capable of anything, and here is the proof. A story was supplied to the English "Jingoes' the other day about the Russian officers in Bulgaria having laid a wager on the sex of an unborn child, and then killed the mother to decide it. They appear to have swallowed it whole, as it fitted into their conceptions of the way the Russians passed their leisure time in the field. In like manner our Stalwart devours any story from the South which is very revolting. The grossness of its barbarity, instead of putting him on the enquiry, or making him hesitate, is the mark of its authenticity, and secures it a place in his pigeon-hole. If the refutation should come up pretty soon, he shrinks from it as from a draught from an open window, and if pressed too hard, comforts himself with the conviction that if they didn't do this particular thing they did something else just as bad.

On the other hand, disagreeable stories about other things fall off him like water off a duck's back. He hates a censorious, carping press which is always finding fault with our public men (except Hayes), and does not believe a word of stories about their railroad operations and jobs and peculations. He hates, too, the people who open their ears to those things, and are ready to believe them and pass them on. He thinks the best plan is to look at the bright side of human nature, and avoid scandal and tittle-tattle. He wants to know how any decent man can be expected to serve the state if charges of this kind are to get credence from respectable people? But even if they are true, what is the use of groaning and mourning over it? The bottom is not going to drop out of the Republic even if members of Congress are not very pure. Look at England in the days of Robert Walpole. He has no patience with this slanderous spirit, and pities from the bottom of his heart a man who can find nothing better to do than collecting the lying gossip of partisans. He thinks we all have enough to do watching and recording our own sins, without following those of other people with too greedy an eye, and punches you in the ribs and advises you with a laugh to have more confidence in your fellow-men. Look at the sunshine, he says; how green the grass is, and how blithely the birds sing.

THE INDIAN BUREAU TRANSFER.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 28, 1878.

THE evidence taken by the Joint Committee which has in charge the consideration of the proposed transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department, promises, when published in full, to be of a good deal of interest. As far as it has gone it shows that the question is surrounded by difficulties of which the public have little knowledge. If there can be said to be any public opinion in the civilized portions of the country on the Indian question (there is, of course, plenty of opinion of a certain sort on the frontier), it may be described on the one hand as regarding the Indian with a spirit of philanthropic benevolence, on the other as looking upon the system of government applied to him with profound distrust. The majority of the people and their representatives in Congress without question wish well to the savages, and would gladly have the best care taken of them, and have them civilized and converted from nomads into industrious citizens. There is a strong conviction, too, in most people's minds, that they have been wronged, that they have had their lands taken away from them, their hunting-grounds occupied, and their very existence from day to day made unhappy by the encroachments of civilization. To a savage whom the United States undertakes to convert from the paths of barbarism, with its attendant excitements of unlimited rapine and slaughter, there is certainly due a guaranty of the quiet pursuit of his new life; but it must be confessed that this obligation has not been always discharged. But why has it not been discharged? Most people would answer that there are two chief reasons—first the tendency of the frontier white population to encroach on the lands of the Indians, and to provoke Indian wars with a view to getting some of their lands; and second, the corruption, waste, inefficiency, and favoritism which have characterized the management of Indian affairs. Of course the first difficulty is included in the second, for frontier aggressions ought, if the general management of the Indians were what it should be, to be kept within limits which would prevent their ever becoming the cause of serious disturbances. Consequently, most people who have made a cursory examination of the Indian question have come to the general conclusion that the first thing to be done with the tribes is to hand them over to some other governmental agency than the Interior Department. General Grant, who, when he was first elected President, had given some consideration to the Indian question, and was something of a reformer, thought he might accomplish the end in view without any radical change, by giving the appointment of the Indian agents (hitherto political and rotatory in character) to the religious societies, and this original piece of civil-service reform he managed to incorporate into our Indian system. Unfortunately, however, his zeal for reform began to die out before he had noticed the fact that the purification of the agencies was out of the question unless the centre of the whole system—the Interior Department itself—was first pure. The final effect of his reform, therefore, after the public had become familiar with Mr. Delano and his mode of working the "machine," was not to justify itself, but to bring discredit upon the religious societies and their representatives. This added strength to the popular and Congressional conviction that what was needed was no half-way measure, but a sweeping change; a new system. Hence, since Delano's time there has been a steady growth of sentiment, as shown in the newspapers and in Congress (finally leading to the appointment of the present Joint Commission), in favor of the transfer of the Bureau to the War Department.

The arguments in favor of the change are all very simple. Experience, it is said, has shown that the management of the Interior Department is not satisfactory. Therefore some change is necessary. The Army is familiar with the Indian question, and has no interest in stirring up Indian wars—not even a professional one, for of all kinds of fighting an Indian war is the least attractive. Neither has it any interest in getting hold of lands, nor in "operations" in cattle or other supplies. Its officers are subject to no political dictation, cannot be removed for doing their duty, can be cashiered for any violation of duty, and are subject to a rigid discipline. If the Indians were given over to its charge, they would find themselves dealt with according to a set of fixed rules, honestly administered, from which there would be no escape, and they would have an example set them of orderly behavior, discipline, honesty, and last, not least, neatness and cleanliness, which, in its civilizing effect, would be invaluable.

It must be remembered, by the way, that the notion of civilizing the Indian is not mere philanthropic sentimentalism, but that the attempt has been made in certain instances with success; as, for example, in the Indian Territory, where there are whole tribes, formerly nomadic and predatory, now converted to steady agricultural habits. Of course this cannot be done with the first generation. To be civilized the Indian must be "caught young." But the fact that the work of civilization has been proved practicable in certain instances should never be left out of sight, and the theory of certain amiable persons, that the real solution of the Indian problem is extermination, ought not for a moment to be entertained. No such process as extermination is going on, so far as is known by those most competent to express an opinion on the numbers of the Indian population. Indeed it is generally believed here now that there are quite as many, if not more, Indians in the country than there were fifty years ago.

But granting that the Indian is not to be exterminated, and is to be both governed and civilized, the question recurs whether the Army or the Interior Department is the best agency for the purpose. As to this the abstract arguments have already been given; but they clearly must be tested by the light of experience, and it is here that the testimony now being taken becomes of value. Mr. Schurz has been before the Commit-

tee and given some evidence the force of which those who favor the transfer will find it difficult to overcome. In the first place, in reply to the argument that the Indians would be better taken care of by army officers than by civilians, he urges that this depends upon what sort of care is meant. If they are merely to be herded together and watched, and prevented from going on raids, the officers of the Army are just the men for the work; but if the object of the Government is civilization; if the duty of those who are placed over the Indians is to teach them to till the soil, to sow and to reap, to educate their children and gradually accustom them to the ways of individual as opposed to tribal life, the army officers are not well fitted for the work. They are not accustomed to educational work of this sort, have not the patience for it, and could not be expected to take any interest in it. To fortify this position he was fortunate enough to be able to cite a report made not long ago by high authority, couched in the following language:

"This brings us to consider the much-mooted question whether the Bureau should belong to the civil or military department of the Government. To determine this properly we must first know what is to be the future treatment of the Indians. If we intend to have war with them, the Bureau should go to the Secretary of War. If we intend to have peace, it should be in the civil department. Under the plan which we have suggested the chief duties of the Bureau will be to educate and instruct in the peaceful arts—in other words, to civilize the Indians. The military arm of the Government is not the most admirably adapted to discharge duties of this character. We have the highest possible appreciation of the officers of the Army, and fully recognize their proverbial integrity and honor; but we are satisfied that not one in a thousand would like to teach Indian children to read and write, or Indian men to sow and reap. These are emphatically civil and not military occupations."

This report, made by the Sioux Commission, was signed by General Sherman, General Harney, and General Augur. General Sherman is now strongly in favor of the transfer.

In the second place, Mr. Schurz insists that the popular impression that the civil administration of the Indian service is responsible for the Indian wars is altogether a mistake; the real cause of most of them being the breach of treaty stipulations, or encroachments of some sort by the white frontiersman. (It may be mentioned in corroboration of this that it is understood that at the present session of Congress a determined effort will be made, in the interest of a well-known Western railroad, to have the Indian Territory "opened up," in flagrant violation of treaty rights, and the House of Representatives has already taken the first step in this direction by adding a clause to the Indian Appropriation Bill forbidding the removal of any more Indian tribes to the Indian Territory without special legislative authority.) Mr. Schurz also cites several well-known instances of Indian wars as admitted not to have been brought on by the Indian Bureau; *e.g.*, the Seminole War, the war with the Sacs and Foxes, the trouble with the Creeks and Cherokees, the Sioux War of 1852–4, the Navajo War, the Cheyenne War of 1864, the Cheyenne War of 1866–7. To these he adds the Black Hills, the Modoc, and the Nez-Percés wars; the troubles with the Apaches, the Bannocks, and the Northern Cheyennes.

In the third place, Mr. Schurz denies emphatically that the business methods of conducting the service under the War Department would be any better than under the Indian Bureau, and to establish the improbability of this he brings forward the curious fact that the transfer of the Indians to the Interior Department in 1849, before which date they had been in the hands of the Army, was in great measure caused by the scandals connected with the Army management. He produced before the Committee a report of a committee of the House made in 1842. This committee declare that the "accounts of the Indian funds" at that time had been "kept with unpardonable negligence," and add:

"The evidence is submitted as to the general management and present condition of Indian affairs, and it requires little comment. It exhibits an almost total want of method and punctuality, equally unjust and injurious to the Government and to the tribes to whom we have voluntarily assumed obligations which we are not at liberty to disregard. It will be seen that the accounts of millions of expenditure have been so loosely kept as scarcely to furnish any trace or explanation of very large sums, and that others have been misapplied, so as to impose serious losses upon the Indians and heavy responsibilities on the Government; that in some books (the only record kept of these accounts) no entries have been made for a period of several years, and that when entries had been made they are so imperfect that the very clerks who kept them could not state an account from them."

In addition to this Mr. Schurz cites many curious facts—as, for instance, that "there is not a single bound volume of records referring to the land interests of the Indians that has come from the War Department to the Interior Department." Some of the evidence is very amusing, particularly that with regard to the removal of the Cherokees to the Indian Territory, from which it appears that the actual cost of removal per capita was $103 25, although a contract was made to remove at $10 a head. Among other things, it appears that each Cherokee had six pairs of shoes at $2 a pair. This sort of thing had been going on for a long while, for by another report made in 1833–4 the most startling revelations as to the difference between prices of articles delivered to Indians and the market prices were made. A blanket costing in St. Louis $4 would be sold on the Upper Missouri to the Indians for $12; the price of gunpowder would become inflated from 30 cents to $1 50 per pound; tobacco from 5 cents to $1 a pound; and whiskey from 25 cents to $16 a gallon. This evidence, of course, all goes to show the curious fact that the demand for the transfer of the Indian Bureau from the Interior to the War Department is founded upon precisely the same arguments that thirty years ago led to its transfer from the War to the Interior. In fact, the management of Indian affairs appears to have a necessarily corrupting influence upon whatever branch of the Government undertakes it. Under Mr. Schurz there is no doubt that it is purer than it has been for years—in fact, probably as pure as it can be made. But the number of abuses he has himself brought to light are a discouraging commentary on the system. Those who have looked forward to the transfer to the War Department as a final solution of the Indian problem will find that Mr. Schurz's testimony makes it clear that there is room for difference of opinion on the subject. The Joint Committee's report, it is to be feared, will not carry great weight whichever way it decides, for it is not made up of members who have any special familiarity with Indian affairs.

EMPEROR WILHELM'S RETURN.

BERLIN, Dec. 6, 1878.

AFTER an absence of more than four months the Kaiser returned yesterday to Berlin and formally resumed the imperial authority, which in the interim had been in the hands of the Crown Prince. The former had expressly requested that there be no military display, and that the total cost of the civic ovation be no greater than when he returned from France with the army in 1871. Despite the hard times, however, the latter request was disregarded, and it is estimated that more than a quarter of a million marks were expended in festoons, banners, cartoons, gas-jets, candles, etc. Many places of business were closed, a holiday was decreed for the University and all the schools; and students, with more than a score of citizens' clubs and societies of veteran soldiers, with banners and music, marched in procession to their positions as *Spalier*- (or fence-) guard, in front of the iron rail which encloses the central portion of the five-fold street, Unter den Linden. This portion was kept clear for the imperial carriages, while on either side a dense mass of men, women, and children waited in quiet expectation for several hours. At length, at one P.M., the Emperor and Empress, seated side by side in a plain, open carriage, bowing right and left, and saluting the American flag, under which nearly fifty American students had been gathered, were driven along so rapidly that the crowd had hardly time to cheer, the bells to ring, or the bands to begin to play, before they were past. The Crown Prince with his family, Von Moltke, and a few ministers and other notables, followed—nothing more. The general feeling of relief from a great but unnamed fear was visible on every face, and found expression in countless ways when the Emperor was safely in his palace. Though every precaution had been taken; though the fanatical Fritzsche and nearly fifty other Social Democrats whom the Government believed to be sincerely in earnest in their opinions, had been banished from the city limits under the new laws; and though a general police inquisition not only of the passports but in some cases of the private life of suspicious foreigners had been made; and though Madai is said to have overworked his whole immense force of secret and of uniformed police, it was never forgotten that some crazed enthusiast, or the victim of a lot cast in some undetected treasonable society, might be willing to sacrifice himself on so great an occasion. In spite of fears and predictions to the contrary, however, the policy of forcible repression seems now to have reached a successful culmination. Up to the present date about one hundred and fifty Socialistic societies, and forty periodicals, and one hundred and thirty-five non-periodical publications, have been suppressed under the recent laws. It is said that the Crown Prince believes still more firmly in the policy of repression, although it is generally admitted that during his brief administration the laws were executed strictly in accordance with the spirit and unexpressed wishes of his royal father.

Of course, much not only of the official but of the private ostentation

on such an occasion is simply business. Enterprising firms vie with each other in the taste with which their buildings are decorated, or in the brilliancy of their illuminations, which are all chronicled in great detail by the ordinarily dull and unenterprising Berlin newspapers, the editors of which, by the way, are for the most part Jews. Yet no one at such a time can for a moment doubt the depth and sincerity of the national patriotism, and of the personal love and reverence for the Kaiser which allies itself so readily at every point with religious sentiments, as may be seen in the mottoes on the street, and in the crowds which will attend the church-services to be held on Sunday in thanksgiving for the Emperor's recovery and return. A large tobacco firm displayed an elaborate transparency with the words, "Despite tobacco-tax and monopolies we dearly love our monarch." All parties—even the Catholic Church, by illuminations and a *Te Deum*—joined in the festivities. Some of the more conspicuous of the former we noted down, viz.:

"May each of the million and a half candle-flames in the windows of his subjects to-night be a blessing realized upon the head of our dear Emperor William I." "All these outward festivities do not express the joy of our hearts, nor the deep pious love of the people for their brave monarch, who has looked death in the face on many a battle-field, and who has watched in pain for us while we were sleeping." "This is a day of glad tidings." "Those who wait on the Lord shall renew their strength." "Let all men now praise the Lord." "The first citizen of the kingdom, the father of his people, the strong fortress of Germany." "Hail to him whom God has preserved; may He preserve thy going in and thy coming out."

In a brief address at the depot on his arrival the Emperor declared that, painful as his wounds had been, the thought that in Prussia, and in his own dear city of Berlin, a subject had deliberately planned to take his life had caused him still deeper pain; that event, however, had revealed sore spots in the body politic which could be healed only by the strong hand of law; if this could be effected, he was glad to have bled for the general weal. Soon after reaching the palace the Emperor dined alone, composed a private letter of thanks to the Crown Prince for the fidelity of *his* short administration, attended with the imperial family a short thanksgiving service in his private chapel, conducted by the court chaplain, Koegel, and witnessed the illumination in the evening. In spite of his wounds and his age—nearly eighty-two—he looks as hale and vigorous as he did ten years ago. He is a man of very simple and purely soldierly tastes and habits. But for the numerous elaborate presents from the Emperor of Russia, his private rooms in Berlin, which many have been allowed to see during his absence, are more simple than not a few New York parlors, and his private library is exclusively military. That one of the mildest, most amiable and venerable monarchs of Europe should be peppered in the back by rabbit-shot (as the late *attentat* was recently described by Bismarck in the Reichstag) is, indeed, bad enough; but the aristocratic reaction in public sentiment has been so great, and has been so dexterously utilized by the imperial cabinet, that it is probable that if Socialism is the dangerous secret international organization it is often feared to be, some other country than Germany will be chosen for the present as the field of its active operations.

In a country so much governed as Germany it is inevitable that the lower classes should infer that the Government is somewhat responsible for a general lack of business prosperity. We must not judge the Social Democrats entirely from their printed programmes. Most of them believe that all rich men and the nobility are their enemies, and hoot and jeer at every liveried carriage (as they did a short time since in Tegel at the ordinary diplomatic equipage of the American minister), without having any sort of theory of the relations between labor and capital, and without any thought or suggestion, even as naïve as that of the unlimited issue of cheap money, respecting the ways and means of reform. They do not for the most part stand to their leaders in the relation of an intelligent constituency, nor are they as a body desperate or disloyal enough deliberately to plan, or even to wish, regicide. But French gold and the sudden expansion of the national spirit, the great influx of population from the *Dörfer* to the larger towns, increasing competition, the inflation of business, and the degeneration of the *morale*, and then the inevitable reaction, bringing hard times and high taxes, etc., all these have unsettled old ways and notions, and bred widespread discontent. It is the old, old tragedy of history—an ignorant but contented and industrious proletariat disquieted in mind if not in fortune by too great a change of surroundings, or by too sudden an influx of new ideas and ambitions. The religious press speaks of the attempted assassination as both the logical and the practical issue of the Socialistic spirit, and this it ascribes to the current materialism of modern times, which has so destroyed moral vigor, high enthusiasms and ideals, that men prefer pleasure and possession to duty and virtue.

It is very difficult for an American to understand the religious condition of Germany. There seems everywhere to be a strong reaction against the naturalism of the founders of the Tübingen school. The cruder and undiscriminating forms of unbelief which are intolerant of Bible, church, and creed are found no longer except among Socialists. Among the clergy of the Lutheran Church there is the greatest diversity of sentiment and opinion, ranging from the philosophical rationalism of Strauss to the straitest sort of orthodoxy. A prominent clergyman lately complained to the writer that during the last twenty years, while Berlin had doubled in population, only two new churches had been built, and that the effects of the anti-Catholic agitation had been disastrous to religion, because both ignorance and malice had too often classed both faiths together, and thereby brought both into a sort of common disrepute; and because when the Catholic clergy, who are often only *Seminaristen*, were required on taking orders to pass an examination in the rudiments of science, the university-trained Protestant candidates had to do the same. It is estimated that only from two to four per cent. of the population of Berlin may be found in the churches on Sunday, and these chiefly women. Preachers have nothing to say about doctrine, but address themselves to "practical life," by which they mean the *Gemüth*. Although the religious sentiment in the Teutonic heart is strong and ineradicable, it exists there independently of and indifferent, or else positively hostile, to even Scriptural dogma. A cultivated mother of a large family, *e.g.*, a clergyman's daughter, and a very constant churchgoer, rather surprised her husband the other day by saying in answer to the writer's questions that she never had believed in the miracles of the New Testament, nor in a personal immortality. Religious belief and rites are considered as æsthetic formulizations of pious feeling, and as a most essential part of the ideal side of life and culture, identified in its essence with the higher forms of art, and in its interests (as opposed to the modern materialistic philosophy of science and the understanding) with the idealistic and absolute philosophy of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, etc., which have been so shocking to most American orthodoxies. Methodism, represented here by a little chapel with a congregation of less than forty, is absolutely unintelligible to the German mind. But, on the other hand, popular newspaper argument in favor of the English-American Sunday as a philosophical institution, bringing rest and inviting reflection, to which these nations owe so much of their business prosperity, has attracted considerable attention.

Let me remark in closing that it is most refreshing to an American to observe how thoroughly respectable and cultivated most of the political leaders are. There is hardly a "self-made" man in the Reichstag. They are mostly men whose political convictions spring from and are intrinsically and systematically bound up with their personality and with their whole philosophy of life, so there is no question about their "record." There is no snatching at transient issues to win a transient fame. There are eight distinct parties represented in the North German Congress, and I cannot conceive of a discussion more pointed, briefer, more vigorous, all-sided, and exhaustive, yet more ineffectual in changing votes, than that on the recent anti-socialistic laws which I was privileged to hear.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN ITALY.

ROME, Dec. 12, 1878.

THE Cabinet Cairoli-Zanardelli has ceased to exist. Last night, after the longest sitting I have ever witnessed (from one to eight o'clock), and before the fullest house ever yet seen in the Italian Parliament (457 out of 512 members), the Ministry was defeated by 263 votes against 189. The telegraph will have informed you, before you receive this, what will be the consequences of this vote, which party or fraction will take office, and whether a dissolution of Parliament will ensue or not. I limit myself to giving you an explanation of the facts which occur, and, as it were, a commentary upon, not a history of, these facts. The causes of the event which has taken place are twofold: parliamentary and extra-parliamentary. However uninteresting the personal squabbles and intrigues may be which constitute parliamentary life in Italy, I must touch upon them lightly in order to make things clear to the American reader, before I can dwell upon the deeper evils of the state.

The Italian Parliament, like the French under Louis Philippe, like the present German Parliament, has always labored under the "fraction

disease." Instead of two principal parties, as they exist in England and Belgium, there have always been five or six groups, each of which represents a minority, and can only hold government as long as the coalition lasts which brought it into office. There is, however, a very great difference between Italian and French or German "fractiondom." In Italy principles have nothing to do with it; and the talent with which personal interests are disguised under the clothing of general interests is very small. From 1860 to 1876 all the different shades of the so-called Right succeeded each other in office; from March, 1876, till now three different groups of the Left have alternately been in possession of power: the Neapolitans under Nicotera, the Sicilians under Crispi, and the Lombards under Cairoli; all three directly or indirectly backed by the old Piedmontese Left or Rattazzi party, the principal survivor of which is old Signor Depretis. These four fractions are divided from the Centre and the Right, not by their opinions, nor even by their way of exercising power when they had it to exercise, but only by the district, the class of society, and the political school they came from. Italy was made by the combined efforts of the dynasty of Savoy and the Revolution, Cavour and Garibaldi; these two forces have co-operated, they have never completely coalesced; all those who passed through Cavour's apprenticeship have kept something of his spirit, while all those who served under Garibaldi have retained a political temperament which is not very compatible with the regular conduct of affairs. This the latter indistinctly feel, and therefore have always courted the alliance of the small party which from 1849 to 1859 sat on the left side of the Piedmontese Parliament. Circumstances brought it about that Mazzini and Garibaldi found more adherents in Lombardy and the two Sicilies than in Piedmont, Venetia, Tuscany, and the Romagna, the consequence of which was that the left side of the house consisted in the main of Southerners and a small group of Lombards, the right of Northerners and men from Central Italy. Once in power, however, the policy of all Italian fractions has always been more or less identical. Not only Crispi and Nicotera, but also Cairoli and Zanardelli, forgot their republican antecedents and became as stanch supporters of the monarchy as the men of the Right ever had been. Liberty, or, I ought to say, license, was as unlimited under the seven ministers of the Right as under the three of the Left; public security was as insufficient under the one as under the other; the foreign as well as the ecclesiastical policy was exactly the same. Of reform—be it in justice, public instruction, army, or administration—there was as little before 1876 as after, nor was there much to choose between the petty jealousies of Signor Minghetti and Signor Sella and those of Signor Crispi and Signor Nicotera, unless it be that the former, being endowed with a better breeding and a cooler temper, showed less cynically than the latter the personal motives which prompted them, and took to less coarse weapons to fight their personal quarrels. One great difference, however, really exists between the two sides. The Moderate party managed the finances of the state with energy, order, and foresight, and thereby saved the country from bankruptcy. The Radicals have succeeded in three years' administration in bringing it again to the brink of failure by weakness, want of order, and craving for popularity. The abolition of the mill-tax, which yields nearly one hundred millions, has been proposed by the present Cabinet and voted by Parliament. If a second vote does not annul the first, the state will soon find itself in the condition in which all the principal cities of the kingdom are—*i. e.*, obliged to suspend payment.

The means by which one fraction of Parliament is wont to overthrow the ruling one by coalition with former enemies are well known. As soon as a favorable opportunity arises, or a plausible pretext offers itself, the chief of such a fraction enters into secret negotiations with the chiefs of the other fractions; the question on which they have determined to attack Government is raised and the assault given. It was Crispi who thus overthrew Nicotera; Nicotera who put himself at the head of the intrigues by which Crispi fell. Both seemed the most desperate personal enemies two months ago, had accused each other of the vilest acts: Crispi accused Nicotera of being a *Camorrista* (head of a species of trades-union); Nicotera made out the case of Crispi's bigamy. But, lo and behold, both united last week in order to overthrow the Cairoli Cabinet, whose fraction had helped them in turn to climb to the top. The Right, without entering into any conspiracy, has simply voted against the Ministry, as it did against the two former ministries of the Left. The pretext this time was a plausible one. The attempt on the King's life and the atrocious crime at Florence had deeply agitated the whole country, and, although the same facts would have certainly occurred under any of the preceding ten ministries Italy has numbered since it became one kingdom, the present Cabinet was made responsible for them; and this brings us to the other and deeper side of the question: Why all these ministerial crises? why does parliamentary government give such painful results in Italy? is there any hope of things getting better in course of time?

"Laws ought to be so adapted to the people for which they are made that it is a very great chance if those of one nation can suit another," says Montesquieu; and in these words lies the whole explanation of the Italian riddle. Italy in 1860 was neither ripe for unity nor for parliamentary government. Europe has applauded it and admired how it made so great a revolution, not by force, but by free consent; not with discipline, but with liberty. Europe can see now, what every man whose sight was not obscured by liberal and democratical watchwords might have seen from the first day: that liberty has founded nothing in this country, neither a monarchy, nor an army, nor justice, nor wealth, and that everything is still to be done.

Italy was not ripe for unity, because the South was and is two centuries at least behind the North in civilization. Not only is the morality of a Nicotera and a Crispi a different kind of morality from that of a Cairoli or a Minghetti, but the whole population on the other side of the Tronto has a different view of morality from that on this side. Things which would dishonor a man in Milan or Florence are looked upon as trifles in Palermo and Naples, and what a Piedmontese or a Venetian would consider as indelicate is the daily bread of private and public life in the South. Here the *reati di sangue*, or crimes of blood, so frequent all over Italy reach four times the number of the North. The same difference exists between the intellectual culture of both halves of Italy. For although the bearers of some of the best names in literature, such as Amari, Bonghi, Villari, are Sicilians and Neapolitans, they feel themselves quite isolated in their own country, and prefer to live in the more congenial atmosphere of the North. But it is principally general education which is so inferior in the South that it is difficult to recognize in the Neapolitan *mezzoceto* countrymen of those Tuscan and Lombard middle classes who, on the whole, are quite on a par with the French bourgeoisie, nay, even too exclusively reared upon French culture. There is still something else, however, which divides Italy into two heterogeneous halves, and that is the thrift and industry of the North, and its consequent relative wealth. Whilst few parts of Europe offer a more developed agriculture than Tuscany and the Romagna, a more advanced state of manufactures than Piedmont and Lombardy, the most fertile districts of Calabria and Sicily lie barren; the misery of the peasants and the town-poor is heartrending; manufactures, except where carried on by strangers, as the wine-manufacture of Marsala, are in their infancy. The consequence is that it is North Italy which is by far the wealthiest part of the country, and the part on which taxation bears most heavily. Now, whilst there was a tolerably good railway-network in the North when the kingdom was founded, nothing has been done in the South, and the same thing may be said of high-roads, of trade-ports, etc.; and as there was no private capital or individual initiative to come forward, it was the state that had to do the greater part of all this, at what cost the yearly budgets of the kingdom may well tell; with what profit, the fact that all the railways of the country are worked at a loss, even those which previously prospered, shows but too clearly. If you consider that things are in the same condition with regard to the schools, the army, the police, etc., you may imagine the sacrifice Northern Italy made when it consented to unite with Naples and Sicily—a sacrifice, however, made less out of generosity and patriotism than out of ignorance of the real state and dread of unpopularity. Nobody, not even Cavour, had the courage to refuse Garibaldi's fatal gift.

Italy was not ripe for parliamentary government, and what in England was the work of five centuries has been done in this country in the space of a fine summer night. Whilst the crown under King William III.—nay, under George IV.—still had a considerable influence on the policy of the country, in Italy the Lower House of Parliament was omnipotent from the birthday of the new state, whose population the day before were still groaning under secular despotism—cruel in Naples, bigoted in Rome and the Romagna, enervating in Tuscany, foreign in Lombardy and Venetia. And of what elements was this Parliament composed? Was it an ancient aristocracy trained for centuries to the state service? Was it a higher middle class wont to administer their native cities or villages? Nothing of the sort. The electoral law published in 1859 and 1860 gave a vote to every man paying 40 lire ($8) taxes, local taxation included. Now, when in a country the income tax reaches 13.20 per cent., the taxes on buildings 53 per cent. (*sic*), when every shopkeeper pays for his "patent" besides his "family tax," the results of such a law must be that the elections are entirely in the hands of the

lower middle classes, who but yesterday awoke to political life. The consequence was and is that Italy, both locally and at its centre, has for these last eighteen years been exclusively ruled by those classes represented by lawyers. What has become of the local finances in the hands of this unlimited self-government the financial state of Florence and Venice, Ancona and Naples, tells but too eloquently, even to the distant public. But what the distant public does not see is that the taxpayers get nothing for their money; that schools, illumination, police, above all, are monstrously behind the times, whilst splendid theatres, costly pleasure-grounds, and the like have risen as by a miracle out of the ground everywhere. And worse than this, in the southern towns, for the most part inhabited by poor peasants, who pay patiently the heavy *octroi*, nothing is received in return from the ruling class, who have the administration not only of the municipal funds but of all pious foundations, and appropriate them in the most shameless way for their own benefit and the benefit of their families.

If at least the central government had been able to do something towards bracing the relaxed nerve-strings of public life; but, alas! the omnipotence of Parliament and the necessary train of concessions, favors, promises, which it brings with it, paralyzed even the little that remained of the good old Piedmontese, Austrian, and Tuscan bureaucracy, which, however inferior it may be to the French and the German, represented and defended nevertheless alone the general interest of the country against all the local and personal interests conspiring against it. Except Sella, who, it must be recognized, never shirked responsibility and always stood up manfully for the financial officials under his order, naturally the most unpopular of all, no minister ever had the courage to back his inferiors against the demands of the parliamentary influence. So it came to pass that even bureaucracy has degenerated since 1860, has become from day to day more remiss, from day to day more prone to decline every responsibility, and even, it is sad to say, less honest than it used to be.

Nor does it stand better with justice than with the general administration. Italian justice never has been very brilliant, and this country, which gave birth to juridical science, and where its standard is still kept so high, has practically had a body of judges inferior to any other country in Europe. The number of these wretchedly-paid magistrates, recruited, not as in England, where the bar is always considered as the highest profession after the clergy and army, from the higher middle classes, but from the clients of great noble families—their number is legion, which, however, by no means accelerates the expedition of justice. If *Hamlet* were to come back to the world he would still find in Italy "law's delay" as flourishing as it was in Denmark in his own time. The duration of trials, people spending sometimes two or three years in prison before they are judged, and, as it may happen, acquitted, is equalled only by the leniency of punishment. For, unfortunately for the security of life and property, trial by jury was introduced in 1860, in this country where the judges themselves often lack moral courage enough to confront the threats of the criminals or the influence of their friends. But even when witnesses have been found courageous enough to give evidence, even when the *rara avis* of a jury ready to condemn a man has been met with, where is the judge who would venture to inflict a sentence of capital punishment, knowing the state of public opinion, which will not hesitate to fling the usual epithet of "executioner" in his face? And were such a judge to be found for once, the Minister of Justice would most surely exact from the King a pardon, and the criminal wanders quietly back into a prison so loosely watched that he would have little difficulty in escaping under the very nose of his jailers after a year or two.

Everybody knows these abuses and complains of them, but who thinks to remedy them? Not certainly Parliament, always occupied with intrigues; not parliamentary government, always busy seesawing and endeavoring to find its centre of gravity. Is it to be wondered at that the *Mafia* reigns supreme in Sicily, the *Camorra* in Naples, the *Sette* in Romagna, the *Internazionale* in Florence—that Republican clubs should be rife throughout the country? And all this is of long standing. It began years ago, and has become worse and worse, more and more audacious; but it would have developed quite in the same order under a "moderate" government. One would be greatly mistaken, nevertheless, if one believed that the country connives with the Republicans and the Internationalists, the *Mafiori* or the *Camorristi;* the immense majority ardently desire to be free of them. It would acclaim any government which should find in itself the energy necessary to put a stop to the existing terrorism. It is a handful of maniacs and criminals and a certain number of young students and workmen in the towns—don't forget that Italy is an agricultural country and counts few city operatives—who form the kernel of this army of disorder. But the Government would have to act alone. That "immense majority" which sighs for deliverance from the criminals who alarm it, from the *affaristi* who squander its money, from the low press which sustain both—this majority is by no means willing to back the Government by assisting it courageously. It expects the rulers to do everything by themselves, perhaps only to sneer at them after having been freed by them.

Now, what can Government, what can the King, do to clear the situation? A *coup d'état* like the 18th Brumaire or the 2d of December is out of the question. Italy wants still to maintain parliamentary government, and the army is becoming unreliable. The great accession of Neapolitan troops and Garibaldian volunteers had contributed greatly to shake the iron discipline of the excellent little Piedmontese army. Since then, however, the army has improved slowly but surely. It was in high favor with the country, and it was the best school for the nation, infinitely more effective and wholesome than Parliament, elections, free-press, clubs, and even schools. It is only due to justice to say that the Right, as long as it was in power, did its best to maintain the standard of the army. Things have entirely changed since the advent of the Left. Every day since then has brought new symptoms of insubordination which remains unpunished. A despicable criminal who shot his officer in a cowardly way and then allowed an innocent comrade to be suspected, became a martyr of Republicanism. His name became the watchword of malcontents, and *Circoli Barsanti* sprang up everywhere like mushrooms. A captain of a frigate was put into *disponibilité* by the Minister of the Marine, because he sent a disobedient boy to the masthead, and the boy happened to fall into the sea and was drowned. Two non-commissioned officers, one of whom had pulled his major's mustachioes, whilst the other insulted his lieutenant before the ranks, were condemned to death by court-martial, and the King forced to pardon them. Thereupon the Minister of War tendered his resignation and was replaced by the present Minister, whose first act almost was to remove from the army one of the most hopeful young officers, a colonel at the age of forty, because he had at a military banquet offered a toast to the King and promised that whosoever should touch his person would have to do with the entire army! Besides, even if the army were strong enough to resist the demoralizing influence, where is the general who would have the devotion to lead it to a *coup d'état?*

There remains a parliamentary *coup d'état:* the King calling in a firm member of the Right and appealing to the country by general elections. This, of course, will be the end. But things are not yet gone far enough to give secure hope that such elections would return a compact moderate majority decided to support an energetic Ministry through thick and thin. There is, though, some hope, however slight, that things may improve in this sense without its being necessary that more horrid crimes like the Florentian one should be committed. It seems certain that Pope Leo XIII. has given the word to the Catholics to take part in the next election. If this should really come to pass, a great point would be gained. The presence of twenty Clericals in the House would at once efface the four or five shades of opinion, unite in a compact mass the four or five fractions which now occupy the Right, and the two Centres. If this were the case, a Government commanding a steady majority—which no Government could boast of since 1860—would be able to do in two or three years for the improvement of the country, the reform of justice and administration, more than has been done during the last nineteen years. If the country returns again a Parliament which represents nothing but local and personal interests split into dozens of groups, we may be sure that ere long we shall drift into a republic, which the nation is exceedingly afraid of, but which it will quietly submit to, having lacked the energy to prevent it.

Correspondence.

BAYARD TAYLOR'S NOVELS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the reference in your paper of last week to the literary work accomplished by the late Bayard Taylor the expression was used in connection with his novels and volumes of travel that they were "probably not now read." This statement does not do justice to the continued appreciation given by the public to these books, for it is the fact that they continue in steady demand both in England and the United States. Of the seventeen volumes of prose works, from the 'Views Afoot,' issued

over thirty years ago, to the 'Boys of Other Countries,' published in 1876, not one has been allowed to go out of print, and the sales still amount to some thousands of volumes yearly. Of the five volumes of fiction nearly 50,000 copies have been called for. Of the whole series, the book first written, the 'Views Afoot,' which describes the tramp across Europe of the author when an impecunious youngster of seventeen, continues to be the most popular.

Requesting the insertion of this correction, we are

Yours very truly, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

New York, Dec. 26, 1878.

[Our conjecture was confined to the novels alone.—Ed. Nation.]

FRANCE AND SILVER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: A few months ago the Chicago *Tribune*, which had been in favor of—or, at least, not opposed to—a restricted silver coinage, changed its mind and became a frantic advocate of removing all restrictions. Since then hardly a day has passed by during which it has not, either in its editorial columns or in its answers to correspondents, held up France as a shining example of a country reaping the benefits of a practically unlimited silver circulation. It has been and is asserting every day that in France there is in active use as a circulating medium the sum of 600,000,000 dollars of silver coin; that the French debtor fully enjoys the option of paying in the cheaper metal; and that the Bank of France can legally redeem its notes either in gold or in silver.

While I am not disposed to place implicit faith in the assertions of the *Tribune*, or to accept as sound the arguments which it predicates on them, you would still confer a favor on myself and many of my friends, and perhaps also the Western public at large, by placing before us the real condition of the silver problem as it exists in France: the amount and kinds of silver coin there in circulation; how it happens that it is on par with gold, although its bullion value is so much less; and by setting forth the similarity or dissimilarity, relative to the silver question, between the state of affairs in this country and in France.

Hoping that I am not asking too much, I am yours respectfully,

Philip Stein.

Chicago, Dec. 16, 1878.

[1. The estimates of silver circulating in France, as given by the Chicago *Tribune*, are quite too high. The latest and most authentic statement on the subject is that given by M. Léon Say, the French Finance Minister, to the International Monetary Conference, in August last. He stated the full legal-tender silver coin to amount to two and one-half milliards of francs, which is equal to $492,500,000. Of this there were in the Bank of France at the same date $189,500,000, leaving $303,000,000 in actual circulation.

2. The French debtor does enjoy the privilege of paying in silver five-franc pieces (the only full legal-tender silver) or in gold, at his option, as both are by law equally money of payment. The Bank of France has also the right to redeem its notes and to pay its depositors in legal-tender silver as well as in gold. These facts being admitted, the real question which our correspondent propounds is as to the correctness of the inferences drawn by the Chicago *Tribune* from them, so far as they bear on the silver problem in the United States. The actual situation of France and its allies of the Latin Union, in respect to their monetary system, and how they have reached that situation, is a story which has been so often told, in the course of the silver discussions of the last two years, that it may seem to many of our readers a needless repetition to reproduce it here. But it appears necessary to state the facts briefly again, in order to give a clear answer to our correspondent.

The Latin Union was formed by Belgium, France, Switzerland, and Italy, in December, 1865, for the purpose of assimilating their gold and silver coins, and especially to equalize the fineness of their divisional coins, and to provide for the indiscriminate circulation of all coins, both gold and silver, in the countries of the Union. The moving cause of the Conference which made the treaty was the excessive drain of silver to India, which had not only carried off a large part of full-weighted silver, but much of the token silver also. Silver was then of higher value in Europe than gold, the influence of the surfeit of Australian and Californian gold not having ceased to operate. Eight years afterwards the position of the two metals was completely reversed. Germany, early in 1873, began her new monetary reform, and determined to demonetize silver. Having been an exclusively silver country, this step on the part of Germany threatened to throw a great quantity of silver bullion upon the French and Belgian and Swiss markets. Switzerland first took the alarm, and invited a meeting of her Latin allies, which took place at Paris, in January, 1874. This Conference restricted the coinage of full-weighted silver for that year to $24,000,000. The allied Powers met again in January, 1875, and in January, 1876, and at each meeting restricted the joint coinage of the current year to the same sum of $24,000,000. Switzerland did not coin her full contingent of $1,450,000 in 1875, and France and Belgium suspended silver coinage altogether early in 1876. None of the allies coined silver in 1877 or 1878, unless it be Italy, as to which country we are not certain. By the new treaty, concluded on the 5th of November last, there is to be no further coinage of silver prior to January, 1886 (except a trifling sum of $5,000,000 by Italy), unless by common consent, and that is not likely to be obtained. Such has been the legislation affecting silver in the countries of the Latin Union.

France, being constantly a creditor country, commercially, since her suspension of specie payments in July, 1871, has received a steady inward flow of the precious metals. With a paper currency practically at par with gold till resumption in January, 1878, the tendency of coin to accumulate there was very great, and the Bank of France, therefore, found it an easy matter prior to resumption to store up $400,000,000 of gold and silver in her vaults, besides paying out more than $333,000,000 in 1877, in order to make the final act of resumption easy. When the vaults were opened on the 1st of January last the quantity of silver was found by the public to be much greater than had been expected. This was due to two causes: first, to the export to France of nearly the entire amount of Italian silver coinage, Italy being under a suspension of specie payments; and secondly, to a very large influx also from Belgium, the silver coin being carried into France in the payment of trade-balances, and the cheaper metal being naturally preferred in these payments. The Bank of France now finds itself embarrassed by this excess of silver, and has taken measures to call in all its notes under the denomination of 100 francs ($20) in order to force silver into circulation. This step has met with much hostility in Bordeaux and in the manufacturing cities of the North, where convenience of handling has caused the notes of small denominations to be preferred to coin. The substitution of paper money for specie during the seven years' suspension of specie payments, and the absence of all premium on gold for most of that time, have made bank-notes very popular among the trading classes of France; while the agricultural peasantry still prefer the heavy and tangible *écus* (five-franc pieces of silver). In spite of all efforts to prevent it, the French mono-metallists assert that silver has a constant tendency to gravitate towards the Bank of France. Such is the statement of M. Victor Bonnet in his recent papers on the subject. The anxiety of the French Government to continue the suspension of silver coinage, as manifested both in the International Monetary Conference of last August and the Conference of the Latin Union of November, indicates that such is the case. Both the Bank of France and the National Bank of Belgium have agreed since the last Conference, as they have voluntarily agreed after every previous monetary treaty, to receive at their counters such foreign coins, either of gold or silver, as the public treasuries of their respective countries shall continue to receive.

Why does not French silver depreciate when silver bullion is worth fifteen per cent. and more less than gold bullion? This is one of the questions put by our correspondent. We answer: because, within the territory of the allied states, it is legally the equivalent of gold, and because, as coinage is suspended in those states, there

can be no import of silver except as merchandise at its bullion price. The legal equivalency will probably maintain the actual equivalency so long as the balance of trade continues to attract the precious metals to France. If the tide should turn and France were to become a debtor country it is the gold and not the silver which would go out, because, though only equal to silver at home, it is worth much more than silver abroad. Again, the greater intrinsic value of gold would drive it out now if the currency were excessive in amount, and that is the danger which the Bank of France has tried to remove by calling in her small notes. The notes of the Bank of France are now a strictly representative currency—that is, covered by a nearly equal amount of gold and silver held in the vaults of the Bank. If this reserve should be allowed materially to decline, without withdrawing notes of equal amount, the domestic currency would be excessive, and gold, now the most valuable element of it, would be exported.

If individuals were now allowed to import silver into France and coin it into five-franc pieces at the Paris mint, they would make a great profit. So, too, would the French Government out of a like operation; but if neither can coin, then neither has a motive to import, and if there are no foreign debts, or, rather, no balance of aggregate indebtedness to pay abroad, there is no motive to export bullion. Being, therefore, stationary, and not subjected to the test of a necessary exchange against gold, the intrinsic inferiority of silver is only manifested by the growing disinclination of business men to take it, and by its consequent tendency to accumulate in the banks and public treasuries. The phenomenon thus explained is not new. Silver coin has maintained its purchasing power both in Belgium and in Holland, in spite of the great decline in the price of silver bullion, but it has been because both countries have suspended silver coinage, and are financially in a healthy condition.

Does the situation of France, as we have thus attempted to explain it, give any encouragement to the further coinage of silver in the United States? We think not. Though 16 to 1 is below the European ratio of 15½ to 1, still it is much above the commercial relation of silver to gold. If individuals were allowed to bring silver bullion to the mint and take back coin, they would be justly denounced as bonanza speculators. If the Government of the United States were allowed to do it, they would be guilty of making legal-tender money out of debased metal—an act of tyranny on the part of their rulers against which all nations have revolted. To make silver dollars out of a material intrinsically worth fifteen per cent. less than standard gold dollars, and to palm them off upon the people as the equivalent of gold dollars, would be just as reprehensible as if the Federal Government had added fifteen per cent. more of alloy to the silver dollar before silver bullion had fallen in value. If, like France and other silver-using nations of Europe, we now had a circulation of silver coin, honestly issued when its intrinsic value was equal to its legal value, we might honestly continue, as long as we could, to keep such coin in circulation at its legal rate. And if, on the other hand, we could agree to resume unrestricted coinage with so many other nations using silver as to give a reasonable hope that by that act silver would soon recover its normal value of 61*d.* per ounce, we might be justified in so doing. But to go on coining depreciated silver, with the certainty that such a course will draw silver to this country until all our gold is expelled, is simply to take upon ourselves the unnecessary and utterly indefensible hardship of a great loss, which we alone among nations have now the privilege of escaping.—Ed. Nation.]

THE YORK AND ANTWERP RULES OF GENERAL AVERAGE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: At the October meeting of our Chamber of Commerce the question of concurrence with the so-called York and Antwerp rules of General Average was brought up and referred to a special committee, which reported to the regular meeting held December 5. The deliberations of the committee having resulted in a majority report opposing the adoption of the rules and proposing reference of the matter to Congress for legislative action, and in a minority report recommending concurrence with the rules and their adoption so soon as it should appear that they had been generally adopted in Europe, the subject was laid over for consideration at a special meeting to be held on the 19th inst. At this meeting the majority report was, after an animated discussion, adopted by a vote of 18 to 15, and the question was thus decided in the negative.

Such a disposition of a long-mooted and important question must appear surprising to those who remember that the Chamber had on three different occasions (last in the summer of 1877) sent delegates to the International Conferences held in Europe mainly for the purpose of harmonizing the existing laws and practices relating to general average, and that the Chamber had thereby signified its appreciation of the importance and desirability of that object, and its readiness to join other commercial nations in the settlement of disputed questions on the principle of "give and take." Our surprise at such a decision is, however, heightened when we come to examine the arguments advanced in the majority report, and more particularly the statements made in its support at the two last meetings of the Chamber, by which I cannot but think many of its members have been unwittingly misled into conclusions both erroneous in themselves and conflicting with the sentiments which their body has deliberately expressed on several previous occasions.

It would trespass too much on your space if I were to enter into the merits of these rules in detail, but I feel sure that a mere general review of the report and of the discussion had will show that the chairman of the committee represented the matter to the meetings in an entirely one-sided way, and in a manner calculated to bring about the hasty and ill-considered action which I deprecate.

In their report and statements no reference whatever has been made by the majority of the committee to any previous action of the Chamber in the premises, or to the valuable reports made by their delegates to the International Conferences; the subject is throughout treated as if the question of harmonizing the practices and laws governing general average was for the first time brought before the Chamber, and as if we were threatened unawares with having forced upon us rules in the making of which we had had no hand or voice; whereas those reports and the rules themselves show that our delegates had brought the justice and propriety of sundry American rules very successfully to bear on the intelligence of the conferences. The fact that eighteen years of agitation and deliberation were required for framing the twelve rules to the satisfaction of the great majority of the last conference was turned into a slur on the earnestness and capacity of the parties engaged in that work, whereas but a superficial survey of the prolonged and thorough discussions which had been going on at those conferences and in their standing committees, and of the copious literature brought out by these discussions, must impress every unprejudiced mind with the magnitude of the obstacles that had to be overcome, and with the fact that these rules have not been framed without the closest consideration of their character and of their bearing in all directions. National feeling and prejudice have been invoked by the statement that it was mainly a proposal in favor of British ship-owners that was to be met, whereas but a cursory review of the history of the movement shows that it was by the pressure of the Continental interest, of parties situated largely as we are, that the result of these conferences, which is now before us, has been obtained. The Chamber was coolly told that uniformity might be a good thing, but not in all cases, thus trying to convey the impression that the previous action of the Chamber had been purely sentimental, and that in consequence of such weakness we were now on the point of being led into a trap, from which danger we could be rescued only by the stout assertion of our superior wisdom. By artfully avoiding any allusion to benefits that would accrue to our ship-owners by the adoption of these rules, one or two points of secondary importance wherein they restrict our present practice were dwelt upon with a vehemence of assertion which, to those not entirely familiar with the questions, was calculated to make them appear as of prime importance, and in this way American ship-owners were led to believe that their interests would be injuriously affected by the rules, whereas in Europe ship-owners find more than compensation for all that may so affect them, in the adoption of Rules 7 and 8, which secure them allowance for wages and provisions and other expenses incurred while in a port of refuge, which compensation is now denied to them in all ports under British and French jurisdiction.

Very little reference was made to the fact that of the twelve rules eight virtually conform to our practice, three only modify it slightly, and only one rule seems to change it. This rule (5) was treated as if it totally exempted cases of voluntary stranding from general average, whereas it merely exempts cases where the qualification of stranding

as "voluntary" is obviously inapplicable. I will grant that weighty arguments can be made on both sides of the question of voluntary stranding, but I maintain that the American rule will not be strengthened by misrepresentation and by ignoring the fact that the restriction contained in Rule 5 received the unanimous sanction of the Antwerp Conference, including the delegates from many Continental countries whose present practice agrees more or less with that of our country. With the view of discrediting the rules, it was urged that they were got up for the exclusive benefit of underwriters. Although they are opposed by the chairman of the committee, himself an underwriter, and by the largest underwriting association in the world, the managers of the London Lloyds, who would prefer to have general average abolished altogether, this fact may be admitted, but not the conclusion, which the majority of the committee would seem to suggest as a necessary consequence—viz., that such benefit must result in a corresponding injury to the insured. Shipowners and owners of cargo can and do generally cover all their risks by insurance, and are, therefore, but little affected by the rules of general average. What these rules are calculated to effect is not justice between insurers and insured, but justice between insurers of vessels and freights and insurers of cargo, and it seems to me puerile, in these times of highly-developed international trade, to contend that the commerce of any nation can be benefited by keeping its insurers tied down to a diversity of rules, which prevents their knowing the risks they insure and causes continual disputes and expenses, that must necessarily tend to increase the rate of premium.

The difficulty of introducing the rules, also, had to be magnified beyond all reason, and by pointing to Congressional legislation the majority report not only provokes a smile, but it impugns the assertion of the value of judicial ruling so emphatically made by its chairman, and proposes a total abandonment of what has hitherto governed our course. Much also was made of the fact that there remain many disputed questions, arising in general-average cases, which these rules do not settle, and the chairman went so far as to assert that their adoption would result in a total abrogation of our own rules in the settlement of such disputed points. Such a statement, in my humble opinion, proves nothing but the spirit of exaggeration which pervaded his arguments. That there remain unsettled points no one does deny; but I may refer to the report of our own delegate to the Antwerp Conference for an explanation why some important questions of the kind have not been settled. The fertile brain of an average-adjuster may multiply the number of such points beyond the hundred that were mentioned, but I think I am safe in asserting that but very few of any importance are not embraced in the twelve rules now under consideration. Nor could we derive from their number or their importance, were these ever so great, any valid reason why those rules on which a sentiment approaching to unanimity has been secured should not be introduced into the common practice of the commercial world. This may not inure to the benefit of average-adjusters, who may be supposed to thrive on disputes and uncertainties, and who might have suggested to the majority of the committee one valid argument against our adopting the rules, which the modesty of the chairman, I suppose, has led him to suppress. The boldness and self-sufficiency with which in all other respects the arguments of the majority report were supported, and the consequent fear of being drawn into a personal dispute, no doubt prevented the framer of the minority report from changing the moderate and self-possessed tone of his arguments; but it is to be regretted that none of the other members of the Chamber present felt called upon to show up at least the discreditable method by which the majority report was defended, and that none of our late delegates to the International Conferences, who are not members of the Chamber, had been invited to take part in these discussions.

In conclusion, I believe the Chamber has been misled into a position from which it will sooner or later have to recede, and for its own credit I hope that the whole question will be reconsidered at an early day.

GUSTAV SCHWAB.

NEW YORK, Dec. 28, 1878.

Notes.

WE have received from Mr. F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia, an admirable and striking photographic likeness of the late Bayard Taylor, as he would have liked to be and will be remembered by his friends.——Mr. E. Steiger sends us his 'Educational Directory' for 1878, which may be briefly described as a semi-annual reprint, with corrections and additions, of two important departments of his 'Year-Book of Education,' viz., the list of educational institutions in this country, the British Dominions, Germany, and Austria; and the elaborate catalogue of publications on education and general philology. The information contained in these and in the publishers' advertisements bound up with them should prove of great value to parents, teachers, and students.——From Mr. F. W. Christern come two more parts of the 'Dictionnaire de Pédagogie,' the scope of which we described in our issue of October 3 (No. 692). In the so-called theoretic portion the most noticeable articles are *Bible*—discussions of its place in public instruction from the Catholic, Protestant, and Hebrew points of view; and *Bibliographie*—the first attempt ever made to catalogue all French publications relating to education from the fifteenth century to the present date. The arrangement is by years, and then alphabetically, and an alphabetical index concludes this important undertaking, which occupies fifty-eight pages. In the practical portion teachers will be most interested in the article *Brevet de capacité*, a comparative collection of examination papers for the teacher's diploma in France and the leading foreign countries, the United States not excepted. These occupy forty-six pages.——Mr. S. B. Noyes has now issued Part II. of his excellent 'Catalogue of the Brooklyn Library,' with whose merits our readers are already familiar. The volume begins with *Cumberland's British Theatre*, whose contents are displayed in full, and ends with *Mythology*, one of the numerous "classes" in which this Catalogue abounds. The profusion of cross-references is remarkable, and so is their laborious minuteness.——A welcome announcement is made by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger of a translation of Legouvé's 'Art of Reading,' by Edward Roth, with biographical notes and a portrait of the author. The volume will appear this month.——The second volume of the *Magazine of American History* (A. S. Barnes & Co.) is prosperously plump, having nearly eight hundred pages. The illustrations count up when thus bound together, and the index reveals the fulness of topics which give life to this valuable periodical.——*Littell's Living Age* begins with the number of January 4 its 140th volume.——The *Literary World* (Boston) announces for the coming year a series of "Short Studies of American Authors," by Mr. T. W. Higginson.——Architects, landlords, and tenants, to mention no others, should find their account in more or less constant acquaintance with the contents of the monthly *Plumber and Sanitary Engineer*, edited in this city by Mr. C. F. Wingate. The first number of the second volume shows a marked improvement in external appearance and in its contents, besides enlargement. Articles on the electric light, by Prof. Henry Morton; on water supply for small towns, by Mr. E. S. Philbrick, and on the sanitary condition of tenement houses, by Col. Waring, are some of the attractions of this number.——From the *Academy* we take the following English announcements: 'Notes of a Naturalist on board the *Challenger*,' by H. N. Moseley; 'The Afghan War of 1838-42,' from the journals and papers of the late Maj.-Gen. Augustus Abbott; Müller's 'Life of Moltke,' edited by Capt. Hozier; 'Julius Cæsar,' a sketch, by J. A. Froude; and 'Memorials of the Civil War in Hertfordshire and the Adjacent Counties,' by the late Rev. John Webb.——In No. 667 of the *Nation* we paid tribute to the rare learning and authority of Kiepert's 'Lehrbuch der alten Geographie.' The second half of this important work, devoted to Europe alone, completes it, and is accompanied by preface, title-page, and index as promised (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer; New York: L. W. Schmidt). Dr. Kiepert announces that he has in an advanced state a 'Student's Guide,' containing only the most essential facts and the correct spelling of proper names. He also freely gives his and his publishers' consent to a translation of the work into any language, and offers to assist with corrections and improvements.——The first number of the *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie und Statistik* has just appeared. It is edited by Prof. Carl Arendts, of Munich, and published by Hartleben, of Vienna.——At the end of September there were published in Germany 47 socialist journals, of which 12 were dailies, printing altogether 110,000 copies. The *Hamburg-Altonaer Volksblatt* heads the list with an edition of 16,000, followed by the *Berliner Freie Presse* with 12,000. There are not included in this number many other journals having socialist tendencies.——The fifth *Lieferung* of Von Holtzendorff's 'Handbuch des Deutschen Strafprozessrechts' (Berlin: Carl Habel) relates to the modes of procedure for seizure, search, and arrest for the securing of proof.——A novel, 'Vroni,' by Baron Ferdinand von Rothschild is announced in Germany.——The *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* is our authority for the statement that G. Valbert, well known to the readers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for his frequent and brilliant articles on political and social matters in Germany, is M. Victor Cherbuliez in disguise.——The publication of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye's great work, "Dictionnaire

historique de l'ancien langage françois, ou Glossaire de la langue françoise depuis son origine jusqu'au siècle de Louis XIV." has reached the fifth volume. It includes the words *Décéder—Eschouement.*——One of the secretaries of the Chinese embassy at London has undertaken to translate Shakspere into Chinese.

—Mr. S. A. Schoff has engraved in line, and published at Messrs. Doll & Richards's, in Boston, the portrait of Emerson by Rowse which was executed some years ago and is in the possession of Professor Charles E. Norton, of Cambridge. The portrait is in crayon and is one of Mr. Rowse's most admirable works. It is a remarkable likeness, and happily renders the sweetness and serenity of expression which are characteristic of Mr. Emerson. Mr. Schoff's engraving reproduces all the essential qualities of expression and treatment in the original with surprising fidelity. It is a sympathetic, and not a merely mechanical, piece of work ; and it evinces a power of drawing, and a feeling for subtle qualities of form and light and shade, which are most rare among modern engravers. The quality of the well-defined yet softly-melting edge in the contours of the face seems really wonderful, and the sureness and economy of line and touch by which the total result is reached entitle the work to rank among very uncommon achievements. It is to be regretted that so fine a work as the original is marred by so great a degree of incorrectness in the rendering of subordinate parts. The shirt, the cravat, the coat, and the waistcoat are not to be found fault with because they are slight and sketchy, but it is a considerable minor objection to the work that they are rendered in so slovenly and false a manner. The engraver has, however, done as much as possible to abate these defects.

—The *North American* will hereafter appear monthly ; but in spite of this sign of enterprise and apparent success, it is to be regretted that the *Review* has lost its character as a mainly literary periodical. The January number contains only one article having any claim to real literary value, Mr. Story's "Pronunciation of the Latin Language"; for the review of five recent novels, by Mr. Richard Grant White, is not to be so classed, and the "Unpublished Fragments of the Little Period" of Thomas Moore is not in itself valuable, and has no introduction or comment or editing of any sort. In political matters Senator Edmunds gives a clear, brief statement of the "Fishery Award," such as he might have written as private notes for his own use. Mr. Henry Watterson writes of "The Solid South" from the Southern stand-point vehemently and with journalistic partisanship, and Mr. Boutwell in "Substance and Shadow in Finance" restates elementary principles of political economy for popular instruction. The most valuable and suggestive article is by Mr. Wm. R. Martin upon "Cities as Units in our Polity," in which he discusses the condition of New York particularly, points out that retrenchment by itself will not furnish sufficient relief for the burdens of our indebtedness, and insists on the necessity and propriety of increasing the revenues by utilizing unemployed sources, such as taxes on the use of the streets and other public property by corporations, and a system of duties on food resembling the *octroi* duties in Paris. The other articles are "The Cruise of the *Florence*," by Captain Howgate, and "The Preservation of Forests," by Mr. F. L. Oswald, which is full of information.

—The "Banker's Daughter," now on the boards at the Union Square, has given rise to some dispute on the question of authorship, two or three different unknown dramatic writers having entered the lists against Mr. Bronson Howard, the reputed author. Judging by internal evidence, it will prove a matter very difficult to settle to the satisfaction of the claimants, as the play might have been written by almost anybody, or even turned out by machinery. It belongs to a family of plays which are always more or less successful in New York, of which "Divorce," "Saratoga," and "Pique" are representatives, and of which the most marked trait is that they are constructed upon a French model and adapted to the United States by changes of character and scene of a most simple description. The "Banker's Daughter" is a trifle more American than most plays of its class, yet if it does not turn out, at some remove, to have a French origin, we shall be greatly surprised. The story is that of a young and beautiful American girl, engaged to be married, who breaks her engagement and marries a wealthy suitor, in order to save her father from ruin. She imagines that her husband thoroughly understands the circumstances; but in this she has been deceived by her father. The husband knows nothing. The marriage turns out well enough, but there is always a sad look in the eyes of the banker's daughter, which everybody sees but her husband. Of course this is caused by the painful separation from the only man she ever really loved, and of course he turns up in the course of time and learns all. A heartrending scene takes place, after which a French gentleman of noble family but low character, the *Count de Carojac*, provokes the American, *Mr. Harold Routledge*, to a duel (what would a play of this sort be without a duel?), in reality about *Mrs. Strebelow*, but nominally about the American flag, which, in order to make an excuse for a meeting, the Count kindly insults. They fight in dead earnest, and *Harold* falls mortally wounded. On his body being brought into the presence of the banker's daughter a terrible *éclaircissement* takes place, in which all is made known to the unhappy husband. However, as the lover subsequently dies, there is nothing for it, in the fifth act, but a reconciliation (if there can be a reconciliation where there has been no quarrel) between husband and wife. This is effected through the medium of their daughter, who restores complete harmony. This somewhat trite and flat plot is relieved by the humor of *Mr. G. Washington Phipps*, an American tourist (the scene is laid in Paris), who, as represented by Mr. Polk, is very amusing. The young wife of the decrepit *Brown*, Miss Maude Harrison, is also very good. Miss Jewett, as the banker's daughter, acts her part with taste and intelligence, but without anything more.

—In the September number of the Journal of the Statistical Society of London there is a remarkable paper by Cornelius Walford on "The Famines of the World, Past and Present." It commences with a table giving in chronological order all the famines of which there is a record, amounting to over 350, from the Egyptian famine mentioned in the Bible to those which have prevailed in Cashmere and Morocco during the present year. The famines in China, with the exception of that of 1877, are omitted for want of any available details. When it is possible, there is given besides the bare fact a brief account of the famine, together with its assigned cause. It is interesting to note from this list that famines gave rise to the Corn Laws in England in 1258, when the citizens of London were forbidden by proclamation to deal in foreign grain, and to the Poor Law in 1586. The causes are divided by Mr. Walford into twelve different classes : the natural—rain, frost, drought, meteorological phenomena, as earthquakes, and insects or vermin ; the artificial—war, defective agriculture, defective transport, legislative interference, currency restrictions (including debasing the coin), speculation, and the misapplication of grain as in brewing. The five natural causes he examines first, giving chronological lists of the great floods, frosts, drought, cyclones and earthquakes, and the plagues of insects. These tables are of great length, with the exception of the last, filling fifty pages of the Journal, and showing immense research on the part of the author. Following these is a still more remarkable table, fifteen pages long, of the "Literature of Earthquakes, Comets, Storms, etc.," commencing with a work of Aristotle, republished in Paris in 1493, under the title "De inundatione Nili." A noteworthy fact, as shown by this bibliography, is the small number of works written in this century compared with those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The earthquake of 1580 gave rise to nine works published in London, whilst thirty-four are recorded for 1756, the year after the Lisbon earthquake. When the tables of the famines are compared with those of the floods, frosts, etc., Mr. Walford frankly expresses his disappointment that they do not coincide, and that the effect does not seem to follow the cause. Nor is he able at present to explain this failure. The latter part of the paper is devoted to an examination of the sun-spot theory with reference to Indian famines. The "artificial causes" of famines will be treated in a second paper. In his testimony before the Committee of the Society of Arts on the feasibility of a universal catalogue of printed books, Mr. Walford stated that he had in his private library "some 30,000 volumes, tracts, and pieces."

—Justus Perthes announces that *Petermann's Mittheilungen* will continue to appear under the same name, in spite of the decease of its founder, and that Dr. Ernst Behm, the associate editor since 1876, and Dr. Moritz Lindeman, hitherto Secretary of the Bremen Geographical Society, and publisher of the *Deutsche Geographische Blätter*, will be the new conductors of this periodical. Bruno Hassenstein, the oldest pupil of Dr. Petermann, will superintend its cartography. A number of interesting papers and valuable maps are promised for the ensuing year. Along with this announcement we receive a map from the *Mittheilungen*, showing on a small scale, but very clearly, Afghanistan, Beluchistan, and the neighboring countries, and on a larger scale the Khybar Pass. B. Westermann & Co. send us a similar map, of about the same scale, but more extensive, by F. Handtke, to which is annexed a map of the Indo-Afghan border, with plenty of space for details. In size surpassing all of these, but less distinct and rather confusingly colored, is Kiepert's Iran (eastern half), published by Dietrich Reimer. Not so open to objection, yet of like character, is Kiepert's special map of the country between

Cabul and the Indus (Reimer). All these maps will have their uses with students of the new Eastern Question, and all together illustrate the glorious indefiniteness of Asiatic boundaries and the glorious uncertainty of Eastern orthography.

—Among recent musical publications and announcements the following are of importance: Breitkopf & Härtel have issued vol. i. of Pohl's 'Biography of Haydn,' and a new edition of Liszt's 'Chopin.' A new edition, the fifth, of Brendel's 'History of Music' is being issued in monthly parts, with additions. This is the best history of music from the liberal or advanced point of view. Novello, Ewer & Co. have added to their excellent series of music-primers 'Instrumentation,' by Ebenezer Prout, 'Fugue,' by James Higgs, and 'Musical Forms,' by Ernst Pauer, all of which deserve the attention of musical students. J. Engelhorn has just issued 'Die Tonkunst,' a treatise on musical æsthetics, by H. A. Köstlin. In Carl Eschmann's 'Hundert Aphorismen' (Berlin: Leuckardt) pianists will find some valuable hints, and other matter of interest. A second Symphony, Op. 55, and a Messe de Requiem, Op. 54, by Saint-Saëns, have been printed in Paris by Durand. Kahnt, in Leipzig, announces Palestrina's Stabat Mater, motette for two choruses *a capella*, edited for performance in churches and concert halls, by Richard Wagner. The German musical papers complain that there is so little demand for Breitkopf & Härtel's complete edition of the works of Mozart, the number of subscribers not having yet reached a hundred. While London furnishes twelve and Paris nine subscribers, Vienna has only one, and Leipzig, Stuttgart, Breslau, and Königsberg do not figure at all on the list. About 40,000 marks have already been collected for the projected performances of Wagner's "Parsifal" at Bayreuth. All those who now join one of the numerous Wagner societies and make an annual payment of fifteen marks are entitled to seats for the first performance, and also receive copies of the *Bayreuther Blätter*, to which Wagner himself contributes articles. Some thirty years ago Wagner conceived the plan of writing a music-drama on Jesus of Nazareth, but he soon saw that the plan was impracticable. The motives and ideas collected for this project are now as far as possible being utilized in "Parsifal," which affords no difficulty, on account of the affinity of the subjects. Rubinstein is at work on a new opera, and Liszt on a new oratorio. Herr Abert's opera, "Ekkehard," was not a success at Berlin. The house remained empty after the second performance. "Armin," a new heroic opera, text by Felix Dahn, and music by Heinrich Hoffmann, has been much more favorably received and is sure to make the circuit of the German opera-houses. Almost simultaneously with the performance of "Armin," at Berlin, the same composer's "Aennchen von Tharau" was for the first time produced at Hamburg, also with great success. Hoffmann is by many regarded as the coming man on the operatic stage. His operas, like most recent works of the kind, show a decided leaning toward the modern theory of the music-drama. The extraordinary announcement is made that the celebrated cathedral choir of Berlin intends to make a tour in Italy next season, giving concerts in various churches and conservatory halls. What a change this implies from the time when all vocalists were derived from Italy, and when Frederic the Great could say that he would rather listen to the neighing of his horse than to the singing of a German prima donna! It is doubtful whether even in the classical age of song a chorus ever existed superior to the wonderful cathedral choir. It gives the impression of a simple quartette endowed with the dynamic qualities of a large chorus, such is its purity of tone, smoothness of modulation and delicacy of shading. Even the Berlin Singacademie appears coarse and unpolished in comparison. It seems strange that it should never have occurred to some enterprising manager to engage the cathedral choir for a concert tour through America. Such a tour could not fail to prove a financial success; and while giving American audiences a new sense of the infinite beauty of choral music, it would induce half of our musical societies to give up the ghost in despair, while the others would return to their work with new energy and ambition.

TYLER'S AMERICAN LITERATURE.*

IT gives a sense of increasing solidity and maturity in our literature when a book so strong and comprehensive as this—representing such thorough work both in preparation and execution—is born, as it were, full-grown, without previous heralding or discussion. A similar impression was made a few years since when Mr. Hubert Bancroft came modestly from San Francisco to New York bearing the first volume of his great work on the 'Native Races of the Pacific.' The interest is enhanced by the fact that both these authors worked at a distance from large public libraries and the chief publishing cities; and this predicts the vast literary result that may one day be achieved in America, when the outposts shall have ceased to be outposts and the foci of intellectual labor shall be distributed over the whole continent.

Professor Tyler's work does not treat, like Mr. Bancroft's, of buried cities and undeciphered inscriptions, but of buried years and unread books. As it was long the custom among European scholars to dismiss the whole period of the Middle Ages as an epoch of darkness not worth the exploring, so it has become almost traditional in this country to ignore the whole literary product of the soil before the days of Irving and Cooper. Mr. Underwood's hand-book of American literature is the best book of its kind yet produced; but in his preface he sets aside the whole seventeenth century with, "Our early literature is interesting only to antiquarians and students of church history" (p. xi.) It is in the light of such verdicts as this that Professor Tyler's work is to be read. If he has proved the literature thus contemptuously dismissed to be in reality rich in thought or descriptive power, full of vivacity, and often delightful in expression; if he has gone through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of American literature and made of them a book more interesting than half the new novels, he has accomplished far more than if he had unearthed a whole new city in Yucatan or had corrected the boldest of Brasseur de Bourbourg's extremely conjectural interpretations. This is precisely what our author has done. His two volumes are not only carefully prepared, beautifully printed, and so accurate typographically that we have not yet detected a misprint, but they are readable and attractive from beginning to end. The writer does not shirk the theologic problems—he handles Jonathan Edwards like a lover—but there is a predominant literary feeling throughout the book. His quotations are very abundant, but they always tell; he has not been a professor of English literature and adapted himself to the undergraduate mind for nothing. One can see that through all his antiquarian labors and all his reading of forgotten folios he still held firmly to one clear end—to make his book attractive; and he has succeeded.

These two volumes form only the commencement of an extended work on American literature, so far beyond all predecessors in its conception that it really stands alone. Of the portion here printed, one volume extends from 1607 to 1676, and the other from 1677 to 1765, the year of the "Stamp Act" and the proper boundary of the ante-revolutionary period. The first volume may be said to deal in general with the epoch of discovery and settlement, and the second with that of religious discussion and social development. It costs the author comparatively little skill to make the first period interesting. To begin with, he has the treasure-house of Captain John Smith upon which to draw—a hero who really ranks with Robinson Crusoe in the heart of every school-boy; who rouses a natural indignation in the breast of every Dryasdust by his evident inaccuracy and vain-gloriousness, but who makes himself delightful, in spite of everything, to every lover of good literature by the inexhaustible vigor, the freshness, and the copiousness of his literary work. Professor Tyler well characterizes his style as "racy, terse, fearless; . . . Hotspur rhetoric, jerking with impatience, truculence, and noble wrath" (i. 29). And besides Smith our author depicts for us others of the early Virginian writers: William Strachey, whose description of the "still-vex'd Bermoothes" is believed to have suggested Shakspere's "Tempest"; John Pory, who affirmed that among the "crystal rivers and odoriferous woods" of the New World he had "escaped much expense, envy, contempt, vanity and vexation of mind"; and George Sandys, who rescued leisure from Indian wars and massacres to complete the translation of Ovid which Dryden praised.

Then passing to the New England colonies, Professor Tyler finds ample material for quotation from the racy narratives of Bradford and Winslow in the Plymouth Colony, and Winthrop, Higginson, Wood, and Josselyn in the Massachusetts. The material is not merely rich in substance but in form; these men were not rude pioneers, but they were the flower of the English universities, and brought with them a trained habit of expression which at once took a new force and directness from the stern realities of their lives. They also brought with them a geniality of spirit which defied Puritan limitations, though it temporarily diminished under the controversial necessities of a later time; and their writings need no literary manipulation to make them racy and delightful reading to-day. Professor Tyler had only to exhibit them, nothing more

* 'A History of American Literature. By Moses Coit Tyler, Professor of English Literature in the University of Michigan.' Vol. I., II. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

was needful. Had we a complaint to make it would be only of his omissions; as, for instance, of that wonderfully graphic narrative of a shipwreck given by Anthony Thacher in 1635, and preserved by Young in his 'Chronicles of Massachusetts.' Professor Tyler quotes a sentence from this (i. 102), but he should have given us much more. Charles Reade's shipwrecks and Bret Harte's snow-storms appear thin and melodramatic beside the living vigor of this narrative of plain fact.

We undoubtedly miss, in the earliest Puritan writers, that direct flavor of classical literature which we should expect from university men; and it is a remarkable fact that in the best preserved Puritan libraries, as the Prince Library in Boston, we find almost nothing of Greek or Latin poetry. But we must remember that the same peculiarity marked at that period the English universities from which these men came. At Cambridge, especially, the patristic literature was read far more than the classic; and we have the testimony of Barrow that, when appointed Greek professor in 1660, he tried in vain to interest the students in the Greek drama, and was compelled to fall back on Aristotle. In both England and America scholars then used Latin and Greek mainly for theological and metaphysical training. Professor Tyler strains the facts rather hard when he says that "even in these wild regions of the earth the accents of Homer, of Thucydides, of Cicero were made familiar to us from the beginning"; and that "a consciousness of the æsthetic principle in verbal expression was kept alive here, and developed by constant and ardent study of the supreme masters of literary form" (ii. 309). Thucydides and "Tully," if you please, but there is small trace of the study of any Greek poet. Greek and Latin stood then on essentially the same grounds with Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, all of which were taught, from the beginning, at Harvard College. At that institution the sole requisite for the Bachelor's degree, in 1642, was that a student should be "able to read the Originalls of the Old and New Testament in to the Latine tongue, and to resolve them logically." The "æsthetic principle" would have been regarded almost as an offence, had it been acknowledged; nevertheless Professor Tyler is quite right in thinking that it must have exerted some silent influence through the classic tongues, whatever the professed aim of their study.

But the greater the concentration of the Puritan mind on metaphysical theology, the greater the dignity of the sermon and the sermonizer. A discourse from the pulpit was lecture and concordance, debate and commentary, all in one; while the grim wit of the time and the vivid personifying of all good and evil powers brought the performance dangerously near to the tragic sock and buskin. We know from the first manuscript sketch of 'Paradise Lost,' preserved in Milton's handwriting at Trinity College, Cambridge, that the great epic was originally planned as a sort of play, in which such sublime *dramatis personæ* as "the Morning-Starre" were to have a voice. That mighty drama still exists by implication in the poem; and it equally furnished the plot and performers for every Puritan discourse. The sermon was the weekly public performance of an inexhaustible tragedy, in which Satan, like *Hamlet's* father's ghost, was always muttering his part from beneath the boards. Professor Tyler does well, therefore, to treat the Puritan sermon as a part of literature—read in public, as were the histories of Herodotus, and commanding far more than these the rapt attention of the people. Indeed, the preachers themselves found their own attention pretty thoroughly absorbed, if we may trust the assertion in Samuel Sewall's diary that he himself in his youth had preached, on one occasion, for two hours and a half without looking at the hour-glass. Humanity would forbid Mr. Tyler to reprint the whole of discourses so vast in structure; but he selects many an admirable reproof, many an eloquent aspiration, from the recorded sermons of that period. Nor are the themes of these ringing sentences at all monotonous, since they cover many of the most familiar aspects of the Puritan life: thunder, hail, drought, house-building, periwigs, embroidered sleeves, loss of cattle by cold, and frowns of Providence. The compiler makes an admirable selection or *florilegium* of the whole pulpit eloquence of that period; and if he does not give extracts from the yet weightier and more long-winded prayers that accompanied the sermons, it is because no *Herald* reporter had yet undertaken their preservation.

And if Professor Tyler makes so much of these resources, we can imagine with what zest he draws upon the directly controversial literature of that time, whether in dealing with the racy "secular" wit of the "Simple Cobbler of Agawam," or with that vocabulary of spiritual warfare which Roger Williams gently denominated "sharp Scripture language." It is worth while to dwell especially upon this last quarry of eloquent invective, because Professor Tyler's view of Roger Williams is the only instance in which he swerves—to our thinking—from the judicial habit of mind which usually marks his book. It is too late for either friend or foe to alter very greatly the position now occupied in history by the founder of Rhode Island. With all his noble virtues and services, his fame will never obliterate that description of him given in the letter of his friend and defender, Sir William Martin, to Governor Winthrop (in 1636), as "passionate and precipitate"; or that exceedingly pithy characterization of him by John Quincy Adams as "a conscientious, contentious man." It is hard to say whether in his youth he made himself more obnoxious by his virtues or by his faults; and nothing could more thoroughly have achieved poetical justice in regard to his biography than when, in his old age, he confessed himself so worn out with the Quakers as to declare that in their case, at least, "due and moderate restraint and punishing" were not persecution, but "a duty and command of God unto all mankind" ('George Fox Digged out of his Burrowes,' p. 200).

But the plan of Professor Tyler's book is so vast and its execution so fearless that no reader can expect or wish to agree with all its personal judgments. It is a book truly admirable both in design and in general execution; the learning is great, the treatment wise, the style fresh and vigorous. Here and there occurs a phrase which a severer revision would perhaps exclude, but all such criticisms are trivial in view of so signal a success. Like Parkman, Professor Tyler may almost be said to have created, not merely his volumes, but their theme. Like Parkman, at any rate, he has taken a whole department of human history, rescued it from oblivion, and made it henceforward a matter of deep interest to every thinking mind.

THE RACES OF EUROPEAN TURKEY.*

AMONG books which owe their origin not to a lasting devotion to a special branch of study, but to the laudable desire of satisfying a legitimate, momentarily quickened curiosity of the public, Mr. Clark's work deserves to occupy a high place. Both ethnographically and historically it embraces a vast field, and, within a certain scope, not unsuccessfully endeavors to do it justice in all its parts. It contains not only a large amount of matter which will be surprisingly new and curious to the average American reader—enough to make him wonder at the extent of what educated people ought to know, but generally do not—but also a great deal that will be read with pleasure and found instructive by those familiar with the principal works on the Balkan Peninsula and its history. The author, it is true, is himself totally unfamiliar with some of the best writers on the various topics of his enquiry, having only English books, including a few translations, before him. He is apparently ignorant alike of all the Slavic tongues, of Rumanian, modern Greek, and Turkish; and seems never to have trodden an inch of the ground which his descriptions embrace. But he has made good use of the sources of information accessible to him, such as the works of Gibbon, Leake, Finlay, Gordon, Tennent, Urquhart, Wilkinson, Creasy, Felton, Senior, and Paton: and the varied combination of sketches and extracts which he presents to us reflects equal credit on his selection of guides and themes, on his diligence in research, and care in elaboration. He copies, perhaps, too closely, but generally things worth copying. His main foible is an excess of enthusiasm, coupled with an optimism much more amiable than conducive to sound criticism and appreciation. If he speaks harshly or paints black—and there can be no lack of dark pictures in pages devoted to Byzantine imperialism and Christianity, to Turkish conquest and sway, to Slavic invasions and *rayah* insurrections—it is the past which he condemns or depicts; the present is covered with a rosy haze, and the future is shown approaching bright and serene.

The visions and reflections which are apt to strike the reader of the work are these: The day has dawned which is to open for the Christian populations of the former Turkey in Europe an era of freedom, enlightenment, prosperity, and greatness. The yoke of the Ottoman is broken, Russia and Austria contemplate only the good of the provinces they occupy or shield, and the delivered races are going to vie with each other in the fields of industry, education, and benevolent legislation. There are no fairer regions on earth than those watered by the Peneus and the Strymon, the Maritza and the Yantra, the Morava and the Danube. Why should not peace dwell and culture flourish in the valleys of the Pindus, the Rhodope, the Balkans, and the Dinaric Alps? All that is needed is

* 'The Races of European Turkey. Their History, Condition, and Prospects. In three parts. Part I. The Byzantine Empire. Part II. The Modern Greeks and Albanians. Part III. The Turkish Slavonians, the Wallachians, and the Gypsies. By Edson L. Clark, member of the American Oriental Society; author of 'The Arabs and the Turks.'' New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1878.

a firm determination to turn the scimitar, the hanjar, and the pike into plough-shares and to love one's neighbor. Let the Turk withdraw or die, quietly; let the Arnaut, the Miridite, the Uskok reform; let the Serb and the Montenegrin cease to envy the Bulgarian, and the Bulgarian to vex the Greek; let hatred and hostility cease between Daco-Rumanians and Slavs, between Pan-Slavs and Pan-Hellenes, between the partisans of Milan, Nikita, and the Czar, between Catholics and Orthodox Greeks; let none of the new states become a tool of Russia against Austria, or provoke her to add a new Poland to her enslaved territories; let wisdom, not force, decide whether Constantinople is to be allotted to the Bulgarians, the Greeks, the Russians, or the English; in a word, let there be universal harmony and good will, and soon, where now are heard the groans of homeless Bosniaks, Pomaks, or Macedonians, we shall listen with delight to those lovely songs and ballads of which Talvi, Bowring, and Owen Meredith have brought us faint echoes.

And does not the character of the enfranchised Christian populations warrant such blissful anticipations? Hear Mr. Clark, or rather the enthusiasts whom he so readily copies: The Greeks have always been remarkable for "their tough, long-enduring, indestructible national spirit; their intellectual quickness and versatility; their love of learning; their vivacity and cheerfulness under the most depressing social conditions; their patient industry and irrepressible commercial enterprise; their astonishing aptitude and ability in the conduct of every form of business; their intense love for their native land; . . . their undying, unconquerable faith in their national destiny." More than that, "the housekeeping classes of the Greeks, forming the great majority of the nation, from the Turkish conquest to the present time, have been generally characterized by industry, honesty, sobriety, and domestic virtue." The Servians are "an exceedingly simple-hearted people, so hospitable as almost to reverence the stranger; grave and serious, frank, honest, and dignified, and standing erect in the proud consciousness of a freedom nobly won. Turkish tyranny has had the same levelling effect upon them as upon the Greeks, and has inspired them with a spirit intensely democratic. To the enquiry of a traveller if there were no nobles in Servia, the characteristic answer was returned, '*Every* Servian is noble.'" They are "a quiet, orderly, home-keeping, and industrious people, living in comfort and abundance, of grave and dignified demeanor, almost wholly free from most of the grosser vices which degrade humanity, possessing a temperament in a high degree poetic . . ." "The spontaneousness with which, in Servia, even the most common and prosaic occurrences seem to take on the poetic form, and go flying on the wings of song from one end of the land to the other, is one of the most remarkable facts of modern times, one of the most striking illustrations of the Homeric age." The Montenegrins "are as poetical as their neighbors and kindred, the Servians." Montenegro "is a strange and wonderful little state, the living relic of an age and order of things long since passed away, and clothed, in everything pertaining either to its past history or its present condition, with the most fascinating interest." "The Bulgarians are no less interesting and no less promising than their Slavonian kindred of the tribes farther west." And so on. It is true, qualifications of praise are not wanting, and the dark sides of the pictures are here and there exhibited, especially in the historical portions, which are naturally far from presenting idyllic features; but the general impression almost involuntarily leads to the conclusion that the character and disposition, if not the conditions and prospects, of such nations as the American, the English, or the German might be considerably improved by a century or two of Turkish bondage. Nor is the Turk himself, though his excesses are duly stigmatized, refused a full meed of praise for the better traits of his character, whenever an opportunity offers—for he generally appears only in the background. Though devoutly praying for the final victory of the cross over the crescent, our author shrinks neither from accepting the Rev. T. C. Trowbridge's testimony—based on eighteen years of observation in the dominions of the Sultan—to the effect that life is incomparably more secure in Turkey than in New England, nor from summing up, mainly after Creasy, the immediate consequences of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in the following way:

"It cannot be doubted that the Turkish conquest was an actual benefit to the Greeks, wrought a positive improvement in their condition. The Turks were far better men and far abler rulers than the wretched tyrants whom they superseded. As a rule, they were grave, serious, honest, and straightforward, while their vigor and energy in the conduct of affairs made them the wonder of the world. The government was vigorous and well sustained, its fiscal exactions were not severe, order and quiet were maintained, Moslem law was administered with tolerable impartiality, and the Greeks found themselves far better off than they had been before. It seems to be conceded that for the first century following the fall of Constantinople the Turkish dominions were better governed and more prosperous than most parts of Christian Europe; that the people, both Mohammedan and Christian, enjoyed a larger measure of private liberty and of the fruits of their labor than fell to the lot of their contemporaries under the confused and too often tyrannical governments of the West."

Of Mr. Clark's enthusiastic admiration little Montenegro and her prince, Nikita, receive comparatively the largest share, and the pages devoted to her are full of vivid delineations. But they also present the most striking specimens of exaggeration born of enthusiasm. Thus he copies, as a fact, a statement related by a Montenegrin to Sir Gardiner Wilkinson that "in the battle of Krûssa, fought in 1796, . . . thirty thousand Turks were slain" (p. 365), while Frilley and Vlahovitj, in their 'Monténégro Contemporain' (1876), a "livre inspiré par . . . admiration pour l'héroïsme et la constance de ce peuple monténégrin;" reduces the number of the Moslems slain in that contest to "more than two thousand." In the battle of Grahovo, in 1858, "according to the official report of Mirko Petrovitch, the Montenegrin commander," to which alone Mr. Clark makes reference, "seven thousand Turks were slain, . . . while the Montenegrin loss was but forty-seven killed and about sixty wounded" (p. 356); but according to Frilley and Vlahovitj the loss of the mountaineers was "four hundred killed," and that of the Turks "eight or ten times greater." An equally grave error, but one possibly owing to a misprint, is the small figure (p. 512) representing the loss of the Russians and Rumanians in the September attacks on Plevna ("eight thousand" standing for "thirty thousand"?). Misprinted or otherwise inaccurate are also the following parts of sentences: "the accession of Constantine, in 324" (p. 24); "Heraclius . . . before his death, in 642" (p. 27); "Anastafius" (p. 28); "*Cherson* (an ancient Greek colony upon the site of the modern Sebastopol)" (p. 37); "Yannina, or Ioannina, of which *Yannina* is the vulgar pronunciation" (p. 169); "Servia . . . *in the heart* of the Turkish dominions" (p. 379). In the enumeration of the families of the Slavic race (p. 309) the Ruthenians are forgotten, next to the Slovaks; and so are the Poles and Bohemians in the statement (p. 312) which tells us how the Slavs "passed from subjects to masters, and two great empires, the Russian in the north and the Servian in the south, rose to a prominent place among the semi-barbarous powers of Europe in the Middle Ages." The foreign names are generally well spelt, much better than in many similar publications; yet we find—in unquoted lines—Milo*sch* (p. 410), Res*ch*id (p. 433), "Drago*sch*" (p. 472), side by side with "Uro*sh*," "Du*sh*an"; "Skup*tsch*ina" and "Skup*sch*ina," neither of which is correct; "Ternovo" (p. 331) and "Ternova" (p. 458); "Ochrida" (p. 124) and "Achrida" (p. 329); and "Scutari, or Skadar," "Scutari (Scodra)," and "Skodra," all in the text and notes of one page (170).

All these defects, however, are very slight in comparison with the manifold merits of the book. We cannot but warmly recommend it to our readers.

THE FINAL PHILOSOPHY.*

HERE is a volume to excite attention indeed. Harmony is really to be effected between Science and Religion at last. And not only is the venerable dispute to be settled, but it is to be settled by methods exclusively American, we are told:

"The American geography, genealogy, politics, and religion are simply unparalleled, either in ancient or modern civilization, and together form an aggregate of all that is peculiar to the civilizations of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Such a medley of climates, of races, of institutions, of creeds and theories, fusing under one political system, affords materials for a philosophy *which cannot but be final;* and by projecting on a grander scale, and with fuller conditions, all the time-worn issues of history, shows that here, if anywhere, the whole terrestrial problem is at length to be solved."

This solution was not to be expected from the effete Eastern hemisphere. Only in the "wide intellectual and social anarchy" of the West, in the "swift and intense passions" seething in the fiery but favored clime of New Jersey, could the grand Final Philosophy be evolved "to educe order from this chaos, and mould the ideal reign of truth and virtue." A whole academic curriculum is to be devoted to moulding this reign, to developing this new philosophy. The whole realm of knowledge is to be reviewed, and "science is to be expurgated" thoroughly. "The salt of truth is to be cast into the living fountains, and the stream of intellectual and moral corruption will be cleansed; the evils of the

* 'The Final Philosophy, or System of Perfectible Knowledge, issuing from the Harmony of Science and Religion. By Charles Woodruff Shields, Professor in Princeton College, etc.' New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 8vo, pp. 609.

church, the state, and the life will be cured, and a current of new and vitalizing ideas poured through the whole social body."

It was too much, perhaps, to hope that so magnificent and complete a system should be made clear in six hundred large pages, even to an American audience; but the author leads us on with continually growing curiosity to the last, when he suddenly decides to disappoint it altogether. Evidently one must go through the whole Princeton course in order fully to imbibe the salt current, and cure all the evils of life in its rule of "order, law, and love." The disappointment is a painful one, it must be confessed; for five hundred and eighty-five long pages one climbs with the author his "difficult ascent of thought," his imagination fixed and his energy fired by the "inconceivable glory" that he is told to expect, but he wins no glimpse of the promised land as a reward. And if he is too old to attempt the Princeton curriculum, or his physique is unsuited to the peculiar requirements of Princeton college life, he will lay aside the volume in profound grief at his loss. But is this decision as final as its author's philosophy? Might not an urgently-expressed public desire spur the author to another six hundred pages—nay, to whole series of six hundred pages, which should bear the whole world forward on its mighty current? The first essay has been cordially received, if it has not been much read. May we not have some hope for the future? Almost a score of years have been devoted to it by its author, he tells us, and a collegiate chair secured expressly for its support. What a loss it would be if it were to perish unwritten!

Even if this hope is to be ungratified—though we would not too hastily resign it—those who have not had the opportunity to try the Princeton system will seek with avidity so much of its "order, law, and love" as this volume can furnish. They will delightedly rehearse with Professor Shields the long struggle of positivism and idealism (or absolutism, as he prefers to call it), even if they cannot be in at the death. And there is much to learn in this work. Not only are there seven or eight hundred authors comprehensively compressed into its covers, but the novel and ingenious criticism with which it is attended is most striking. If the reader examines the "present state of the sciences," for example, he will learn that Darwin has no claim to the discovery of the theory of natural selection by the survival of the fittest, but merely deserves mention for collecting proofs that man may thus have fought his way upwards from the inferior races (p. 445); that not only Spencer, but Bacon, D'Alembert, Comte, and Mill held that the final goal of the sciences was either "sheer nescience or the recognition of an unknowable reality as the ground of all knowable phenomena" (p. 450); that the nebular hypothesis and the development theory, amongst others, "are not purely scientific." "There is not even any spontaneous concurrence of scientific men respecting them, such as that which attends all observed facts, ascertained laws, and approved theories" (p. 451). Hamilton and Spencer are both positivists, he says; but that need not trouble the absolute thinker, for positivism, he shows, may be overthrown with an ease hitherto unsuspected. We have but to observe that all men do not pass through the three stages of Comte—that all nations have not been first fetishistic, then metaphysical, and lastly positive—and we see how baseless and unsubstantial the whole structure of positivism is, and how little weight we need give to the arguments of Lewes or Mill. The ease with which the thing is done is delightful; one can only wonder that the flimsy affair has held together so long.

Although the final harmony of religion and science is not rehearsed to us here, there are a few hints of the key in which it will be pitched, a few glimpses of the method of the movement. The two combatants have fought hard and well, but the final peace is not to be reached by the complete triumph of either. The gashed and bleeding knights are not to be allowed to fight it out. The new philosophy borrows an idea or two from the political sphere, and the dispute is to be submitted to a foreign tribunal. A compromise is to be effected, and an umpire is to be chosen. Princetonian philosophy is to decide the matter once for all, and inaugurate the "ideal reign of truth and virtue." Each party is to concede a little, of course. The religionist is to recognize established scientific facts. The scientist is to cease to ignore the other's "vast body of truths, doctrines, dogmas, backed by evidences which have been accumulating for eighteen centuries." That is all, and what could be fairer? The one is to admit that the process of creation is not set out in the Holy Scripture, or, in other words, to abandon the Mosaic account of creation. The other admits pretty much every thing else. The facts are to be conceded, but no inferences drawn from them. When these concessions have been frankly made the umpire is to step in, and the Final Philosophy be declared once for all; and as her decision is to be based on natural theology and the Christian evidences, including the miracles and the invariable divine response to genuine prayer, neither side can object, of course, and all will be sweetly harmonious. On such a prospect one can look with hope, even if he has not been through Professor Shields's "expurgated sciences," or learned exactly what the final philosophy is to be. And notwithstanding a few minor errors in the volume, such as the numerous misspellings of proper names, we join with pleasure in the appreciative conclusion of one of our "esteemed contemporaries" as to the volume, "that, whether for wealth of erudition, clearness of apprehension, or perspicuity of statement, no recent publication of the American press is more conspicuous than this volume."

Red Eagle, and the Wars with the Creek Indians of Alabama. By George Cary Eggleston. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1878.)—This is one of the series of "Famous American Indians," and meets a want in so far as it is the only book yet published devoted exclusively to the history of the Creek war ended by the battle of Tohopeka, or the Horse-Shoe, March 27, 1814, and to the character and achievements of Red Eagle, *alias* William Weatherford, the principal Creek warrior. The work has very properly rescued from oblivion the name and fame of an aboriginal military genius. Details about Tecumseh, Pushmatahaw, and Generals Jackson, Clairborne, Coffee, and other actors in an important struggle, as well as of the operations of the British and Spanish allies of the insurgent Indians, are also collated from numerous sources to the general advantage of historic truth. It is, however, to be regretted that the literary execution will not render the volume attractive to the public. The romantic incidents of the war were quite equal to those of the Siege of Detroit, but we miss the vivid descriptions by which Parkman gave to his 'History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac' such absorbing interest. The origin and peculiar constitution of the Muskoki Confederacy merited the same philosophic treatment that made Morgan's 'League of the Iroquois' a text book for ethnologists, but this production is a meagre contribution to knowledge in that direction.

Only one serious error need be noted. The author gives with some approval a story of the migration, during a considerable time, of the Muskoki to their seats along the Alabama, Coosa, and Tombigbee rivers, after they had fought with the Aztecs against Cortez; that is to say, they took up their march northward only when the Spaniards had succeeded in their Mexican conquest. This legend does not agree with others much better authenticated, and is liable to the criticism that De Soto in 1540 found the same tribes in apparently long-established towns substantially where they remained until the present century, whereas the conquest of the City of Mexico was in 1521, only nineteen years before De Soto's visit. At that time not only the grand divisions of the Muskoki, such as the Chahta and the Chicasa, but the several smaller bodies, showed such dialectic disagreements, as well as sociological distinctions, as to render it certain that their permanent separation, subsequent to any common migration of the linguistic family, had commenced many years, and probably several centuries, before the Columbian discovery.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 9, 1879.

The Week.

THE opening of the new year is justly regarded by enterprising publishers and editors as an important epoch both from a moral and pecuniary point of view. It is the period when an account of the profits and losses of the twelvemonth is taken, and when, with the expenditure of much intellectual labor, the judicial retrospect of the past editorial course of the paper, coupled with its programme and unwavering fidelity to the cause of truth and of right for the ensuing year, is prepared, and when there also appears the annual list of Webster's Unabridged Dictionaries and other premiums to stimulate the good work of subscription. It is not only with his own future that the journalist busies himself at the opening of the new year, but with that of his readers as well, and it is seldom that he omits on New Year's day the publication of a few appropriate remarks suggested by the recurrence of the day. It is creditable to human nature (to say nothing of the profession of journalism) that these New-Year reflections should invariably have a moral tendency. No cynicism or levity is tolerated, and we notice that the *World*, which has developed of recent years a marked tendency toward a flippant treatment of subjects always treated seriously by its contemporaries, pays at least a silent tribute to the cause of morals by refraining from making any studied reflections upon the new year. The other papers devoted on the first of the month a considerable amount of space to the subject, and we are glad to see that on the whole they take a bright view of the future. The *Herald* thinks that we are "at the beginning of a better era," and even sees hope for the holders of "stagnant real estate." The *Times* discusses the subject in beautiful language, and though admitting that "it needs all the warmth of "feeling that we can get from anniversaries like that of to-day to sustain us in the belief that selfishness and cruelty and greed are not after all the strongest impulses in human nature, and the most powerful forces in moulding the future of manhood," still expresses the opinion that "it is only those who have ceased to regard the past with tenderness or the future with hope (obviously a small class) that the salutation of the day will be regarded as impertinent or meaningless," and that no matter what illusions the stern teaching of experience robs us of, "it is long before it can strip from the future the possibility of having something in store for us which we have missed in the past." The *Tribune* is apparently not only satisfied with the prospect for 1879, but extracts more satisfaction than we fear most persons will be able to share from a retrospect of 1878. "No poet," the *Tribune* justly remarks, "has painted purgatory as a place of rejoicing," and "penalty, expiation, purification by fire and by suffering, have made 1878 the purgatorial year, especially to the Anglo-Saxon nations, whose pride is to assume the responsibility of leadership in the world's civilization." Nevertheless this glorious race has, according to the *Tribune*, come up to the mark and met the trials to which it has been subjected "in a manner worthy of itself." It finds resumption a hopeful sign, as also the Republican victory in the fall elections, and particularly dwells upon the exposure of an "attempt by bribery to deprive a free people of self-government," though it does not say by whom the exposure was made or who attempted such a dastardly act.

The most important financial event of the week was the beginning of specie payments by the United States Treasury on the morning of the 2d inst. There was no rush of holders of legal-tender notes for gold payment, nor did public interest in the event rise to the point of excitement. Whatever shock there was to be should have been on the first day, and on that day the Treasury paid out for legal-tender notes $130,000 gold, and took in $400,000 gold in exchange for legal-tender notes. Since then the receipts of gold for legal-tender notes have been from four to five times larger than the payments of gold for the notes, which shows that when every one knows that the notes are the equivalent of gold the former are preferred for convenience. As soon as the Treasury had demonstrated its ability and willingness to pay its demand-debts, which is what the legal-tender notes are, a renewed demand for its time-debts, or bonds, was developed, and during the first week of resumption something over $35,000,000 of 4 per cents. were subscribed for. Already $30,000,000 of the 6 per cent. bonds have been called in for redemption on account of the sales of 4 per cents., and at the close of the week there is no abatement in the activity of refunding. To the banks is due the credit for a good part of the subscriptions, and they are moved by the tempting profits to their interest accounts. The January interest and dividend payments this year are not far from $60,000,000. A part of this is going into United States bonds, but a larger share than usual is going into securities which in no event can be paid with silver dollars. An illustration of this is furnished by the sale of $1,600,000 gold bonds of one of the city Elevated Railroads in less than two hours, and before the bonds had been publicly offered through the advertising columns of the newspapers. For the first week in seventeen years there was no gold market, and the Gold Room was given up to transactions in United States bonds. The money market was easy throughout the week. In London there was a decline in the discount rate; nevertheless, sterling bills here advanced to $4 88 for demand and $4 83½ for sixty days, because the cold weather and the snow blockade had interfered with the export movement. Silver remains at 49½*d.* to 49⅝*d.* per oz. in London. Here the bullion value of the 412½-grain dollar is $0.8391.

There ought to be a certain modesty and reserve in the rejoicings of some persons over the ease with which the resumption of specie payments has taken place. The Cincinnati *Commercial* and the Cincinnati *Gazette*, for instance, broke down utterly in their support of resumption in the summer of 1877 at a most critical period, and began clamoring for a "modification" of the Act (which would undoubtedly have operated as an indefinite postponement) by adopting the Democratic plan of not saying when we were going to resume, but preparing for it, as the St. Louis platform said, "by a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance." Of course nobody knew what this talk meant, but the two papers we have mentioned, and the Chicago *Tribune*, next to the *Commercial* the great silver prophet of the Western country, pretended they knew, and began throwing cold water on the prospect of resuming in 1879. The editor of the *Gazette*, indeed, delivered an address to the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce showing that the Act could not and ought not to be executed. It strikes us, therefore, as unbecoming in this gentleman (who in this instance cannot be allowed the benefit of the "wicked-partner" defence) to point out now in his paper, after explaining the support which irredeemable paper gave to the various forms of money mania, that "the arrival of resumption without a jar and the revival of confidence which this will effect, and the beneficial effect of this on industry and commerce, will take away the occupation of all these shallow inventors."

Mr. Thurman has replied to the request of the Teller Committee that he would furnish them with specifications as to the "outrages" which he wishes to be investigated; and it turns out that he, like Mr. Blaine, knows nothing about the matter except what he has seen in the newspapers; but he is more ingenuous than Mr. Blaine, for he frankly confesses the fact. So he declares that he will send in from time to time any indications which come to his knowledge.

"Instalment No. 1," as he calls it, consists of an editorial article cut from the Washington *Post;* a copy of a petition of sixty-odd citizens of New York; a copy of an opinion of Judge Freedman touching the rights of naturalized citizens in New York; a speech of Senator Wallace; a letter of the Hon. William D. Kelley; an editorial article from the Vermont *Argus and Patriot;* a copy of the President's civil-service order, and one of the circulars sent out previous to the last election by Mr. Geo. C. Gorham, the Secretary of the Republican Committee, to Government employees and contractors. We suspect that this last "specification" is the only one that will open up a profitable line of enquiry. The Committee has begun taking testimony at New Orleans.

"A Young Men's Progressive Association" has been formed by the leading colored men of Louisiana for the protection of the Freedmen in the exercise of the franchise, which is a very good move. But we are sorry to see that they have begun operations by the publication of a highly rhetorical address on "outrages," the language of which, like that of most documents of this kind, is so extravagant as to defeat its object. It gives a list of numerous murders in a highly poetic vein—alleging that in certain parishes "victims of local self-government were left hanging by scores to the trees," and in others the bodies of the murdered persons were left "to feed the vultures and prowling beasts of the forest." As a general rule hitherto, when murders at the South have been described in this way, the murdered persons have subsequently been found, like the Methodist minister in South Carolina last year, sitting by their own firesides in happy ignorance of their fate. Is it not possible for the colored voters at the South to get up a sober-minded and sober-tongued organization of some kind which can tell a quiet and circumstantial tale without passion or vituperation about their political doings and sufferings? Stuff like the address of the Louisiana association, though received with a certain mock reverence in the Stalwart newspaper offices, makes no impression on public opinion.

General Sheridan in his last annual report gave a sorry account of "the Indian situation" on the frontier. The Indian Department, he said, owing either to "insufficient appropriations or wretched mismanagement," had given "the settlements in the Western country constant anxiety during the past year," besides causing murders and loss of property. There had been "an insufficiency of food at the agencies," which made the Indians desperate, except in the case of the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail bands of Sioux, who had been so well supplied and "humored" that their "increasing insolence constantly threatened to bring about a breach of the peace." These statements Secretary Schurz, we think with perfect accuracy, described, in a letter to General Sherman, as "sweeping charges against all the agencies in the military division of the Missouri, except the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Sioux agencies," and asked for the facts on which General Sheridan based them; but he asked it in terms which clearly enough indicated his belief that they would not be forthcoming.

This irritated General Sheridan, who now makes a "supplemental report" in reply, in which he says "he made no charges against the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, and made no charges against any one," and that "his object was to show" that Indian wars resulted "from the bad management in Indian affairs," and that the Secretary of the Interior was "disingenuous" in saying that he had made charges "as to corruptions at every agency in the limits of this military division." General Sheridan is a good soldier but evidently a very poor dialectician, or he would see that he did make against every agency in his division but two the charge of starving the Indians, in as plain language as a writer not used to the pen could be expected to make it. What evidently deceives him as to the nature of his language is that he did not intend his statements to be regarded as formal accusations against anybody, but as information for his superior officer; and what he meant by saying that the Secretary has been "disingenuous" in calling on him for proof, is that he (the Secretary) is taking an unwarrantable liberty in trying to convert him into a prosecutor. He then goes on, though in a somewhat rambling way and with very unseemly violence of language, to call attention to the reports of fraud and mismanagement from army officers at half a dozen agencies, fortified with extracts from reports to the Board of Indian Commissioners, but fails to say when these abuses occurred, or whether it was not, as we believe it was, before Secretary Schurz's day. He also charges, and with considerable force, that the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Indians were removed from the Missouri River under the influence of traders and contractors, who desired more business in hauling and selling supplies from the Union Pacific Railroad, which is now the base instead of the river. He annexes a report from Lieutenant Lee, of the Ninth Infantry, with regard to fraud and mismanagement at the Spotted Tail Agency, of which it is useless to give the details; it is the same old story.

The evil in the Indian service is the one which afflicts all departments of the public service, though more easily combated by supervision in some places than others—the small attraction of the public service for the requisite grade of men, and the small provision made by the conditions of the service for the promotion of honesty, and for fortification against temptation. Secretary Schurz is simply wrestling with the problem with which all the other Secretaries are wrestling, but under vastly greater disadvantages, because he has to use at remote points on the plains, out of reach of public observation, to carry on business with savages, persons who could only be kept to their duty by a rigid oversight in Washington or New York. General Grant's plan of handing the job of taking care of the Indians over to the religious denominations was simply a confession that the Government was unable to discharge one of its most important functions through its own agents. He might almost as well have handed over the management of the Treasury to the Bible Society, and called on the Board of Foreign Missions to conduct the Post-office. The great question now is, How long shall we wriggle and dodge and put up with fraud that cries to Heaven, in order to avoid a "thorough, radical, and complete reform" of the civil service, which should be officered by self-respecting men who could be trusted out of sight, and to whom their good name and their office would have more value than even "four years' good stealing"?

The Government Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad have made their annual report, which is, on the whole, unfavorable. They say that, considering that it was built mainly with Government money and designed to be "a great national thoroughfare," and that it has proved a great pecuniary success, its net earnings last year reaching fifty-eight per cent., they have felt bound to judge its condition not by the standard of the new roads west of the Mississippi, but by "the highest standard known in the railroad system of the country." Judged by this standard the deficiencies are many and apparent. There is no sign of first-class, uniform management. No uniform system is followed in filling the subordinate places, and the officers, coming from all sections of the country, bring with them varying methods and theories. Only 29 out of 1,026 miles of the iron rails have been replaced by steel; and the stations are in a bad condition, showing that the percentage of operating expenses has been too low. The policy of the company, too, has not been "public-spirited," or far-sighted or liberal in the matter of building up business along the line, although the rates cannot be considered extortionate. The report criticises the Senate Judiciary Committee, in reporting the Pacific Railroad Funding Bill of last session, for holding out the prospect of large net earnings as something probable and very desirable. The repayment of its own debt ought not, however, to be the sole concern of the Government in supervising the management of the road. It should, the Directors think, throw its influence on the side of a liberal policy towards the

public rather than on that of high immediate profits. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr., one of the Directors, has resigned, on the ground that no person can give the time required for a proper and thorough inspection of the road for the compensation now paid, and that the compensation, such as it is, comes, with divers civilities, not from the Government whose agent he is, but from the corporation whose doings he is to overhaul, which places him in an embarrassing position. The Government Auditor created by the late Act of Congress is, he thinks, competent to take care of the interests of the Government as the creditor of the company, but the work of supervising the working of the road itself cannot be done by persons appointed and paid as the present Directors are, and he pronounces them useless and withdraws from their number.

The charges brought by the Bar Association Committee against the Sheriff, the Register, and the County Clerk must almost necessarily result in the removal of the officers by the Governor. There is practically no denial of the facts by them; and Mr. Gumbleton's refusal to produce his books for the inspection of the Investigating Committee is, under the circumstances, not very different from a confession that he has no books to produce. The investigation may be regarded either as an honest attempt to prevent illegal extortion on the part of officials whose position gives them peculiar opportunities for imposition, or as a political movement. As a matter of reform in the public business, there can be no doubt that the Sheriff's office has richly deserved attack for a long time. It is, under our system, a position which is given from time to time to favorites of the "Boss" in order to make a fortune. The business of the office is so large that the legal fees would probably remunerate a Sheriff liberally, but little regard has been paid to the statutes. It is obviously very difficult for the public or members of the bar individually to protect themselves against this; it is for the interest of all lawyers having dealings with the Sheriff or his representatives to be on good terms with him, and lawyers who are not on good terms with him are apt to suffer for it in one way or another. This is true to a certain degree of the Register and the County Clerk as well. For lawyers who stand upon their rights and refuse to pay the regular charges of these officials, whether they are legal or not, searches of title are made more slowly and legal documents drawn up less willingly than for those who pay without complaint; and there is no easy way of either proving or punishing this sort of discrimination. There could not, therefore, be a more legitimate or praiseworthy channel for the moral energy of the Bar Association than an investigation of this kind, and if it should result in a reformation of the system it would confer a lasting benefit upon the community.

Mr. Goldwin Smith has written a letter to the Manchester (England) *Examiner*, in which he describes the regulations of "the court circle" in Canada, including the doctor's certificate for the ladies with the high-necked dresses, and points out the demoralizing effect the court is likely to have on Canadian manners, taking substantially the same view as that presented in our own columns. It will set a simple democratic society aping customs which are essentially foreign, and which have no real significance for them and do not grow out of their own thoughts or feelings, and it will plunge hundreds of poor people into ruinous expense. But when he says that it is likely to embroil the Canadians with this country he is decidedly mistaken. Those Americans who pay much attention to the doings of the Canadian court are not only not troubled by them, but would like to be on the spot and mingle in them themselves, and would gladly either wear the low-necked dress or the high-necked one with the doctor's certificate annexed. They are not persons of a philosophical turn of mind, either, and would not be in the least concerned by the probable effect of their performances on Canadian society. Indeed, if the "A. D. C. in waiting" at Ottawa is overworked, we could reinforce him with a "Brigadier-General in attendance."

Another bank—the Cornish Bank—has gone down in England, with liabilities estimated at $5,000,000. A large amount (about half a million) is said to be due to it from the mines of West Cornwall, the calling-in of which will suspend work and cause great distress in that region. The cause seems to be much the same as in the case of the Glasgow Bank and the West of England Bank—poor investments or loans, shrinkage, loss of confidence, and finally a run. The rapid succession of these catastrophes, and the revelation they are making of the worthlessness as security of the unlimited liability of the shareholders, is raising the question whether some legislative provision should not be made to keep down the size of the business undertaken by any one bank. The power of judicious investment possessed by any one man or set of men is limited, and so is the pecuniary responsibility of the stockholders; but the public apparently does not think so, and pours deposits in enormous amounts into concerns which can only manage them in the very best times. In the meantime the distress at all the great centres of industry is increasing, and there is no sign whatever of improvement in business; but the distress is not as yet anything like what it was in the cotton districts in 1862.

The vote of the Bishops in the House of Lords on the late amendment to the address approving of the conduct of the Ministry in the Afghan War is causing apparently a good deal of pain and scandal, among churchmen of the Liberal party at least. The war is an aggressive war, and the best that can be said of it is that it is offensive-defensive, that is, that it is an attack on a man who may at some period or other, if let alone, join in an attack on England—a consideration which might be excusably dominant in the mind of a mere soldier or mere politician. But people expect moral considerations to have more weight with Bishops than political or military ones; and when eight out of the nine Bishops present in the House of Lords voted with the Jingoes for the Afghan War, even the Jingoes were a little ashamed. The Bishop of Manchester, Dr. Fraser, who was unavoidably absent, has written to say that had he been present he would have voted with the Ministry; but the Bishop of Gloucester has written a letter explaining his vote, which makes matters a little worse. He says he voted as "a minister of the Gospel" as well as a politician to keep up British influence in India, "for be it remembered," he says, "the decline of English influence means also a decline in the advance of the Gospel." The plan of promoting "the advance of the Gospel" in India by carrying fire and sword into another country at the bidding of a Jew who secretly laughs over the Gospel, is probably odder, considering the quarter from which it comes, than any of the many odd things produced in England by the outburst of "Imperialism."

The French Republicans have achieved an extraordinary and unlooked-for triumph at the senatorial elections on the 5th instant. The best result that even Gambetta expected from them was a Republican majority of 20 to 25. It will probably reach 57. Of 47 retiring Conservative senators only 13 have been re-elected, while all the retiring Republicans have been elected, and the ruin seems to have overtaken all shades of Conservatism indiscriminately—the Bonapartists and Legitimists have gone down together. One of the curious incidents in the conflict has been the total defeat of M. Renan. He ran in the Bouches du Rhône, but did not receive a single vote, which is probably his punishment for being too gloomy about the condition of French society ever since 1870. Several Departments hitherto held by the Conservatives have been completely cleared of them. This great victory may be said to determine definitively the form of the French government, and to put a complete stopper on all monarchical expectations. The Republic now established has come in a way which promises durability—that is, it has not been set up in a burst of popular enthusiasm, but has slowly gained the popular confidence throughout the country, in the teeth of desperate opposition, by an actual exhibition of governing capacity in most difficult times. The Legitimists have lost the best chance they have had since 1815, and they probably now disappear finally from the political arena, to pass into poetry like the English Jacobins.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

SPECULATING about the next President a year and a half before his nomination would seem to be a sort of work which were best left to professional politicians, particularly in view of the notorious fact that the persons most talked about beforehand seldom obtain the nomination. But the whole country gets drawn into it, as well as the politicians, by the fact that both the party in power and the opposition begin at least two years before the nomination to regulate their policy and their utterances with strict reference to their probable effect on the Presidential contest. At this moment both Republicans and Democrats are considering the best mode of getting rid of all superfluous baggage and reaching the opening of the campaign with as little encumbrance and responsibility as possible, and will accordingly resist firmly all attempts to burden them with any measure or view the effect of which on the popular mind is at all doubtful or cannot be ascertained in time. The most trustworthy reports from Washington represent the Republicans as having virtually settled down into the belief that their true course is to advocate hard money and "wave the bloody shirt" up to the meeting of the Convention. The great advantage of this course is that it would not entail any responsibility of any kind. The restoration of specie payments is an accomplished fact, of which the Republicans are fairly entitled to the credit, and which will probably grow steadily in popular estimation between now and the meeting of the Convention, and to which they will be able to "point with pride" in the platform with considerable effect. It is a fact, too, which will need no nursing at their hands. The Democrats will between now and 1880 have a majority in both Houses, and will have to shoulder the responsibility of protecting the gold against any damage from silver in case of a turn in the balance of trade, while the Republicans will only need to look on and give wholesome advice. The public, too, and especially the commercial public, will grow more and more satisfied with the gold standard, and more and more averse to any further tinkering with or disturbance in the currency, so that the task of the Democrats whenever the silver problem and greenback problem come up for final solution, as they assuredly will before very long, will be very puzzling and delicate. They will have an opportunity, which will doubtless be anything but welcome, of showing what they meant by the mysterious talk of the St. Louis platform about "public economies," "official retrenchments," and "wise finance." We incline to the belief that they will before 1880 turn another financial somersault and come out as furious supporters of hard money of the Jackson school—a performance which will be much easier of execution than their last one of rising up in support of paper, but it will inevitably involve more or less scandal and discredit. No advantage would accrue to them from it but the increased "availability" of Mr. Bayard, in whom they have a candidate whom the Republicans cannot match in any particular; but it seems hardly possible that any revolution in Democratic opinions or policy could now go deep enough to give him the nomination.

The election troubles at the South, which are to furnish the Republicans with the remainder of their programme, have almost as many electioneering advantages as the defence of sound currency. In three States, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, in which there are negro majorities and in which a free vote would almost certainly result in the restoration of governments of the carpet-bag type, there is sure to be violence and intimidation before every election until by some agency or other the negro vote is divided. This of itself will furnish the Stalwart wing of the Republican party with an excellent cry, because it will impose on the party no responsibility of any kind. It will furnish abundant materials for invective without calling for any attempt at legislation or other action, which is just what judicious managers preparing for a canvass like. There is, too, a way of looking at it which such Stalwart papers as the *Tribune* manage very dexterously, and which takes with a class of Republicans who are not Stalwart in the strict sense of the term. It consists in saying with an air of candor that the "bayonet rule" was all wrong and was rightly brought to an end, and that the discontent and turbulence of the Southern whites under it were perhaps excusable, but that, now that it is over, further interference with the negro vote is wholly inexcusable and unfair. The fact is, however, that "bayonet rule" has not existed at the South since the revolted States were reconstructed. The carpet-bag governments were regular governments of the majority, but it so happened that the majority did not possess the physical force of the community, and their rule was of a kind which the minority felt justified in overthrowing by armed force, and what the Federal troops did was to prevent this revolt from taking place. In the States we have mentioned a free and uninfluenced negro vote would probably still result in setting up other governments of the carpet-bag type, which would, if once set up, be again entitled to call for Federal aid. It is to prevent this that the whites exert all their moral and social influence, and, when these are exhausted, resort to violence—a view which is strongly supported by the fact that in the States in which there is a clear white majority there are no election troubles at all. Consequently, although the withdrawal of the troops has caused the overthrow of the negro governments, it has not effected a radical change in the situation. Nothing will do this but the disappearance of all danger of the ascendency of a colored party in State politics. Troubles capable of use for electioneering purposes at the North, though wholly unamenable to Federal treatment, may therefore be looked for for an indefinite period, and, if dexterously handled, will give more or less advantage to the Republican party.

The present Administration will, at the end of its term, have rendered the party three inestimable services in relieving it of responsibility for the condition of the South, in restoring specie payments and completing the refunding of the public debt, and in effacing the remembrance of the scandals of the Grant régime by four years of, on the whole, pure and orderly government. But the weakness of the President and his Cabinet in the matter of party allegiance has so exasperated the managers that probably no attempt to "point with pride" to all this will be made, and the party will thus be deprived of what has hitherto been a very useful weapon. For still stronger reasons it will probably not raise again the banner of civil-service reform. The greatest misfortune, as we have often maintained in these columns, that could befall this reform was to have it taken up in theory with ardor by a President of unquestioned sincerity and tenacity, and then either abandoned or disregarded without explanation when the time came for practice. This misfortune has befallen it. A large number of Mr. Hayes's appointments have been made on the worst principles of the worst times, and have given office to many bad characters; and yet it has all been done with an air of simplicity and fidelity which of course warrants the unregenerate politicians in concluding, and saying, that when he used the famous phrase of his letter of acceptance he was talking about an abstraction, and had no definite idea in his mind any more than the "theorists" who were egging him on. The result of this has been, of course, to discredit the agitation on this subject, and to encourage the upholders of the old system in declaring that it is the one best suited to American habits and traditions, and that, anyhow, there is no getting rid of it.

Another result of it is undoubtedly to revive the talk of General Grant as a candidate, and to rouse the activity of his old friends and companions. The abuse of his appointing and removing power did more than anything else to disgust the country with his administration, and to procure the insertion of the civil-service plank in the Republican platform. Mr. Hayes's failure on this point has, therefore, acted somewhat as an apology or justification for him, and in the eyes of his followers removed the most serious obstacle to his reappearance in the political arena. Their hopes, too, are still further stimulated by the dissolution of the small but active band of malcontents who were known as Independents before Mr. Hayes's nomination. One of General Grant's supporters, in fact, the other day enumerated with gusto, among the obstacles removed from his path, the entrance of Mr. Schurz into the present

Cabinet; the change in the management of the Chicago *Tribune;* the loss of influence of the Cincinnati *Commercial* through its maniacal treatment of the currency question; the death of Mr. Bowles, of the Springfield *Republican;* and, though last not least, the desertion of the New York *Tribune.* We do not think these things are great gains for General Grant, for we do not believe he will be nominated, but they undoubtedly are gains for the school of politics he represented, and which will probably have great—let us hope not fatal—weight in the Republican Convention. It is possible for the party by a great mistake this time to lose all chance of a return to power in twenty years; for assuredly, if the Democrats get hold of "the machine" in the condition in which the Republicans are now disposed to leave it, they will work it in a fashion which will give even Mr. Conkling new light as to its capacity.

THE EXTRADITION OF CRIMINALS.

THE State Department has published the Report of the British Royal Commission on Extradition, forwarded by Mr. Welsh last summer. The Commission consisted of some of the most eminent lawyers of England, including Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, Sir James Stephen, and Alfred Henry Thesiger, and the conclusions at which they arrive must command assent not only in England but in this country, where the questions at issue are almost precisely the same. They report that the practice of extradition rests both on what may be considered an international motive, *i.e.*, the common interest of mankind that offences against person and property shall be punished, and on the local interest of the state into which the criminal has fled in having him removed from its borders; that on the first ground it is reasonable to claim a union among civilized nations in a system for the common benefit of all—in other words, reciprocity; on the second that even if any state should fail to concede full reciprocity, there is no principle which should make England unwilling to get rid of fugitive criminals of other states. They therefore suggest that the treaty system be given up, and that statutory power be given to the proper authorities to deliver up fugitive criminals whose surrender is asked for, irrespective of the existence of any treaty on the subject. Inasmuch, however, "as treaties may sometimes be necessary by the laws or constitutions of foreign states to enable effect to be given to conditions" on which the English Government may properly insist, and for other reasons, it is suggested that this statutory power shall extend only to the cases of those foreign countries to which the crown may, from time to time, declare it to apply. In most of the existing English treaties a stipulation is contained prohibiting the surrender of a fugitive criminal if a subject of the state in which he is found, in respect of a crime committed in the other state. This the Commission think unnecessary and inexpedient, for the reason that extradition is based on mutual confidence, and there is no more cause for distrust of the fair administration of justice in such a case than in any other. It is further recommended that extradition should embrace "all those offences which it is the common interest of all nations to suppress; that is to say, offences against person and property, including in the latter category cases of fraud the purpose of which is to obtain property or money, offences against the bankrupt laws, "forgery and offences relating to the coinage" (making no distinction between felonies and misdemeanors), but excluding entirely "offences of a political *or local* character," such as "laws relating to military or naval service, laws relating to religion, laws relating to the duties of public officers, police regulations, and the like."

Mr. Welsh remarks in his letter that this report takes the view favored by the State Department, and we have no doubt that this is true, now that Mr. Evarts is at its head. That it favors what was known as the American view of the subject during Mr. Fish's *régime* it is a total mistake to suppose. That view was that, under an extradition treaty, you could extradite a criminal for one offence and try him for a totally different one. We pointed out at the time in these columns that this view was incorrect, because it involved the danger that a man might be tried not only for a political but for a local offence, and that this was a substantial injustice, inasmuch as many countries pass laws of a local character, laws on the subject of religion, etc., which provide for the severe punishment of offences not recognized by other countries to be serious offences, or perhaps offences at all. An instance of this would be our own revenue laws, which impose serious penalties for offences in Great Britain regarded as trifling. Now, the British Commission propose to provide against this question arising by excluding these cases from extradition altogether. Further than this, they express the opinion that if "some offence unknown to . . . what may figuratively be called the common law of nations should be created by the laws of a particular people, such an offence would not come within the category of crimes which it is the purpose of extradition to repress." They add that, to find out whether an offence is extraditable, resort must be had to English law, that "being abundantly comprehensive." Finally, on the question whether a person surrendered for one offence can be tried for another, the Commission see no reason why, "political and local offences being excepted," he should not. This exception, of course, removes every possible objection; and we presume that, if these recommendations are carried out, the practical result would be that in such a case as that of Winslow, if it clearly came within the exception and we persisted in trying it, an order in council would be made, bringing extradition between Great Britain and the United States to an end. If this is the American view, we are very glad of it, for it is undoubtedly as sound and sensible as anything American can be desired to be.

As between the United States and foreign nations there never has been really any reason for a dispute, as the perfect satisfaction expressed at the conclusions of this report shows. A great deal of the controversy which was carried on between this Government and that of Great Britain two years ago was based upon a confusion caused by the use of the term "right of asylum." These words in the popular mind, no doubt, signify a supposed "right" of a fugitive from *political* persecution to be sheltered from pursuit, and in this view political offences would seem to be the only ones out of which the right could grow. It would follow from this that so long as no attempt was made to infringe this right the fugitive could raise no objection to being tried for an offence different from that for which he had been surrendered. But the fact is that there is no such "right" as the "right of asylum." In law a *right* cannot exist without what lawyers call a *sanction* to enforce it, and a corresponding duty in some one else to recognize it. Now, no fugitive can enforce the right of asylum anywhere. If the British Government, or our own, undertook to abrogate it, and were to make it suddenly a practice to surrender fugitives charged with political offences, although it would be rightly considered an outrage, no one would have any redress. As an individual the fugitive could not establish his right. The Government which demanded his surrender would certainly not undertake to establish it for him, and no other country would have any ground of interference on the general principles of international law. The fact is that the "right of asylum" is a privilege accorded by the nations which recognize it, and though it is generally granted only in cases of political offences, the reason on which it is founded—the recognition of the justice of protecting fugitives from persecutions for acts *not regarded as criminal* in the country of refuge, or generally by mankind—applies, precisely as the English Commission declare, to all cases of a *local* character. It follows from this necessarily that if a fugitive is surrendered for one offence and tried for another, although it may be perfectly true that the court of his own country in which he is brought up for trial may not be at liberty to enquire into the question, the surrendering Government may have a good cause of complaint on the grounds just suggested.

On the whole, the discussion over extradition as between sovereign governments would seem to have left the matter in a very satisfactory state. We wish that as much could be said with regard to extradition within the limits of the United States—we mean between the States of the Union. It is a remarkable fact, brought to

light in a startling manner in the hearing before Governor Rice, of Massachusetts, on the application for the extradition of Kimpton by Governor Hampton, of South Carolina, that, although the Constitution expressly provides for the extradition of all criminals in the most general terms, a State governor may if he pleases set the provision entirely at naught, and by a judicious exercise of executive discretion convert his State into a regular felons' asylum. In the Kimpton case the real legal ground of the refusal to surrender was concealed from view by the reasons advanced for the refusal. In fact, Mr. Rice obtained a good deal of sympathy and approval in some quarters because he was shrewd enough to insist that his examination of the case had satisfied him that the demand for surrender was not made in good faith, and that the motive of the demand was to further a political persecution. But the *ground* on which he was advised that he could take that position was that he had absolute, unlimited, and arbitrary power to surrender or not surrender as he pleased. And this is unquestionably true. The Constitution (Article iv., sec. 2) does, indeed, provide in the most positive language that a fugitive from justice in any State, charged with "treason, felony, or other crime," and found in another State, "shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime"; and the laws of the United States provide ('Revised Statutes,' sec. 5,278) that in case of a demand from one State executive upon another under this clause, and the production of a copy of the indictment or a proper affidavit duly certified, "it shall be the duty of" the executive upon whom the demand is made to cause the fugitive "to be arrested and secured," to cause notice of the arrest to be given to the other executive or his agent, "and to cause the fugitive to be delivered to such agent when he shall appear." Not a word is said as to reasons for not delivering. He is to be delivered in any case. Further than this, it has been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of a suit brought by the State of Kentucky against the governor of Ohio (24 Howard, 66), that the "duty" imposed by this statute was an absolute ministerial duty; that the governor upon whom the demand was made had no discretion whatever to examine into the merits of the case; but that, on a proper demand being made, he must surrender the fugitive, just as any sheriff or marshal must arrest a man against whom he has a warrant.

Nevertheless, owing to the peculiar condition of the law on this subject, there is no punishment provided for a refusal to surrender; and so, in the case just referred to, when the governor of Ohio refused to surrender the fugitives, the court held, against its inclination, that it could not compel the performance of his duty. And this was precisely the foundation of Governor Rice's refusal in the Kimpton case—a knowledge that he could not be punished. This is what he terms the "discretion" vested in him. It is precisely the same sort of discretion that any criminal has to commit an offence to which the laws have annexed no penalty.

And this brings us to the important question whether there is any means by which this abnormal and scandalous state of things can be brought to an end. As the Supreme Court said in the case just referred to, "It would seem that when the Constitution was framed, and when this law was passed, it was confidently believed that a sense of justice and of mutual interest would ensure a faithful execution of this Constitutional provision by the executive of every State, for every State has an equal interest in the execution of a compact absolutely essential to their peace and well-being in their internal concerns, as well as members of the Union." But if governors can exercise a "discretion" of this sort, and there is no way of preventing it, it will certainly not be very long before the exercise of it ripens into a common practice, and we shall present to the world the grotesque spectacle of a country which in its dealings with foreign nations limits the "right of asylum" to the fewest possible cases, and in its internal concerns recognizes the right of some forty local politicians, most of them too undistinguished to make their love of reputation a guarantee of any value, turning their States into asylums for any criminal who can bring sufficient "pressure" to bear to get a hearing. It must not be forgotten, either, that the connection between crime and politics is in the United States closer than it would be in an ideal community, and it is no uncommon thing for gentlemen of considerable prominence to be engaged in both pursuits at once. It does not require any great stretch of fancy to imagine a state of things, say in Tweed's time, when executive "discretion" in cases of this kind would play very much the same part in encouraging crime that executive "clemency" is believed to have done in States whose governors have refused to issue death-warrants because they were opposed to hanging.

A curious case has just occurred in Illinois, in which Governor Cullom has refused to surrender two Pennsylvania criminals who removed to Illinois some years ago. These fugitives, who appear to have a strong sense of humor, say in their petition that immediately after the "affair" to which "the indictment refers," which is alleged to have been a brutal murder in a bar-room, but which they describe as one of "a mere private and personal character," they removed to Illinois, where they have since been living as peaceable citizens and have been forming "a large circle of acquaintances." On this the governor refused to surrender the two petitioners. It is obvious that this is practically the exercise of a pardoning power by the governor of one State for offences committed in another, and that, too, on an *ex-parte* statement of the criminals themselves.

The provision of some efficacious means of securing inter-State extradition has never been seriously considered by Congress, and the opinion has been expressed by the Supreme Court that it is not within the power of Congress to force a State officer to perform the duty. But there is one way of getting over the difficulty to which there seems no objection, and that is by referring the whole matter to the courts. There is nothing in the Constitutional provision quoted above requiring the demand to be made upon the governor of the State, and the only reason why the law refers to the governor at all is that this was the practice under the Confederation, when extradition was almost what it is now between sovereign governments, and the governor stood in the place of the ruler of a foreign country. But this is not the case now, and the United States exercise authority for many purposes within the limits of the several States. There seems no reason why in extradition cases, whenever there is a controversy as to the right to demand the surrender, this question should not be heard and decided by courts of the United States. Such a controversy is certainly one which seems to come within two or three classes mentioned in the Constitution as embraced under the judicial power of the general Government—*i.e.*, cases "arising under" the Constitution itself, under "the laws of the United States," and "controversies between two or more States."

GENESIS AND HISTORY OF "A STORY."

[*Letter of Z. L. W., dated Orangeburg, S. C., Nov. 23, in Tribune, Nov. 29, 1878.*]

"I HAVE heard many interesting incidents of the late election in this county *illustrative of the means to which the Democrats resorted to win their so-called victory. I shall give only one or two of them.* The Rev. Dr. Cooke, of Massachusetts, is the president of the Claflin University for colored people. I was informed by a Democrat before I had been an hour in town that the Doctor voted the Democratic ticket openly, and that he was a very popular man among the people here. *Upon enquiry I learned* that in 1876, at the time of Governor Hampton's inauguration, Dr. Cooke came from Columbia to Orangeburg one night on a train with a gang of roughs who had been to the capital to take part in the 'fun at the fair.' Recognizing him as a Northern man, a Republican, and the president of an institution for colored people, these chivalrous young men gathered around him, insulted him in the most outrageous manner, called him all sorts of vile names, hustled him about, and kept him in mortal terror for three hours. The fright actually made him sick, and I have been told that he subsequently wrote an account of the affair to a Northern religious newspaper, in which he declared that he believed his life to have been in danger. This year he rode to the polls in the wagon provided by the Democrats to bring in aged and infirm voters, and openly cast a Democratic ballot. *The Republicans here would be glad to know if he was converted by the Bulldozers in* 1876."

In reply to the foregoing, in which the italics are our own, Dr. Cooke wrote in the *Tribune* of Dec. 21, 1878:

"In your paper of November 29 your able correspondent from this State introduces my name in connection with the political excitements of

the day. I cannot conceive how a paragraph of the same length could possibly be written containing more misstatements and false coloring than the one in question. I do not hold the writer responsible so much as his informant, who evidently wished to hold me up in as ridiculous a light as possible before the Northern people. Not one true or fair statement is contained in the paragraph which relates to myself.

"I have been a Republican at the North ever since the party was organized, and am so still. But I can't say I am willing to claim political fraternity with the most claiming to be such whom I have met in South Carolina. True, I voted for Wade Hampton at the late election, without waiting to ride to the polls 'in a wagon provided by the Democrats to bring in aged and infirm voters.' *I have never been bulldozed into any change of political opinion. My action was based upon good and satisfactory reasons:*

"1. *I believe in home government everywhere, if a good government can be secured.*

"2. *There was no opposing candidate to Governor Hampton.*

"3. After watching his course carefully for two years, I fully believe he is a true friend of the colored man, and is doing vastly more for his elevation in this Commonwealth than any Northern man could under a bayonet rule. I need only point to the improved common schools and increased facilities for his intellectual training in proof of this assertion.

"Your correspondent would, it seems to me, do well to get at the true facts rather than become the organ of private grievances."

Z. L. W. replied to this (*Tribune*, Nov. 29) that he had the story about the wagon from "four different persons," "gentlemen of high character," but "whose names" (as usual in these cases) "he does not feel at liberty to publish." He "still believed, after reading Dr. Cooke's letter, that he was carried to the polls on election day by some of his Democratic friends." The other story, about the popularity, he had from "the hotel-keeper in the village," and "the story about the insults and abuse" he had from "an eye-witness" and from "another South Carolina gentleman who happened to be on the same train." He has no evidence whatever, however, on the essential point in his first "story" —*i.e.*, the relation of cause and effect between Dr. Cooke's being insulted in a train in 1876 and his voting the Democratic ticket in 1878, and which Dr. Cooke denies.

On the matter in this stage the *Nation* thus commented (January 2, 1878):

"The newspapers which have been giving publicity to the grievances that respectable Republicans at the South have suffered at the hands of the Democracy seem to have performed an ungrateful task. Some of the persecuted ones disclaim the crown of martyrdom which is thrust upon them, and flatly deny the accounts of terrorism which correspondents have been at such pains to collect. Among those who decline to be the objects of what they consider a misplaced sympathy is the Rev. Dr. Cooke, the president of Claflin University for colored people, of South Carolina. The *Tribune* of November 29 contained an account of intimidation at the South in which it was asserted that Dr. Cooke had been carried to the polls this year in a wagon used by the Democrats to bring in aged and infirm voters, and that he had openly voted the Democratic ticket. The writer said that this painful sight was the result of dreadful ill-treatment which Dr. Cooke had received at the hands of roughs on a railway train at the time of Governor Hampton's election in 1876, which treatment had frightened him into complete submission to Democratic wishes. Dr. Cooke writes to the *Tribune* that 'not one true or fair statement is contained in the paragraph relating to himself.' He denies explicitly that his political action has ever been influenced by intimidation, and adds that, although a Republican himself, he claims no political fraternity with many Republicans in the South. His vote was cast on good and satisfactory grounds, especially because, after watching Governor Hampton's course for two years, he believes that he is a 'true friend of the colored man, and is doing vastly more for his elevation in this commonwealth [South Carolina] than any Northern man could under bayonet rule.' Dr. Cooke adds that he 'need only point to the improved common schools and the increased facilities for the negro's intellectual training in proof of this assertion.'

"The *Tribune* correspondent replies by a reference to the 'high character' of his informants, but, apparently feeling shaken in regard to the grievances of Dr. Cooke, he puts his best talent into corroborating the story about the Democratic wagon for the aged and infirm. *This incident is supported by the testimony of one Democrat and three Republicans, whose names he sends the editor privately, but does not feel at liberty to publish.* And so the wretched fight is kept up."

The *Tribune*, in its issue of January 3, then spoke as below (the italics again are ours, and they refer to other italics in the foregoing extracts). The allusion to "disingenuousness" is not bad, after the suppression of the fact that the correspondent gave Dr. Cooke's case, as described by himself, as "an illustration of the means to which the Democrats resorted to win their so-called victory":

"The Rev. Dr. E. Cooke, President of Claflin University, in South Carolina, seems to be a swift witness. The *Tribune's* correspondent, 'Z. L. W.,' in his letter published November 29, mentioned the fact that he voted the Democratic ticket openly at the late election, and in connection with that circumstance, after relating a story, which was certainly current in South Carolina at the time, concerning the treatment the reverend gentleman received at the hands of the chivalry in 1876, said: 'The Republicans here would be glad to know if he was converted by the Bulldozers in 1876.' Our contemporary, the *Nation, will no doubt be glad to correct its statement* that 'the writer said that this painful sight was the result of dreadful ill-treatment which Dr. Cooke had received at the hands of roughs on a railway train at the time of Governor Hampton's election in 1876, which treatment had frightened him into complete submission to Democratic wishes.' We have great admiration for the candor and independence of our contemporary, but in this case its desire to divest itself of all prejudice against our Southern brethren *has tinged its gentle sarcasm with exaggeration.* The *Tribune's* correspondent simply related what was currently reported, and made the comment above quoted. The reverend gentleman subsequently, in a letter to the *Tribune, denied the truth of the report*, and our contemporary, in its zeal for truth, hastens to inform its readers that he 'denies explicitly that his political action has ever been influenced by intimidation, and adds that, although a Republican himself, he claims no political fraternity with many Republicans in the South.' *It was an oversight, perhaps, that our contemporary neglected to mention that our correspondent gave his authority for the report*, and referred to the testimony of an eye-witness of the occurrences described in corroboration of their truth. *In any other than an independent newspaper the classing of the Rev. Dr. Cooke, upon the strength of what the Tribune's correspondent said of him*, among 'the persecuted ones' 'who disclaim the crown of martyrdom which is thrust upon them, and flatly deny the accounts of terrorism which correspondents have been at such pains to collect,' might *be considered disingenuous.* The facts hardly warrant the inference that the *Tribune* awarded him 'the crown of martyrdom,' or made him an 'object of misplaced sympathy.'"

We again repeat that this exposure does not prove that there was no violence or fraud at the late election in South Carolina, but it does illustrate the recklessness and unscrupulousness with which Southern troubles are distorted, colored, and exaggerated to make party capital at the North. It is a miserable business, and the *Tribune* ought to be ashamed of it and drop it. The contention with Dr. Cooke as to whether the hustling he got from some rowdies in 1876 did not make him change his vote two years later, is as comic as anything in recent political literature. What caused the correspondent to take the trouble to prepare "the story" undoubtedly was the firm possession of his mind by the theory, which lay at the bottom of Mr. Blaine's speech in the Senate, that not only every negro, but every white man engaged in the instruction of negro youth, must, in the absence of duress, desire to vote the Republican ticket even in South Carolina; and that when he says he does not desire to vote it, he is not to be believed even on oath, and his person ought to be examined for welts and bruises.

THE PROPOSED REFORM IN OUR LAND AND SCIENTIFIC SURVEYS.

DURING the last ten years four distinct autonomous geographical and geological surveys, besides the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the sixteen virtually independent surveys now connected with the Land Office, have been conducted simultaneously. This is obviously illogical, unscientific, and clumsy. Naturally the results in detail are found to be of limited value for the more important national purposes. The original determinations by these several surveys have been without agreement, their objects diverse, their mode of operation discordant; their productions are sometimes contradictory, and often have occasioned needless cost by duplication or overlapping, and also by undue, or at least premature, attention to particular localities. The operations of the special surveys under the War and Interior Departments have not generally been and were not designed to be useful for the parcelling of land; the work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey in the interior neither includes that object nor topography; and the land surveys proper, while of the slightest topographical and geographical, and of no geological, value, have been conducted in an antiquated and costly method shown by experience to be inadequate to the very purpose of their establishment.

This disgraceful and senseless confusion has been occasioned by the stinted range given to the several organizations, as Congress was at various times persuaded of their propriety. The land surveys were devised nearly a century ago to meet the simplest needs of sale and settlement, and have not been modified to conform with improvements in mensuration and wholly changed conditions. The Coast and Geodetic Survey was instituted merely for the wants of commerce, to which the systematic triangulation it now conducts at several points in the interior is but incidental. The special geographical and geological surveys owe their origin to the laudable ambition of several gentlemen who from time to time pressed the claims of those branches of science, and exhibited such real or (in some cases) specious results in certain directions of their yearly labors as to receive continuance of temporary appropriations. Of late

years, however, the vicious terms of their separate existence on mere annual sufferance have produced an unhealthy competition for public favor, taking sometimes the ignoble form of contention in the presentation of photographs to members of Congress, and a show of multiplied thick volumes more or less irrelevant to the duties imposed, but seeming to legislators regardless of that criterion, or who never opened them, proof of vast energy and erudition. Instead of original contributions to knowledge there has appeared reliance on membership in many learned societies, easily obtained in exchange for cart-loads of publications not written by the owner of the name on their title-pages and in the diplomas. Vanity, greed, and malice were also developed in the struggle, resulting in schemes for individual supremacy in and monopoly of all scientific work connected with, or by any stretch of implication to be included in, the broad field of territorial exploration. This necessarily induced resistance, recrimination, and mutual exposure.

Near the close of the last Congress the Appropriation Committee of the House of Representatives, not only wearied by complaints and assumptions, but recognizing the impossibility of obtaining conscientious work with the minimum of expense from internecine rivals without permanent status, who could misapply public funds for self-advertisement and factitious reputation, announced that no more appropriations would be reported for any of the surveys in question, until some judicious system of consolidation under proper direction should be adopted. At the last session further examination was made by the same committee with the result that its members, not being able from their own information to decide upon the conflicting claims, while reiterating their decision to make no future appropriations, took a second and most judicious step. By a clause in the act making appropriations for the sundry civil expenses they enlarged the scope of enquiry to include the surveys of the Land Office, together with those of a scientific character under the War and Interior Departments, and referred the whole subject of surveying and mapping the territories of the United States to the highest scientific authority in the country—the National Academy of Sciences—for report upon a general system to secure the best results at the least possible cost.

The report of the Academy, just published, touches upon several of the points above mentioned, but lays special stress upon the dominant necessity for the present and near future—viz., the proper survey and classification of what remains of the public domain, so as to meet the wants of settlers and the requirements of Government. And here it seems proper to examine into the present mode of survey under the Land Office. The objects of that organization were primarily to parcel the lands so that titles to definite portions might be conveyed from the United States to individuals, and, secondarily, that the value and characteristics of the land might be ascertained. Neither of these ends has been well attained, from the fact that there was never a proper scientific supervision. Instead of having a single, responsible head, the surveys have been managed by a multiplicity of local surveyors-general, now sixteen, practically autonomous, who do not themselves conduct the actual surveys, and are not even selected as experts to supervise them, but are appointed, when not solely for political influence, for legal and administrative ability. They are law officers intermediate between the General Land Office and the deputy surveyors who do the work. That is done by contract and often sub-let, so that a large number of persons are annually employed, each one adopting his own mode of operations, only conforming to certain general regulations. Latitudes, longitudes, altitudes, and topographical positions have been neither absolutely nor relatively established with any accuracy, the personal interests of the surveyors under the contracts being opposed to accurate and scientific detail. The cartographic methods have been so diverse and imperfect that no general map of value can be constructed from the immense number of township maps filed in the Land Office. The surveys have proceeded by north and south and east and west lines, without scientific checks for their extension, from a number of initial points the geographical co-ordinates of which were not determined. When the surveys met it was found that no two systems could be made to agree, and connections were forced by irregular fractional subdivisions. Corners were marked by wooden stakes, when such were easily found, to decay as easily, or by small heaps of raked-up earth, to wash away in rains. In timber districts the lines were further marked by blazing adjacent trees, which often were destroyed. All such expedients are unavailing when no thorough topographic system is adopted, and the charts became practically valueless. These charts furnish a monumental example of ill-directed work. The Land Office is encumbered with more than thirty-five thousand manuscript maps of elaborate construction, costing more than twenty-three millions of dollars, and supposed to represent the topographic features of more than one million one hundred thousand square miles of territory. They are of little worth for economic considerations, of absolutely none for scientific uses, and are so imperfect for parcelling that endless litigation relating to boundary lines has grown out of them and must increase with the value of land. In the mineral districts now worked this already appears as a great evil, and the futile records are supplied when possible by parole evidence, to the proverbial encouragement of perjury.

All useful purposes can be attained by a triangulation extended from a system of base-lines accurately measured, with positions determined; from points in these all the lines of the parcelling surveys can be checked. Such a system of primary triangulation would not only remedy the chief defects in the survey of the public lands, but would secure economy, rendering much of the present work unnecessary and distributing the cost of the remainder over years in a manner the least burdensome. The land remaining to be surveyed and sold amounts to 1,101,107,183 acres, but the small proportion of it now attractive to settlement has tended to plant population in scattered districts where water can be found, and those districts are separated by mountains and expanses of barren plains. To survey the desirable districts by present methods it is necessary to run lines from standard meridians and parallels or from established township corners; and those lines must be marked and measured before the contractor can receive his pay. To connect isolated districts through a series of township corners is a needless expense; to mark the corners by perishable devices wherever they may chance to fall in the mountains is futile, and the inaccuracy in a difficult country is apparent. A proper triangulation would dispense with much unnecessary work which the contractor now finds it in his interest to perform. Having great discretion in the selection of districts to be surveyed, he chooses those requiring least cost to himself without regard to their speedy or probable occupation. Thus millions of worthless acres have been parcelled to no advantage. The difficulty and cost of the present mode of survey in the Far West will be much greater than where heretofore employed, while on the other hand geographical work can be more readily performed there from the absence of timber, the abundant salient points for triangulation, and the numerous elevations commanding intervening valleys. The work of the geologist can also be there conducted with unusual speed and economy on account of the general aridity and consequent destitution of vegetation and soil. From these considerations it is probable that all necessary surveys can, under a proper method, be completed for the cost that would be incurred for the land-parcelling surveys alone.

It will be admitted that for any intelligent administration of the public domain a thorough knowledge of its geologic structure, natural resources and products, is indispensable. Existing laws require also classification in the interest of the Government. The statutes designate for disposal in different modes and at several prices the classes of—1st, Agricultural; 2d, Swamp; 3d, Desert, or lands only valuable for agriculture through irrigation; 4th, Timber; 5th, Live-Oak and Cedar; 6th, Mineral Vein; 7th, Placer; and 8th, Coal Lands. While all these classes are supposed to be determined, no adequate provision is made therefor, and the laws are inoperative or readily evaded. Coal lands, for instance, salable at ten or twenty dollars per acre, are usually obtained by purchase at $1 25 per acre, or by homestead and pre-emption entry. The hypsometric methods now employed by the several surveys are inadequate to meet the practical wants of the arid region, embracing more than four-tenths of the whole area of the United States, where agriculture, when possible, is dependent upon irrigation. In all of this region the relative levels of the land to the adjacent streams by which they are to be fertilized must be determined before parcelling and sale. The necessity for this work, with new farm units and an improved mode of distribution, to render available the remaining portions of our public lands, has been before explained in these columns (*Nation*, No. 670).

The Academy recommends the discontinuance, first, of the present geographical survey west of the 100th Meridian under the War Department, except surveys necessary for military purposes and local internal improvements; second, of the geographical and geological surveys under the Department of the Interior; and third, of the present surveys under the Land Office. In place of these conflicting and imperfect organizations, it urges, first, that the Coast and Geodetic Survey, retaining its original field of operations, should assume also the entire mensuration of the public domain, and comprise, together with land-parcelling surveys, detailed topographic work and rapid reconnoissances; and that this survey, hitherto without controlling reason connected with the Treasury Department, should, in view of the paramount importance of the public

lands, the disposition of which is necessarily in the Department of the Interior, be placed under the latter with the designation of Coast and Interior Survey; second, that an independent organization, to be known as the Geological Survey, should be charged with the study of the geologic structure and economic resources of the public domain, to be placed under a director appointed by the President and reporting directly to the Secretary of the Interior. The Land Office remains in the same department, controlling the disposition and sale of land, including all questions of title and record, calling upon the Coast and Interior Survey for all surveys and measurements required, and upon the Geological Survey for all information as to classification.

No opposition prompted by good motives or supported by solid reasons can be offered to these admirable recommendations. Any objections from the Engineer Corps of the Army will, we are persuaded, give way on reflection to considerations of the public good. No chief of the civilian surveys will be likely to declare himself indispensable, and his pet plan the embodiment by patent right of all science. Delay in the remedial legislation is more to be apprehended from the sixteen surveyors-general, their deputies, and sub-contractors, whose business and perhaps "jobs" will be interfered with. These officers, being political appointees, all have friends or relatives in Congress, and will doubtless organize a lobby to defeat reform, but it is not probable that their interested efforts will prevail against obvious economy and common sense.

'LES MIRABEAU.'—I.

PARIS, December 13, 1878.

M. DE LOMÉNIE is well known in the literary world by his 'Beaumarchais et son temps.' He had chosen the eighteenth century as his special department, and he only studied its curious literature; he tried to find the causes of the terrible Revolution which ended it. M. de Loménie was a man of the world; he took a deep interest in politics; he had, in his youth, enjoyed the friendship of Madame Récamier at the Abbaye aux Bois; he had known Chateaubriand; he had become the most intimate friend of Ampère and of Tocqueville. He felt at times inclined to enter into political life, but he had none of the vices which assure the success of a man, if I may borrow this expression, which was sometimes used by the late Lord Clarendon. He belonged to an old, aristocratic family, but he had very little fortune, and he was obliged to accept two professorships—one at the Polytechnic School, the other at the Collège de France—in order to educate his family. As he was very conscientious, these functions deprived him almost of all liberty, and it was under great difficulties that he published his studies upon the family of Mirabeau.

Mirabeau was the great figure of the French Revolution; he belonged to the past, and he hurled France into the abyss of revolution. M. de Loménie had met, when he was still young, the adopted son of Mirabeau, M. Lucas de Montigny, whom he describes as a most kindly and excellent man. M. Lucas de Montigny had an immense amount of documents concerning Mirabeau and his family. He himself had used some of these documents, and published a work which he entitled 'Memoirs of Mirabeau,' though the great orator did not write these Memoirs. M. de Loménie, who was a real critic, soon perceived that M. Lucas de Montigny had neglected many important parts in the family papers of Mirabeau. He undertook to bring back to life not only the great Mirabeau, but all the members of his family, especially his father, the Marquis, and his mother, the Marquise, and his uncle, the Bailli. Mirabeau once said that the Mirabeaus were the "family of Atreus and Thyestes." All is now forgotten of the terrible quarrels of the Marquis of Mirabeau with his son, his wife, and even his daughter; the scandals of his son's life are forgotten also, and have died in the halo of his Revolutionary glory. Donoso Cortés, the great Spanish orator, once spoke of the Revolution as of a woman walking, like the ancient furies, with her head covered with serpents; the Revolution would be better compared to a magician who can turn everything into gold, and every servant into a saint or a hero. But "scripta manent," and M. de Loménie was determined to show to the world the real Mirabeau.

The two volumes which have now been published represent only half the work of M. de Loménie. He could not finish his task; he has left even the two volumes which are given to the public in an unfinished state, and Madame de Loménie has been obliged to fill some parts with the notes left by her husband. Such as they are, they show us all the members of the family of Mirabeau, but Mirabeau himself does not yet appear—at least he does not yet fill the stage. It is "Hamlet" without *Hamlet;* but the reader will not be disappointed if, looking only for a study of the manners of the end of the eighteenth century, he wishes to live in imagination at the eve of the great Revolution. He will, besides, have all the pleasures of a drama, for the Mirabeaus are a dramatic family; they seem to be the remnants of the feudal ages; they have a turbulence, a violence, a degree of passion which is not often found among the contemporaries of Voltaire. There is some harmony between nature and man. The Mirabeaus belong to the higher districts of Provence. If you go from Pertuis to Manosque you see before you, behind the black mountains of the Luberon, the chain of the Alps. Not far from Pertuis, on a rock between two narrow gorges, stands the château of Mirabeau, with its four high towers. Before the Revolution it had two towers more; after that terrible period it was deserted, became the refuge of wild beasts, and was used by all the peasants of Manosque as a quarry, till it was sold to a peasant for a ridiculous price. In 1815 it was bought back from this peasant for the sum of five hundred francs, by a gentleman who had been educated by the great Mirabeau till he was nine years old, and to whom Mirabeau had made a legacy in these terms: "I leave to the son of Lucas de Montigny, sculptor, known under the name of the *petit Coco*, the sum of 24,000 livres, which will be invested to his profit by the care of my friend La Marck." The little Coco had become an administrator under the Empire, and remained some time at Marseilles; he had the curiosity to see the ancestral seat of the Mirabeaus, and, as I said, he bought it for five hundred francs. The castle is now inhabited by his son, who has restored it as much as possible. The Marquis de Mirabeau, the father of the orator, describes the higher Provence in these terms: "Burning sun, excessive climate, savage aspect, rocks, birds of prey, devouring rivers, torrents either dry or overflowing; the men hard, strong, outspoken, and uneasy." This word "excessive," which he applies to the climate of Provence, well describes all the Mirabeaus.

The Mirabeaus were first known under the name of Riqueti; they only bought the castle of Mirabeau in 1570. M. de Loménie proves conclusively that the Riqueti were not a noble Florentine family, as is often alleged; they were merchants, who established manufactures at Marseilles. When they were rich enough to buy Mirabeau they received it from the family of Barras, which had for its device: "Li Barras viei coumo li roucas" (The Barras as old as the rocks). The real name of the Riqueti was probably Riquet, but it was the fashion in Provence to give names an Italian termination: it was less *roturier* to be Riqueti than Riquet. I cannot even analyze all that M. de Loménie has to say of the eldest Mirabeau, and come at once to his grandmother, Françoise de Castellane, whom he describes as one of the handsomest persons of her time. She lost her husband early and had the care of three sons—the Marquis (the father of the orator), the Bailiff, and the Count. She had a strong will and she inspired her sons with as much deference as affection. She was austere, pious, and very methodical. The Marquis probably learned from her those theories of parental authority which he vainly tried to enforce upon the great Mirabeau. Poor woman! she was passionately fond of the Marquis, her son; he was also very devoted to her. She was sixty years old when he decided her to leave her château in Provence; he married in Paris while she was still in Provence. This very unfortunate marriage became a source of trouble for the whole family. Françoise de Castellane had not only the sorrow of seeing her son ill-married; she saw him afterwards admit into his house a mistress, Madame de Pailly. She was very devout, but she finally lost her reason and she lived in a state of madness till the age of eighty-six years. (You may find all the details of this painful case in the 'Memoirs' of Baron Gleichen, ambassador of Denmark in Paris.) She lost her mind in 1766 and died in 1769.

The Count, who was the youngest of the three sons of Françoise de Castellane, died at the age of thirty-six, and has left no name. The Chevalier, who was the second son, and who afterwards took the name of Bailiff when he became grand-cross of the Order of Malta, is a very interesting character. The orator, when he wrote his Letters in the prison of Vincennes, said of him: "I love and revere my uncle: my uncle has the soul and the virtues of a hero." Mirabeau wrote these lines when he was at war with all his family—with his father, his sister, and even with his mother. The Bailiff has not the celebrity of his brother, who was called *L'Ami des hommes;* he has not the reputation of his nephew, but he is evidently the favorite of M. de Loménie:

"He is," he says, "the finest moral product of this impetuous and often unbridled race. But as if excess, even in good, was inherent to it, the best of all was excessive in his passion for truth and for justice. The Bailli de Mirabeau was an Alceste [*Alceste* is the misanthrope of

Molière], and a feudal Alceste ; his physiognomy comes out in strong features amidst the frivolous faces of the eighteenth century ; but he had nothing in common with the hero of Molière except this exaggeration of frankness and of rigorism. He was not accessible to the domination of a *Célimène ;* he did not content himself with declamations against the vices of humanity ; he fulfilled all the duties of a laborious career and was more occupied in doing good than in criticising evil."

He was for many years a sailor, and at one time there was a question of making him Minister of the Navy ; but in the eighteenth century, and perhaps at other times, a little more diplomacy than the Bailiff possessed was required for this post. He was for a time Governor of Guadeloupe. He wrote a number of memoirs on technical subjects, which are now quite forgotten. His early education had been somewhat neglected ; at nineteen this young man who afterwards became so austere was as wild as only a Mirabeau could be.

"I have seen," writes his brother the Marquis in 1770, "the youth of the Bailli, who, during three or four years, was not for more than a week at a time out of prison, and as soon as he saw the light of the day lost himself in brandy, and then fell on anybody whom he met, till he was borne to prison. With all that, he was full of honor, and his superiors always promised my mother that he would become an excellent officer. However, nobody could stop him till he suddenly stopped himself."

This period of folly was short. The young Chevalier was then at Malta, and Malta is perhaps not a very intellectual place. It was then full of young men of good family who had not much to do. After his service at Malta he entered the navy, but I will not give an account of his long journeys and of his campaigns. On the high seas or in distant lands he preserved always in his heart two noble sentiments : he was passionately attached to his mother and to his brother the Marquis, whom he considered a great man. He was the cadet, and the Marquis had all the privileges ; but the Chevalier had but one thought—the glory of the name of Mirabeau—and he was absolutely disinterested in all money transactions and arrangements. He was very economical, while the Marquis was very disorderly ; he always considered his economies as a little family treasure. He leaves them in the hands of his brother, and when he has some need of money he seems almost ashamed to ask him for a small part of what is his own. On the other side, it must be said that the Marquis is ever ready to help his brother in his career, and is incessant in his praise. He consults him in every case ; he looks upon him as the best, almost the only real, friend he has in the world. He is very ambitious for his brother, and he forces him to accept the very expensive post of General of the Galleys of Malta. He incurs debts himself in order to procure this post for him ; he procures for him afterwards the richest *commanderie ;* in short, he finally makes his brother rich, and, by a strange turn of events, we shall see that he subsists in the end, when he is lost in his lawsuits with all his family, only on the little fortune which he has, so to speak, forced upon the Bailiff. The relations of these two brothers form perhaps one of the most curious chapters in the history of the right of primogeniture in France.

But it is time that I should arrive at the principal figure of the work of M. de Loménie, the Marquis, commonly called *L'Ami des hommes.*

Correspondence.

A NEW VOLUME OF THE 'FINAL PHILOSOPHY.'

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : The critic who noticed my treatise on the 'Final Philosophy' in your last number has expressed a solicitude in regard to the work which the author alone can relieve.

"The first essay," he says, "has been cordially received, if it has not been much read. May we not have some hope for the future ? Almost a score of years have been devoted to it by the author, he tells us, and a collegiate chair secured expressly for its support. What a loss it would be if it were to perish unwritten !"

Permit me to reply that the revised sheets of the second edition of the work have this morning been sent to the printer, and that the materials for another volume have long been accumulating, having in fact formed part of the college course to which the critic refers. When his desires for that volume are to be met, I could not now promise ; nor would it be easy to afford him even a foretaste so long as he holds his present estimate of "the Princeton curriculum," and, apparently, of "the productions of the American press."

Trusting that this brief note will not take up too much of your space, I am, very truly yours, Charles W. Shields.

Princeton, Jan. 2, 1879.

THE ABUSE OF THE PARDONING POWER.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : The President has recently granted a pardon to one Heywood, who was convicted in Massachusetts for sending obscene matter through the United States mails, thus reducing his sentence from two years to seven months, and making himself morally responsible for all the mischief that this man will do during the interval for which the President has given him the opportunity.

The abuse of the pardoning power is an evil of constantly-increasing magnitude. It would be interesting to make a list of all the counterfeiters, liquor-swindlers, and defaulters who, after careful trials, difficult convictions, and moderate sentences, have been almost immediately let loose by Mr. Hayes, to recommence their preying upon society. There are many who think that in view of these enormous abuses, which extend to State as well as national executives, it would be far better to do away with the pardoning power altogether. At the very least, a pardon without the recommendation of the judge who conducted the trial should be made impossible, even for the President. M. C. L.

SHELLEY'S RELIGION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your paper for Dec. 26, in an article relative to Percy Bysshe Shelley, after stating that "Shelley rejected all that is properly known as Christianity, and that it is impossible to deny Shelley's atheism, and that he began life with a theory which imposed no restrictions except those of his own honor and self-respect, which acknowledged no command not proceeding from his own reason," you remark that "the most that can be contended for is that in all that constituted a religious mind, in natural piety, in purity of life and motive, Shelley was exceptionally conspicuous."

May I take the liberty of asking, in view of the fact that the *Nation* is probably read by many young men whose practical sentiments it doubtless does much in shaping, that you would explain how a mind in which the essential underlying principle of all religion, the being of God, is entirely disowned, and in which no obligation of obedience to any authority outside of itself was entertained, could yet be exceptionally conspicuous in all that constitutes a *religious* mind ? Are we justified in inferring from the article in question that Christianity, and even natural religion, may everywhere be entirely dispensed with, and yet every man's character and conduct be all which they ought to be? Nisus.

[The article in question attributes Shelley's sense of "freedom from obligation of obedience to any authority outside of himself" only to the earlier part of his short career. It says that he "began life with a theory which left every desire and impulse free course, etc.," but that "by intense thought and bitterest experience he came at last to find the laws of life and to obey them," so that he did not end his life as a lawless person. We admit, however, that it is perhaps a straining of the term "religious" to apply it to the mind of a person who does not believe in a personal Deity, but that it is not an unprecedented or wholly unwarranted use of it is shown by the language of Mr. F. W. Robertson about Shelley which we have quoted, and it may be still further justified and explained by the following from Hunt's account of the poet's death :

"His aspect had a certain seraphical character which would have suited a portrait of John the Baptist, or the angel whom Milton describes as holding a reed 'tipped with fire.' Nor would the most religious mind, had it known him, have objected to the comparison, for with all his scepticism Shelley's disposition was truly said to have been anything but irreligious. A person of much eminence for piety in our times has well observed that the greatest want of religious feeling is not to be found among the greatest infidels, but among those who never think of religion except as a matter of course. The leading feature of Shelley's character may be said to have been a natural piety. He was pious towards nature, towards his friends, towards the whole human race, towards the meanest insect of the forest. He did himself injustice with the public in using the popular name of the Supreme Being inconsiderately. He identified it solely with the most vulgar and tyrannical notions of a god made after the worst human fashion, and did not sufficiently reflect that it was often used by a juster devotion to express a sense of the great Mover of the universe. An impatience in contradicting worldly and pernicious notions of a supernatural power led his own aspirations to be mis-

construed; for though in the severity of his dialectics, and particularly in moments of despondency, he sometimes appeared most hopeless of what he most desired, and though he justly thought that a Divine Being would prefer the incense of benevolence and good before any praise or even recognition of himself (a reflection worth thinking of by the intolerant), yet there was in reality no belief to which he clung with more fondness than that of some great pervading 'Spirit of Intellectual Beauty,' as may be seen in his aspirations on the subject. He assented warmly to my opinion which I expressed in the cathedral at Pisa while the organ was playing, that a truly divine religion might yet be established if charity were really made the principle of it instead of faith."—Ed. Nation.]

HOW TO CIVILIZE THE INDIANS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The *Nation*, No. 700, contains a letter from Mr. Lewis H. Morgan on the Indian question. It is very apparent that Mr. Morgan has given this subject a good deal of study. The conclusions which he has arrived at, as regards the present condition of the Indians and the natural stages by which they might be made to ascend in the scale of civilization, are correct. How any careful and candid student of the subject can arrive at any other conclusions is a mystery. The Indian is intelligent, and amenable to reason; but he has not the capacity, in his present barbarous condition, of retaining long a clear remembrance of the difference between right and wrong, nor has he the moral stamina to act, as he has been convinced it is right that he should, in opposition to his passions and the time-honored customs of his ancestors. Hence acting alone, unsupported by the actual presence of physical power, moral suasion utterly fails to effect any permanent elevation of the condition of the Indian. Talk to him like "a man and a brother," and he will readily admit the justness of your strictures upon his conduct: "My friend, you have shown me the straight road. I will henceforth follow it"; and straightway he goes meandering along the crooked paths his ancestors have made memorable.

What can be done? The answer is not difficult. Treat him as you would a child, justly and firmly, placing in the hand which furnishes food and protection actual, living, ever-present power to punish transgression. Take away from him his surplus ponies and firearms, forbid the sale or issue to him of paints and many-colored blankets; these serve only to stir up in his barbarous heart longings to emulate the bloody deeds of his barbarous ancestors. Issue to him domestic cattle and white man's clothing, assist him in caring for and *protecting* his stock. Invest the branch of the Government called upon to perform this duty with the necessary, tangible, and effective power to enforce obedience to moral suasion.

Under the moral-suasion policy four hundred domestic cows were given to the Indians at this agency, and the Indians ate them up, although every effort was made by the agent to persuade them not to do so. In October, 1877, four hundred and forty-nine cows and four bulls were given to the Indians at this agency by order of General Sheridan. They were purchased by military authorities from the proceeds of the sale of surrendered Indian ponies. By direction of the post-commander at Cheyenne Agency, D. T., these cows were turned over to the heads of families, who signed an agreement to care for and protect the said cows and their increase for the benefit of themselves and their families; further, they agreed that they would not kill, sell, trade, or otherwise dispose of them, and that they would submit to a retention of their rations for such time as the post-commander should deem just in the event of their violating any of the foregoing agreements; and, finally, that they would report to the said authority any violation of this agreement that might come to their knowledge. All this was read over to each Indian before he was required to sign the same. The post-commander then directed the officer in command of Indian scouts to keep a general supervision over the cows. Last July this officer made a careful and thorough inspection of all the cows, bulls, and calves, and found four hundred and forty-four cows, five bulls, and three hundred and fifty calves in the possession of the Indians, showing a loss of five cows and a gain of three hundred and fifty calves.

In September of this year two hundred cows and four bulls were turned over to the Indians at this agency, in the same manner as the previous lot. This stock was also purchased by the military authorities upon the proceeds of the sale of Indian ponies surrendered to said authorities last winter and spring. The Indians are taking excellent care of this stock; each family caring for them and protecting them, and intensely interested in their cows and calves. They have built warm, substantial stables, put up hay for the winter, and in every way shown an appreciation of the value of their stock. They have been assisted by the advice of the officers in charge, but have been required to do all the work. During the last summer nearly all the Indians at the agency made actual attempts to cultivate the ground and raise crops, and built about one hundred log-houses. Little-No-Heart, chief of the Minneconjou tribe, and "The Charger," chief of the Sans-Arc tribe, put in the hay required for the use of the agency during the present winter, and charged the Government four dollars less a ton than the white man did last year. Since April of the present year, when an army officer took charge of this agency, six full-blooded Indians have been permanently employed about the same as laborers, the Government paying them ten dollars a month for doing the same work it pays a white man forty dollars a month for doing. Two years ago the writer was frequently told by the agency officials then in charge that it would be impossible to get an Indian to work for any price, and that he would consider a proposition to do so as a mortal affront.

Is it difficult to understand why the Indians at this agency have made so much progress in the last two years, while their uncles, cousins, and other relations at Spotted-Tail and Red-Cloud Agency have made very little or none at all? It is due to actual and active support of moral suasion by physical force, combined with just and equitable treatment, and this I believe to be the only policy that will ever satisfactorily solve the Indian question.

I remain, sir, very respectfully your obedient servant,

Geo. Le R. Brown,
Second Lieutenant, Eleventh Infantry.

Cheyenne Agency, D. T., Dec 8, 1878.

OUR SOUTH AMERICAN TRADE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In his recent memorandum concerning our South American trade Mr. Evarts says that our manufactured goods are now reaching South America *via* Europe, and he asserts that "no stronger demonstration of the tendency of commerce to follow in the train of postal communication can be conceived." We have no direct postal communication with South American ports, but have to send our letters by way of Europe. Mr. Evarts suggests, therefore, the subsidizing of mail steamers to run between the United States and South America.

Believing that trade is, in reality, but a barter of merchandise against merchandise, and that our tariff laws practically prohibit the importation of South American products into the United States, I fail to understand how the postal communication between Europe and South America is any explanation of the unimportance of our South American trade, or how a subsidized steamship company is going to help matters. It would not be denied by protectionists (see a letter signed "Merchant" in *Nation* of Sept. 27, 1877) that our tariff laws keep South American produce out of the United States, for this is plainly the purpose of such laws. It is also a fact that the protectionist party in the United States is of great political importance, and I am sure Mr. Hayes's Government would not dare to antagonize that party. Mr. Evarts is careful not to do so, or he would not suggest a subsidized mail service; for Mr. Evarts must see clearly enough that the modification of our tariff laws (and our navigation laws, also, would need revision) is the straight road to an enormous trade with South America, and to direct postal communication, without Government aid. Under these circumstances, Mr. Evarts's suggestion can only mean that our Government should assist our manufacturers to get their goods to South American markets direct. But in what can our manufacturers be paid? Referring again to the *Nation* of Sept. 27, 1877, we find your protectionist correspondent answering this very question thus: In bills of exchange drawn against South American produce shipped to Europe. But could such a trade as this gain any proportions? Could it warrant the subsidizing of a steamship company? Could it, in short, make possible the introduction of any large amount of our manufactured goods into South American markets? Now, every bill of exchange drawn on Europe, given in return for our manufactured goods, must be paid by the importation into this country of European merchandise. Have we any reason to believe that our imports from Europe can be so far increased over our exports to Europe as a large trade with South America implies? Are not the United States rich enough in resources to pay directly for all the European merchandise our people want? South America has products which the people of the United States want and cannot get. Can the wants of our people for European merchandise

be increased to accommodate a South American trade, working after the fashion described? These are questions which I think demand answers before we legislate to establish a steamship company.

But it may be said that we now have a South American trade *via* Europe; that the goods thus sent are paid for with European merchandise; that the subsidizing scheme only contemplates a simple change, in our favor, by which our manufactures will be sent to South American markets direct. But is the trade with South America, *via* Europe, of any great importance? If it appears to be so at present (I have seen no statistics on the subject) this can be accounted for by these two facts: first, that the stimulus of paper money has bequeathed to us an over-production of manufactured goods, which must be sold at ruinously low prices; second, that owing to the withdrawal of foreign capital from the United States, and the accumulation of gold in the United States (though this is of minor importance), our exports have latterly largely exceeded our imports. These facts would make it possible for Europeans greatly to increase their exports of our manufactured goods, but they imply a state of things which is abnormal and transitory.

Mr. David A. Wells, some two years since, in the *North American Review*, and afterwards in the pages of the *Nation*, discussed very thoroughly this question of South American trade. He argued its importance as an outlet for our over-production, as a means of giving employment to thousands of workingmen; but he also argued, and, as it seemed to many of us, very conclusively, that no trade with South America was possible which was not based on a direct exchange of merchandise. If Mr. Wells be right, Mr. Evarts's subsidy scheme is an absurdity, and can do no good. B.

Boston, Dec. 20, 1878.

Notes.

APPLETON & CO.'S announcements for the New Year comprise 'Selected Speeches and Reports on Finance and Taxation, from 1859 to 1878,' by Secretary John Sherman; 'Destruction and Reconstruction: Personal Reminiscences of the Late War,' by General Dick Taylor; 'Health, and How to Promote It,' by Prof. Richard McSherry, of the University of Maryland; 'Modern Fishers of Men among the Various Sexes, Sects, and Sets of Chartville Church and Community'; 'The Fairyland of Science,' by Arabella B. Buckley; 'Ocean Wonders,' by Wm. E. Damon, and 'Commercial Products of the Seas,' by P. L. Simmons, both illustrated; 'The English Reformation,' by the Rev. Cunningham Geikie; 'Bibelots and Curios: a Manual for Collectors,' by Frédéric Vors; Maudsley's 'Pathology of the Mind'; Élisé Reclus's 'Earth and its Inhabitants' (by subscription); a series of Health Primers, and numerous additions to their International Scientific, Experimental Science, School Science Primer, and Handy-Volume Series.——Charles Scribner's Sons have ready in pamphlet and also in book form Mr. Geo. William Curtis's recent oration at the Academy of Music, before the New York Historical Society, 'On the Life, Character, and Writings of William Cullen Bryant.' They have in press a fifth revised edition of President Woolsey's 'International Law,' printed from wholly new plates; 'Gleanings of Past Years,' being Mr. Gladstone's chief contributions to periodical literature from 1843 to 1878, in five small volumes; Jules Simon's 'Government of M. Thiers'; Max Müller's 'Hibbert Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religions of India'; 'St. Paul at Athens,' by the Rev. Charles Shakespeare; and Prof. Boyesen's study of Goethe and Schiller.——A fourth revised edition of 'An Essay contributing to a Philosophy of Literature,' by Brother Azarias, Professor of English Literature in Rock Hill College, Md., is soon to be published by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.——John Wiley & Sons have issued the third edition of Prof. J. D. Dana's 'Manual of Mineralogy and Lithology,' rewritten and brought up to the mineralogical standard of the present day. The few pages devoted to lithology bear the stamp of the author's somewhat peculiar views upon this subject. He quite ignores the classifications adopted by the German geologists, and omits entirely one of our most wide-spread volcanic rocks, as such, which, in a work of this kind, should at least receive some mention.——A most admirable little work of a somewhat novel kind, viz., 'An Elementary Geology,' which treats only of a limited area, the Mississippi basin, has just been published in Cincinnati by Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co. Instead of using the stereotyped illustrations found in the majority of geological text-books, the author has drawn upon the ample material furnished by the publications of the various State Surveys, thus impressing more vividly upon the mind of the learner, by the familiarity of the natural phenomena cited, the general truths he desires to teach, and at the same time affording to the general reader a great deal of otherwise practically inaccessible geological information. The book is written in language which, while clear and concise, is simple without being childish, and the woodcuts with which it is profusely illustrated are not only new but well designed and admirably executed.——B. Westermann & Co. send us the *Almanach de Gotha* for 1879, in which the greatest changes have arisen from the Treaty of Berlin. Montenegro, Servia, and Rumania take their place in it for the first time as independent states and as reigning families. Two of the portraits have exceptional interest—Mercedes and the Pope, the latter showing a face of much shrewdness and an intellectual forehead.——The Roman papers announce the intended publication, in March next, of a newspaper by the Papal authorities in the Vatican. It is to be printed in five different languages, Italian, French, Spanish, English, and German, and possibly (considering the interest in the Eastern question) in Greek. It will publish the Papal briefs, allocutions, and other official documents of the Government. The form will probably be an eight-page folio, and an edition of at least 50,000 copies is expected to be printed. The editor-in-chief is to be Monsignore Pecci, brother of the Pope, whilst the managing editor is the strongly ultramontane Count Connestabile, of Perugia.——An Executive Committee of the Alumni Association of Harvard College is engaged in raising funds for a likeness, in bust or medallion, of the late Gen. W. F. Bartlett, to be placed with a suitable tablet in Memorial Hall. Any surplus will be devoted to the benefit of his children. The Treasurer is Gen. Charles L. Peirson, 44 Kilby Street, Boston.——The Brooklyn Historical Society will listen on the 14th inst. to a lecture by the Rev. Henry G. Spaulding on "Some Recent Advances in Classical Archæology," with views of excavations and explorations. Mr. Spaulding will deliver in that city and in New York this winter a second course of his excellent illustrated lectures on Roman Life and Antiquities.

—The following sentence in our article last week on page 4, column 2, near the top, "There is more doubt now than there has ever been that such men [*i.e.*, such statesmen as American society needs] exist," should have read, "There is *no* more doubt," etc. The succeeding sentence, "but there is a great and wide-spread disbelief, etc.," implied the antithesis the types failed to express.

—We have received from the chairman of the special committee of the Chamber of Commerce to which was committed the question of concurrence with the York-Antwerp rules of General Average, a reply to the censure on his course in opposing concurrence which we printed last week in a letter from a correspondent. The reply will appear in our next issue, being unavoidably deferred for want of space.

—The necrology of 1878 embraces many ex-sovereigns, of whom only Pius IX. need be named. Cut off in the midst of their rule were Victor Emanuel, the unfortunate Queen Mercedes, and the Princess Alice. It was a bad year for bosses: Tweed and Morrissey in this country, and J. J. Fazy in Switzerland, going the way of all flesh. Italy lost the patriots Pallavicino and Lamarmora; Greece, her revolutionary statesman, Demetrius Bulgaris; Hungary, Michael Horváth, Kossuth's Minister of Education; France, the imperialist Pierre Magne and Montauban, and the Republican Garnier-Pagès; England, the veteran Earl Russell. Our own loss has not been great: both Benjamin F. Wade and Gideon Welles could well be spared. No military or naval name of the first rank has been extinguished. Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers died at eighty-three, fuller of years, perhaps, than of martial honors. The heroic defender of Belfort, Col. Denfert-Rochereau, did more for his country than for his Protestantism by saving that fortress to France. A not low type of the soldier of fortune passed away in the person of Col. F. W. Rüstow. Our civil war has been recalled by the deaths of Gens. August Willich and Geo. F. Shepley and Rear-Admiral Hiram Paulding, on the Union side; of Gideon J. Pillow and Commodore Geo. N. Hollins, on the Confederate.

—The roll of scientists is somewhat more brilliant, mustering a Claude Bernard in physiology; an Antoine-César Becquerel and a Robert von Meyer in physics, the one strong in electricity and magnetism, the other an independent discoverer with Joule of the dynamic theory of heat; a Karl Rokitansky in pathological anatomy; an Ernst Heinrich Weber in optics and acoustics; and the Nestor of botanists, Elias Magnus Fries, of Upsal. Somewhat below these, but still of high rank, are Victor Regnault, physicist and chemist; Father Angelo Secchi, the Papal astronomer, whose attention to solar physics grew out of the share he took while in this country in Prof. Henry's experiments

in this direction; A. L. Mörch, the Danish conchologist; P. Bleeker, the Dutch ichthyologist; and Thomas Vernon Wollaston, the indefatigable English entomologist. Mention should also be made of A. Lamy, who discovered simultaneously with Crookes the metal thallium; and of Gustav Wallis, whose botanical explorations in South America and elsewhere enlarged the horticulture of Europe by a thousand new varieties. Worthy to rank with the first of the foregoing was our own Joseph Henry, and we have lost also Wm. M. Gabb, geologist and palæontologist, Charles Fred. Hartt, geologist, and Dr. Charles Pickering, the naturalist of the Wilkes Expedition. Here also may appropriately be remembered Thomas Belt, the delightful "Naturalist in Nicaragua"; Sir Charles Buck, the Arctic explorer; and the travellers J. G. Kohl, Baron Ernst von Bibra, and J. J. Monteiro, together with that ardent promoter of geographical science, August Heinrich Petermann.

—In pure literature we may say that there have been no irreparable losses. England enumerates George Henry Lewes, the historians Sir Edward Creasy and Sir Wm. Stirling Maxwell, the novelist Whyte-Melville, Mrs. Fanny Bury Palisser (Marryat's daughter and a friend to china-maniacs), Mrs. Favel Lee Mortimer, author of 'Reading without Tears' and of other juvenile works which have had an enormous vogue, and Henry S. King, both author and publisher. Another publisher, Basil Montagu Pickering, is familiar to the lovers of good books, and M. A. Poulet-Malassis deserves mention as among the first to revive fine and decorative printing in France. Russia misses her great poet, Nekrasoff, and antiquary, George Tolstoi; Spain, the historian and archæologist, Don José Amador de los Rios, and Escosura, the poet-dramatist; Italy, the popular poet, Aleardo Aleardi; Poland, an admirable translator of Homer, Siemienski; Germany, Karl Gutzkow, the novelist, a relic of the "Young Germany" of fifty years ago. In this country, Bryant and Bayard Taylor and Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman, among the poets, and Evert A. Duyckinck, the literary cyclopædist, complete the tale.

—Among the men of learning we mention J. J. Hoffmann, of Leyden, the first Japanese scholar of the time; Niels Ludwig Westergaard, the Danish Orientalist; William F. Mayers, the promising Chinese scholar; Joseph Bonomi, the Egyptologist; James Whatman Bosanquet, an authority in Biblical chronology and Assyrian history, and a patron of research in these fields; Theodor Keim, the master of early Christian history; and Dr. Johann Alzog, the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical historian. In the domain of art Cruikshank's leads all other names. C. F. Daubigny and Émile Lambinet, the French landscape-painters; Domenico Induno, an Italian master of the brush; Giuseppe Mengoni, the leading Italian architect; the Austrian sculptor, Fernkorn; and Sir Gilbert Scott, architect, are the only other notable losses of the year. Adolph Braun, of Dornach, has secured a long remembrance and an honorable association by his carbon prints after the old masters. The late Richard Upjohn, architect of Trinity Church, has the distinction of having broken the way for "pure" architecture in the United States. Only two conspicuous inventors—Thomas Winans, of Baltimore, and Sir William Mitchell, to whom we owe the international marine signalling code—are among the dead of last year. Akin to them as pioneers were Edward K. Collins, founder of an ill-fated line of American steamships; Henry Wells, the leading spirit of "Wells-Fargo"; and William Orton, head of the Western Union Telegraph Company. The philanthropists include Mme. Marie Pape-Carpentier, *inspectrice générale des salles d'asile;* George Thompson, who helped powerfully to free the Anglo-Saxon race from the iniquity of slaveholding; his colaborer and countryman, the chartist, Henry Vincent; and among us, Charles C. Burleigh, William Goodell, Miss Catherine Beecher, and (unprofessionally) Theodore Roosevelt. Journalism suffered by the death of Samuel Bowles and John A. MacGahan; and the stage by that of the admirable Charles James Mathews.

—The name of Caleb Cushing, who died on the 2d inst., all but belongs in the foregoing list. Mr. Cushing was born in Salisbury, Mass., and had nearly completed his seventy-ninth year. His career was of almost unexampled variety and activity, and such were his native talents that neither his want of principle and frequent change of party and opinion, nor his advancing age, could keep him permanently "on the shelf." He entered Congress as a Clay-Whig Representative in 1835, worked vigorously to secure the election of Harrison, and before he left the House in 1843 had "Tylerized" and definitively cast in his lot with the Democratic Party. Tyler gave him a commissionership to China in the last-named year, and he there negotiated an important treaty. When the annexation of Texas had borne its legitimate fruit, and Massachusetts would not raise troops for the slaveholders' war with Mexico, he recruited a regiment at his own expense, became colonel of it, and after joining Taylor was made brigadier-general by President Polk. As a commander he was heartily detested by his own soldiers, and some of the traditions of his discipline in maintaining the hygiene of the camp show that his treatment of men could be brutal in the extreme. While still in the field he made that unsuccessful run for Governor of Massachusetts which Hosea Biglow has immortalized in his "John P. Robinson he." "Gineral C.," however, had the good fortune to be a great man in a little village, and when the State at large would not give him anything to do he was always sure of being made mayor of Newburyport, or its representative in the General Court. His then fellow-Democrat, Governor Boutwell, appointed him to the Massachusetts Supreme Court in 1852, but he shortly resigned this position in order to take the U. S. Attorney-Generalship under President Pierce (1853–57). In 1860 he presided over the divided Charleston Convention, and later over the rump which nominated Breckenridge at Baltimore; but after Sumter he offered his services in any capacity to Governor Andrew, to assist in the maintenance of the Union, and fairly put himself in harmony with the new order of things. In 1866 President Johnson appointed him with two others to revise and codify the U. S. statutes. In 1872 President Grant sent him to Geneva as one of the American counsel in the *Alabama* settlement, in 1874 nominated him Chief-Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, and failing in that, in spite of Mr. Sumner's support, sent him to Spain, where as Minister he brought the *Virginius* affair to a satisfactory conclusion. In the late Massachusetts campaign the Butlerites attempted to put him on their ticket, so that up to the last moment he was kept in mind as a public character of unlimited capacity for service. Administrations of every shade had found him useful, he was considered by his opponents an ornament of the General Court, and he was a hard and faithful worker wherever employed; yet nobody ever trusted him except in a professional capacity, and neither his political nor his forensic addresses have given him a renown like that of Webster or of Choate. One familiar quotation we owe to his temporary despair of the Republic, when he foresaw anarchy and then the "man on horseback." Perhaps no better epitaph could be devised for him than the panegyric written thirty years ago by his successor at Madrid in these words—"a dreffle smart man."

—It is difficult to say whether Charles Reade's 'Double Marriage,' now being given at the Lyceum Theatre, is a melodrama or a tragedy; it is certainly what is now called an "emotional" play. The scene is laid at the time of the French Revolution, and the play opens with the sale, under the hammer, of the castle of Beaurepaire, belonging to one of the oldest families of France. The household consists of the Baroness (Mrs. E. L. Davenport) and her two daughters, *Josephine* and *Rose* (Miss Alice Lingard and Miss Kate Claxton). *Raynal*, a French officer, buys the château, and, finding that the sale is the cause of great distress and misery to the family, immediately proposes to settle the difficulty by marrying *Josephine*. *Josephine* is already betrothed to *Émile Dujardin*, another officer, a friend and comrade of *Raynal*, but supposed to be dead. For her mother's sake *Josephine* accepts the offer. *Rose* (who represents comedy and coquetry, as opposed to *Josephine*, who is to be the tragic character of the play) is interested in *Édouard Rivière*, whom she, however, torments most unmercifully. No sooner has the marriage taken place (*Raynal*, having no time to waste, insists on a civil ceremony), and the husband departed for Egypt, than in walks *Émile*, who has been through every sort of danger and privation, and comes home to find *Josephine* married to another man. However, being too ill to be moved, he remains at the castle, and in a long time news comes of the death of *Raynal*. A secret marriage (in accordance with the forms sanctified by the Church) follows, and *Émile* and *Josephine* are happy. The *Baroness* is not allowed to know the fact, and, so far as she is concerned, the rest of the play is pure mystery until it is rather abruptly cleared up in the fifth act. News now comes that *Raynal* is not dead at all, and this terrible blow is shortly followed by the appearance of the first husband in person, who finds, to his surprise, an unexpected addition to the family in the shape of an infant in arms. *Rose*, to save her sister, declares she is the mother and *Émile* the father of the child. The next scene is in the trenches before Phillipsburg, where, after further complications between *Raynal* and *Émile*, both of whom meet at the seat of war, *Raynal*, determined to sacrifice his life, draws the lot to lead a forlorn hope against an undermined bastion; *Émile*, however, anticipates him, leads it himself, the bastion is taken, the mine sprung, and the attacking party is

blown into the air. *Raynal* now returns home, learns all, explains to the assembled family that under the French law a civil marriage may be annulled by mutual consent, tears up his own marriage contract, thus making *Josephine* the wife, or rather the widow, of *Émile*. No sooner has this been done (it should be said, however, that previous to this, affairs had reached such a tragic pitch that *Josephine* had attempted to poison herself) than *Émile* turns up again, and there is a final reunion, the generous *Raynal*, however, being left completely in the lurch. Of course, *Rose* and *Rivière* make up their little difficulty. A *résumé* of the plot makes it seem like a tissue of absurdities, but the play, as is sure to be the case with anything in which Charles Reade has had a hand, has many strong points. The dialogue is very good, the action rapid, the alternations of tragedy and comedy well arranged, and the part of *Josephine* is capable of being made very interesting. Miss Claxton, who is herself a better manager than actress, has collected several very fair actors in her little company at the Lyceum, among the rest Messrs. Robinson and Stevenson, and Miss Lingard ; the two former taking the parts of the rival officers. Mr. Robinson always succeeds in making a part with anything in it interesting, and Mr. Stevenson, though too quiet an actor for *Émile*, displayed remarkable force in the forlorn-hope scene. Miss Lingard's acting was throughout good, and she showed at times such genuine tragic feeling as to inspire a regret that the play could not have ended at its real climax, where she attempts suicide. Never have we been more sorry to see a life saved.

—We trust that there is no mistake in the rumor that Mr. W. D. Howells's "Counterfeit Presentment" is to be brought out in New York this winter. Its success last year in Boston and other New England cities would certainly seem to warrant its production, though we do not know what manager thinks of putting it on the stage. We hear a great deal nowadays of "American" dramas and the necessity of encouraging toiling American dramatists, who mainly occupy themselves with conveying late French plays by the aid of an indifferent translator and the substitution of American for French names and places. After the process is completed these plays usually present a picture of life about as like that which usually goes on in America as it is like life in Hindustan. An intrigue with a married woman, and a duel, are among the common incidents of these plays, and a foreign count or two usually appears, associating intimately with representatives of "leading New York dry-goods houses" or Boston bankers. Mr. Howells has, on the other hand, written a genuine American play, in which the characters are real American men and women, and the incidents such as might naturally happen to American men and women. It is a genuine comedy of American life and manners, and we hope the public here will be given before long an opportunity of seeing it.

—The tenement-house question in New York has an important bearing on both public security and health. Overcrowding, bad ventilation and drainage sow seeds of disease which are liable to spread throughout the city, and the herding together of families without a proper separation of age and sex has a demoralizing effect which, more than almost any other cause, swells the ranks of crime. The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor have taken the matter up in an enterprising spirit, and have already done much toward promoting the execution of existing laws, which are sufficient, if obeyed, to provide for the correction of present evils. Landlords, in the building and management of their houses, are often wholly careless of their tenants' welfare. To them the law should be vigorously applied ; but landlords are not always the only delinquents. The prevalence of filth and misery is often due entirely to the habits of the tenants themselves, and good drainage is not promoted by the stealing of lead pipe. The reforms most needed are good drainage, ventilation, and a complete isolation of the separate families living under one roof. These results can only be attained by a severe supervision over the construction of new buildings, for which full power is given the Board of Health by law. Model tenement-houses cannot now be built in New York on account of the excessive supply of tenement accommodation. In London, where the need has been felt to a far greater degree than in this city, many model dwellings have been built, some of which have satisfied the interests of both landlord and tenant. They have also been attended with great success in Brooklyn and in Boston, but New York is not yet ready for them. Rents are now so low, and there is so much unoccupied accommodation, that model tenements would not fulfil the necessary condition of paying a good return on the investment. When such buildings are erected, they will be found most satisfactory and profitable if built and managed by private persons rather than by a company in connection with a philanthropic society. Any business managed through agents is less profitable than when it has the personal supervision of interested parties. The success of the "White" tenements in Brooklyn may be largely ascribed to the fact that they have been managed in this way. Meanwhile, much good might be accomplished by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor by a publication of the plans which have had success in London and Brooklyn. It is reasonable to suppose that future buildings would be erected with due attention to these improvements if their details were easily attainable. The Association is doing an excellent work in this direction, and deserves the strongest support of all interested in the welfare of the city.

—Prof. Edward S. Morse has written an interesting paper on the "Traces of an Early Race in Japan," which throws light on a subject hitherto wholly obscure. A race of men called Ainos are believed to have come down from Kamtchatka and to have taken possession of Japan, which they held until displaced in their turn by the Japanese from the south. Of the two races, the Ainos and the Japanese, authentic records exist, but nothing has been known concerning the ancient people whose territory was appropriated by the Ainos. The only knowledge obtained of them has been ingeniously acquired by Mr. Morse by a careful study of "shell-heaps" in all respects similar to those found along the shores of Denmark, New England, and Florida. The deposit discovered by Mr. Morse near Tokio contained pottery and broken bones, many of which were human. It is generally admitted by ethnologists that a people that has once acquired the art of pottery will always retain it ; but as neither the Esquimaux, the Kamtchadales, nor the Ainos are essentially earthen-pot-makers, these remains naturally point to the former existence of a race in Japan who preceded the Ainos. Again, both the human and the deer bones found in this shell-heap were broken in a manner to facilitate the extraction of the marrow or to enable them to be placed in a cooking-pot, a circumstance which points to the existence of cannibalism among the people by whom the shell-heaps were made. On consulting Japanese scholars and archæologists Mr. Morse learned that the Ainos were not only not cannibals but were of an especially gentle disposition. The existence of an ancient race of cannibals in Japan, before the occupation of that country by the Ainos, is therefore made very probable. We hope to see another paper before long containing an account of Prof. Morse's later researches.

OUR BEST SOCIETY.*

"IN response to numerous and constant applications from all parts of the country for information regarding social forms and usages in New York" an anonymous writer has prepared and published a series of essays, under the title of 'Social Etiquette of New York.' "Special pains have been taken to make them represent faithfully and accurately existing customs in New York society, in distinction from the many manuals on the subject that have simply reproduced the codes of Paris and London." The manual is designed to furnish "a report or a description of our customs as taught and practised by the superior families of New York." We have examined this new code with care, and can cordially recommend it for study and adoption among superior families the world over. Etiquette, as those who have studied it most carefully well know, is an absorbing and inexhaustible subject of enquiry and analysis ; and perhaps no better time for the publication of a work on American etiquette could have been selected than the present, when an attempt is being made to introduce into Canada a distinctly foreign code. For the benefit of families which are trying to become superior we shall give a few extracts from the manual.

The first chapter, on "The Value of Etiquette," is, perhaps, hardly critical enough to suit a severe taste. The codes, the author observes, which different civilized nations "have provided for themselves," to suit "their peculiar sentiments and requirements," "serve as a music that is felt when not heard, and communities walk by it in beautiful harmony and ease" ; and, carrying out this musical similitude, she adds that "the slight and agreeable variations which are often made in the forms and usages of well-bred people in their intercourse with the world may be compared to the different parts of that same melody" (*i.e.*, one "that sings itself in one's thoughts without a sound being heard"). For those who do not believe in the value of etiquette, the author throws out the suggestion that "possibly those vagrants who scorn etiquette, and refuse to take the white high-road of a refined civilization, do not possess those

* 'Social Etiquette of New York.' New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

necessary aptitudes for imitation which are requisite for the easy acquirement of customs and formalities which are by birth alien to them"; but adds, guardedly, that "if such undisciplined persons would only submit to custom, and use their best powers of adaptation, they would soon discover that formality is as easy as a tune," etc., etc., etc. This, however, is merely prefatory.

It is in chapter ii., on "Introductions," that we feel that we have really reached the serious part of the work, and the only fault that can be found with it is perhaps a tendency to a slight obscurity here and there. The statement that "ladies of social equality are introduced to each other," qualified or fortified by what follows, "so also are gentlemen," unquestionably correctly describes the better practice as prevailing in New York. But when the author says "it is probable that from the foreign custom of announcing guests from the thresholds of *salons* by a loud-voiced servant is acquired our habit of mentioning the name of the less important or the younger person first," we confess that we do not quite follow her. Is it the loud-voiced servant who on the threshold of these foreign *salons* announces the names of persons younger or less important than himself? It has often struck us that the visitor was at a great disadvantage when compared with the loud-voiced servant, and must feel himself very much less important after the ceremony than before it. But what is the connection between this foreign fashion and our New York custom? Again, the author tells us that "the forms of introductions and presentations must necessarily differ in a country where an equality of citizenship is established by constitutional law," and we feel that she is right, but should be glad of a little more explicit information as to how they differ, and what they differ from.

Chapter iii., on "Salutations," shows that the superior people of New York have carried the practice of etiquette to a high level. The author starts with the assumption that "if bowing to a lady expressed deference, then might any gentleman incline his head to every woman he met." This seems based on the belief that every woman you meet on the street is a lady, a fact which police statistics show to be untrue. But this is of comparatively little importance, because it is well settled that bowing to a lady does not express deference, but recognition. The first point to be determined is who ought to bow first; and it seems that in New York it is the lady's right to recognize an acquaintance first. The only exception to this rule is the case of a young man who has been invited to a house by a "matron with many social cares," who "cannot charge her memory with the features of her multitude of young acquaintances." If a young man who has been invited to such a matron's house meets her in the street he may bow first. We should be inclined to admit another exception—when a gentleman meets a lady whom he knows to be near-sighted without her glasses. In the case of meeting a totally blind lady it is difficult to know how to act. "A faint smile and a formal bow" is all that any gentleman must expect from a lady—that is, in public places. "Under all circumstances, upon the promenade, the street, or in other public places, her smiles are faint and her bows are reserved, but they are not discourteous," and it is pointedly and most properly added that "no gentleman possesses the right to criticise this dignified demeanor, no matter how cordially she may have received him at a recent ball, or when he last paid his respects to her at her home." In a private house we suppose she may smile less faintly, or even laugh outright.

On entering a parlor to pay a visit "a gentleman," the author informs us, "should always carry his hat, leaving his overshoes, overcoat, and umbrella in the hall, if it be winter time." But it must not be inferred from this that in summer it is necessary for him to wear his overshoes, overcoat, and umbrella in making a visit. To return to the street again, an awkward question which must have often suggested itself to students of etiquette is here neatly disposed of—What should be done by a gentleman who meets a lady in the street who is offended with him, but whom "he may respect and feel kindly toward"? Under these circumstances, "It is permitted to him to express his continued reverence by uncovering his head in her presence; but he has no right to look at her as she passes him. He must drop his eyes."

The chapter on "Parties, Balls, and Germans" raises some hard questions, among others one which, as the author says, "has long been in dispute," viz., "Which side of the stairway, the rail or the wall, should be accorded to a lady?" This question has, it seems, been discussed by gentlemen "as if it were for them to decide, which it is not by any means." Such ladies, she pointedly adds, "as have been given their choice" have invariably said: "Permit me to take your left arm with my right hand, and it does not matter whether it is wall or rail that I am nearest in going up or down stairs."

In chapter x. there are some directions with regard to "Dinner-giving and Dining-out" which will prove of value to the young and inexperienced. "If wine be provided and the guest does not approve of it, a private table is not a suitable place for expressing individual convictions." He is further directed to "receive or turn the wine in the different glasses sparingly, and make no comment." At a public dinner "the freedom of the occasion permits a noticeable rejection of wines," though according to our experience this is a freedom not much taken advantage of. We miss one direction in this chapter which we remember to have seen in an old English book of etiquette, a maxim observed by the superior families of New York, though of English origin—"Do not throw your bones under the table or put them upon your neighbor's plate."

It will be seen from the above extracts that there has been evolved in New York a delicate and refined social code which ought to answer all the purposes of the city, considering its present rate of growth, for some years to come. It would be interesting, did our space allow, to speculate upon the effect which the regular practice among the superior families of a city like New York of a code like this might have upon its political institutions. Tocqueville has an instructive chapter on the Influence of Democracy on Manners, and our author appears to think that an "influencing sentiment of common sympathy was born and nourished by republicanism." The influence of Manners on Democracy would be an interesting subject of investigation, and might lead to useful practical results. Are good manners truly democratic, or are they vestiges of an extinct state of society, which have come down to us by a process of "survival," and which are destined finally to disappear for ever, or are they really based on a vital principle and destined in their development to sap the foundations of our liberties? Those whose tendency it is to despair of the Republic might bring forward some strong arguments in favor of an inherent antagonism between good manners and Republicanism. The machinery of society, they would say, is founded on the idea of an acknowledged inequality, which it is our mission as a people to abolish and extinguish throughout the world. For it is to be observed that, though *after* admission to that part of the public which occupies itself with carrying on "society," strict equality is presumed and even insisted on where it does not in reality exist, the principle of *exclusion* is one of inequality and to a certain extent aristocratic, as those know very well who have tried to secure admission, and found that the absence of a certain inherited aptitude, the lack of a bent in the direction of correct grammar, or spelling, or dressing, was a serious stumbling-block. With many of our leading statesmen a habit of saying "them" for "those," and using "be" where grammarians insist on "am" or "are," or appearing in a dress-coat in the early morning, or a frock-coat at a ball, has been found in politics not only not to retard but even perhaps to accelerate their advancement; but socially such solecisms form, even in a republic, a serious obstacle, which it requires a great amount of reserve force in the shape of money to overcome. But then, money does not, as is sometimes said, make society democratic. A society founded simply on distinctions of wealth would probably be the most undemocratic in the world, because money is the most coarse and vulgar test which can be applied. The fact is that no hard-and-fast line can be drawn which will indicate the limits of "society." Money, success, and distinction in any of the callings or professions (including, in the United States, dry-goods), birth and beauty, will all at different times and places be regarded as qualifications; but this is not democracy. If society were truly democratic, all would be admitted without regard to anything, as they say in Washington, but the simple fact of American citizenship. Again, society could not be kept going for a day without the institution of domestic service—or, in other words, without a large number of our fellow-citizens being trained to devote their time and attention to ministering to the pleasures of their employers. There can be nothing abstractly more undemocratic than the spectacle of a citizen, clothed with full civil and political rights, enjoying the privilege of *habeas corpus*, and the right of petition and of carrying arms, blacking the boots of another citizen, without any reciprocal right of having his boots blacked in turn by the latter. All these things show that the laws which govern us in the world known as "society," and those which operate upon us under the Constitution and laws of the United States, are not only different but opposed, and it is from a half-conscious perception of this fact that some of our greatest political leaders have shown at times a dislike and suspicion of the established social laws and observances. Thus, it is related in Randolph's 'Life of Jefferson' that one of his first acts on becoming President was to abolish the formal "levees" established by Washington, and introduce

the modern White-House reception, an institution which may be regarded as a standing National protest in the interest of Democracy against the evil tendencies of society, and so too he did away with all the ceremony with which Washington had surrounded the opening of Congress, the procession to the Capitol, and the reading of the message in person. Another protest was made when American diplomats were forbidden to wear uniform.

So, during the recent Butler campaign in Massachusetts—in which, as is well known, the hostility that raged between the people at large and the exclusive and disdainful "society" which governs and directs the venal press of the large cities was most furious—no more marked proof of the depth of feeling was given than in a widely-read speech of the General's, in which he announced his determination to break up the practice of amateur coach-driving in New York, in itself a harmless if unprofitable occupation affected by a class of young men who, as a rule, it must be confessed, neglect their full duties as American citizens, and who at the same time are, to a certain extent, representatives of "society." Indeed, it might be said in a negative way that our best society is, to a large extent, made up of citizens who do not perform their political duties, and deride those who do—a fact strongly tending to corroborate the pessimistic view of the relation between Manners and Democracy. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; and if it is the spread of Good Manners which is sapping the foundation on which the primary and the convention and other safeguards of our rights rest—if it is impossible, as some persons maintain, to be at once a good citizen and a well-bred man, the fact ought to be made plain, so that the public may understand what the superior families of New York are about.

RECENT POETRY. *

'THE Masque of the Poets' represents fairly the strength and variety of contemporary verse, especially of that chorus of singers who sing because the sun rises and it is May. The friends of these lesser poets will see it well illustrated in this volume that the activity of their favorites is determined by common intellectual and moral influences of the time upon more than ordinarily sensitive organizations, and that there is but little original and distinctive character in their works; indeed, beside the entertainment of these verses, they have considerable value as an index to the common qualities of American poetry and a reflection of American life in what is presumably its most sensitively organized and cultivated phase. There is nothing positively dull here except the "Ballad of the Wicked Nephew," and there is nothing really of the first order. The narrative poems seem to us the best. "From Herzegovina," despite some uncouth phrases of rough realism, "The Rebel Flower," "Jasper Oakes," and others, are stories told with clearness, directness, and simplicity; "Red Tape" and "Question and No Answer" are very excellently done; "Amy Margaret," "Provençal Lovers," and "Theocritus" are graceful; "The Medallion Heads" are creditable, and the limited charity and italicized words in "La Fornarina," the second of them, point to a woman's hand. Others are worth mention for excellent work in parts, but Guy Vernon's story, as has been remarked elsewhere, is hardly so light that it needed to be told in such a tripping metre—in a less degree as if Browning had written "Pippa Passes" in the measure of "Beppo." The book has won a deserved success, and already reached a third edition.

'Drift-Weed' is a fitting title for the volume in which Celia Thaxter has collected her late verses; as is her custom, the sea, which, through her early years by the shore and her home at Appledore, has most deeply affected her imagination and guides the suggestions of her thought, is the subject of her best poems, and her work is much inferior when she writes of other things. Yet it seems to us that even here she deals with the cruder colors in sea-scenery and the violent contrasts of the thought and sentiment it suggests; we should prefer more of the imaginative work shown in the description of the leviathan in the storm, and less of the merely red sunset. Perhaps it is through his cousinship to Mrs. Thaxter that Mr. Laighton has come with cousinly admiration to be her disciple. His little volume is less vivid and less expert in structure than hers, but is of the same aim and character; it has more of womanly than manly feeling. Mr. Gilder also is a writer of imitative verse; his previous volume, 'The New Life,' bore in its title the confession of this, and his new work is as distinctively the product of the pagan school, as it is called, but under the influence of Rossetti rather than Swinburne, who contributes only mannerisms of style and versification. It is refined and exquisite in many respects, but both its refinement and finish are echoes, which is only another way of saying that it says what has been already said, and says it more weakly. One little poem illustrates the single tenet of this school, and suggests its fatal defects in attempting to ground conduct on one principle:

"On the wild rosetree
Many buds there be,
Yet each sunny hour
Hath but one perfect flower.

"Thou who wouldst be wise
Open wide thine eyes,—
In each sunny hour
Pluck the one perfect flower."

Even from this stand-point how much better co-ordinated with the facts of life is Blake's single stanza of like import:

"He who bends to himself a joy
Does the winged life destroy;
But he who kisses the joy as it flies
Lives in eternity's sunrise."

Mr. Gilder, too, shows defective taste occasionally; not to multiply instances, to speak of Christ as "*enticed*, by those he came to save, to the damned tree," is wholly incongruous with the dignity and value of the Saviour's sacrifice, nor should Mr. Gilder plead the necessity of rhyme, familiar as he must be with Dante's great words in regard to that. The poet, it is only just to say, seems to us to possess a finer native gift than he has yet revealed, and it is a pity that he should allow himself to do such imitative and ineffective work. It was with regret, too, that we read Mr. Leighton's "Change"; he had shown considerable promise in his two previous dramas, but this is a didactic scientific poem of one hundred and forty-three pages, and is a burden to the reader.

In 'Echoes of Song' we have a transcript of one aspect of Western social life. There are hymns, Sunday-school songs, poems for children, for patriotism, for temperance, and for kindred, "The Court of the Muses" for a school-girls' entertainment, and miscellaneous poems. All phases of common domestic life are represented, and the national or local enthusiasms have been duly chronicled. We were interested in a lawyers' dinner where, among other things,

"There were salads, and jellies, and russes,
And often on toast there occurred
A savory, mute protestation,
Against the hushed song of a bird."

There were two tables, a "Wine" and a "Red Ribbon"; we are not told which was most favored, but we are instructed at the conclusion of the poem in the plain prose opinion of Judges Garvey, Alderson, and Coleridge on the liquor-traffic. Perhaps the children's poems are, on the whole, most entertaining; from these, however, we have room to extract only one bright saying of a child who was framing hypotheses to explain the thunder by referring it to God:

"She said, 'I suppose, then, dear Ma-ma,
He's striking the Moon with his hand.'"

We have heard of a "spanking breeze," but we did not know that the simile had made any further invasion of natural phenomena.

The story of Francesca of Rimini had better have been left, where Dante left it, to the imagination, sympathy, and forgiveness of the unassisted heart; but it has been told in the small volume to which it furnishes the title with sensitive feeling, and the poem is executed carefully and with creditable success. There is much mannerism in it, and the suffix "-wise" appears in the most wonderful profusion, while the influence of Swinburne on the author is overpowering, of which the following may stand as a sufficient witness:

"O Love! the sea is deep whence thou wast born,
And in thine eyes betimes such sweet light hides
As of dim depths where night and noon are morn;
Beneath the bosom of its fitful tides
Men say indissoluble peace abides,—
And yet so swift thy shifting lights, ah me!
Who knows, who knows, if so or no it be?"

A similar story is 'Genevieve of Brabant,' but less known, and here one of the most delightful versions of it is told with taste and feeling. It is an excellent story for children, although possibly the author did not in-

* 'A Masque of Poets. Including Guy Vernon: A Novelette in Verse.' No-Name Series. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1878.
'Drift-Weed. By Celia Thaxter.' Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1878.
'Poems. By Albert Laighton.' Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1878.
'The Poet and His Master, and Other Poems. By Richard Watson Gilder.' New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878.
'Change. The Whisper of the Sphinx. By Wm. Leighton.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.
'Genevieve of Brabant: A Legend in Verse. By Mrs. Charles Willing.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.
'Iris: The Romance of an Opal Ring. By M. B. M. Toland.' Illustrated. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.
'Echoes of Song. By Mrs. Lucy H. Washington.' Springfield, Ill.: Edwin S. Walker. 1878.
'Francesca of Rimini: A Poem. By A. S. H.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

tend it for them, both from its subject and simple treatment. Similar in its appearance, as a holiday work, is 'Iris: The Romance of an Opal Ring,' a novelette in verse, which describes how a poor boy fell in love with a wealthy Southern girl, went to the city, put his love into a book, won money and fame, and happily married her in consequence. Told in prose it would not have been a strong or touching story, and it loses in verse and by the accompanying illustrations.

TWO SHORT HISTORIES OF MUSIC.*

MR. HUNT'S 'History of Music' is constructed on a somewhat novel plan. The first sixty pages are devoted to a description of leading musical events and epochs, with biographical sketches of important—and not a few unimportant—musicians. Then comes a series of chronometrical tables of rather doubtful value, covering about twenty pages; while in the remaining eighty pages an attempt is made to trace the development of the modern scales, counterpoint and harmony, of vocal and instrumental music, the opera, oratorio, symphony, etc., and to describe in succession the various musical instruments, both orchestral and otherwise. Such an arrangement of topics, it is evident, is better suited to a work of reference than a history, and if, nevertheless, we are willing to recommend the work to those who wish to get a vague bird's-eye view of the subject, it is only because no work exists in our language that could even remotely be compared with the manuals of Dommer and Brendel, which, although by no means free from faults and imperfections, both deserve to appear in an English version.

When an attempt is made to compress into 150 pages such a very complex and comprehensive subject as the history of music, the first aim of the writer should be to avoid all waste of space. This Mr. Hunt has by no means done. The twelve pages devoted to examination questions could have been saved for some of the very important facts and criticisms which Mr. Hunt has left unnoticed. The same is true of the space occupied by the chronometrical tables, which few will take the trouble to understand. Moreover, the whole of page nineteen and portions of other pages have no business whatever in a book which endeavors to give the whole personal history of music in sixty pages. It is simply absurd in such a work to give biographical data relating to every insignificant doctor of music who has composed an anthem or two for the Church of England. The natural result of such a method is that no space is left for composers of ten times greater importance. A young student must surely get very erroneous ideas of the relative importance of composers when he finds almost a page given to Rossini, while Bellini, a man of more genius, is disposed of in two lines, and Donizetti in three. As "one of the more prominent among the composers of our own day" Sir John Goss, "without whose name no history of modern music can be complete," also gets half a page, while Rubinstein, Gounod, Brahms, and Raff *together* get no more space! Of Rubinstein we are simply told that he is a pianist of the first rank, and has composed concertos and other orchestral pieces. We had an idea that Rubinstein's operas, his beautiful songs, and his chamber music also deserved mention. Perhaps, on second thought, Mr. Hunt would also be willing to admit that Rubinstein, Liszt, and Saint-Saëns deserve to be enumerated among recent oratorio-composers just as much as Sullivan, Ouseley, Benedict, and Costa. It is only fair to add that the third part of the book is much more satisfactory than the first.

Dr. W. Langhaus, of Berlin, has published a series of twelve lectures on musical history which would make an admirable little text-book for those conservatories where it is not found practicable to give much time to historical studies. Dr. Langhaus mercilessly excludes all names which did not have an appreciable influence on the development of the art, and he thus saves space for criticism and for instructive comparisons of music at different epochs with the other arts, and with contemporaneous thought and manners. The lectures treat in succession of (1) the music of ancient peoples; (2) the music of early Christian times; (3) the beginnings of polyphonic music; (4) the musical supremacy of the Netherlands; (5) Luther's Reformation and the Renaissance; (6–8) Italian, French, and German opera; (9) the oratorio; (10) instrumental work; (11) the romanticists of the nineteenth century; and (12) Richard Wagner. This is a reasonable division of subjects, and enables students to remember facts in their proper connection. We could have wished, however, that the author had given a little more prominence to the three leading divisions of musical development, so admirably formulated by Helmholtz—the first period being that in which melody alone prevails; the second, the polyphonic or contrapuntal period, that in which several distinct melodies are united, the object, however, being here the avoidance of discords rather than the attainment of stirring harmonies; and the third period, that of modern music, in which harmony is the characteristic and predominant element, being here aimed at for its own sake, in order to arouse the deeper emotions.

The second of these periods is the one with which in our days we find it most difficult to sympathize. The crude endeavors formerly made to dove-tail together two or more distinct melodies are, however, very instructive, for they show us to how great an extent music is an experimental art, and how by slow degrees the complicated harmonies and rhythms of a modern symphony or music-drama were developed from the simple melodies and dance-rhythms of primitive music. But it is a very curious psychological fact that this progress from the simple to the complex should have been so energetically resisted at all times by people whose descendants derived so much pleasure from it. Our Thirty Years' War on musical territory, which may now be regarded as practically at an end, has frequently been repeated in the history of music, not only in Europe, but also in other quarters of the globe. Thus, in China, where a scale is used consisting only of five notes, an attempt was at one time made by Prince Tsay-Yu to introduce the two missing semi-tones; but he met with such angry opposition that the attempt had to be given up. His enemies asserted that to add these notes to the scale would be as absurd as adding two new fingers to the hand. Another curious fact, which may not be generally known, is that up to Luther's time it took two persons to produce a musical composition; one, the *phonascus*, who originated the melody, and a second, the *symphonetes*, who worked it up contrapuntally. Glareanus, writing in 1547, asserts that it might be possible to find a person uniting in himself these two gifts, but only very rarely. In view of this fact Dr. Langhaus thinks it probable that future generations may be as much astonished that we in the nineteenth century require two persons, one to write the libretto, and another to compose the music of an opera, as we are at this mediæval practice.

* 'A Concise History of Music. By H. G. Bonavia Hunt.' New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons.
'Musikgeschichte in zwölf Vorlesungen. Von W. Langhaus.' Leipzig: F. Leuckart; New York: L. W. Schmidt. 1878.

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1879.

THIRTIETH SEMI-ANNUAL

STATEMENT

OF THE

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ASSETS.

Real estate	$517,204 37
Cash on hand and in bank	127,504 09
Loans on bond and mortgage on real estate	2,256,193 13
Interest on loans, accrued but not due	52,173 98
Loans on collateral security	22,100 00
Deferred Life premiums	51,272 52
Premiums due and unreported on Life Policies	40,756 12
United States Government bonds	433,420 00
State and Municipal bonds	259,078 50
Railroad stocks and bonds	320,338 00
Bank and Insurance stocks	509,004 00
Total Assets	$4,595,445 31

LIABILITIES.

Reserve, four per cent., Life Department	$2,972,511 59
Reserve for reinsurance, Accident Department	221,326 34
Claims unadjusted and not due, and all other liabilities	144,500 00
Total Liabilities	$3,338,337 93
Surplus as regards Policy-holders	$1,257,107 38

STATISTICS FOR THE YEAR 1878.

LIFE DEPARTMENT.

Number of Life Policies written in 1878	1,980
Whole number Life Policies written to date	30,207
Whole number of Life Policies in force	11,207
Amount Life Insurance in force	$18,307,556 00
Total Claims paid in Life Department	$1,271,137 86

ACCIDENT DEPARTMENT.

Number of Accident Policies written in 1878	43,118
Cash Premiums received for same	$775,382 51
Gain in Premiums over 1877	$50,587 89
Whole number Accident Policies written	517,985
Number Accident Claims paid in 1878	4,760
Amount Accident Claims paid in 1878	$284,343 23
Whole number Accident Claims paid	33,049
Whole amount Accident Claims paid	$3,041,951 94
Total Losses paid, both Departments	$4,313,089 80

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1879.

The Week.

As the Southern question, thanks to Mr. Blaine, was the first that occupied the Senate at the opening of the present session, so Mr. Edmunds made it first in order on the reassembling after the recess on Tuesday week. He introduced resolutions prefaced by carefully-stated truisms in regard to the validity of the Constitutional Amendments, and the interest of the whole country in having them enforced, and leading up to the concluding declaration of the duty of Congress to provide by law for the protection of citizens qualified to vote for members of Congress, and directing the Judiciary Committee to report a bill for this purpose. Mr. Edmunds proposed this as a New Year's measure of harmony, and asked that consideration of it might be postponed a week. The next day he introduced a joint rule of unquestionable value, which was referred to the proper committee, prohibiting any bill passed by either house from being sent to the other after 12 P.M. of March 1, and any bill or resolution passed by both houses from being sent to the President after 12 P.M. of March 2. The repeal of this rule is made dependent on a vote of three-fourths of the members present in each house after one day's notice. On Friday the Senate passed the Indian Appropriation Bill, with amendments, and on Monday a bill appropriating $250,000 for a fire-proof National Museum adjoining the Smithsonian Institution.

The House has done little except to give the finishing blow (127 to 87) to the bill to reimburse William and Mary College for its losses in the war. Only three or four Republicans voted in the affirmative, and many Democrats in the negative. The work of the House has been interrupted by extraordinary mortality among its members, not less than four having passed away in the course of as many weeks, under circumstances which cause grave suspicion of the unhealthiness of the Capitol or of the city of Washington. Three of these were from the South, and all happened to be Democrats. The ablest of them by far was Gustav Schleicher, of Texas, a native of Germany, who had resided here since 1847; a man of training, independence, and industry, who set a shining example of the qualities desirable in a legislator, and whose removal from Congress is therefore a real calamity. His voluminous report on the Mexican border troubles is a monument of his zeal and research. Both houses paid him something more than a formal tribute on Monday, when the funeral services were ceremoniously but feelingly conducted at the Capitol.

The suggestion we made in our issue of August 8, 1878, that Congress should make no more appropriations of the public money for the benefit of communities guilty of fraud in refusing to pay interest on their loans, is, we are pleased to see, beginning to bear some fruit. Jackson County and Kaw township, Kansas, in which Kansas City is situated, are both shameless defaulters. The county in 1871 issued and sold bonds through its own agents to the amount of $350,000; the town did the same thing to the amount of $250,000, and put the money into a railroad, which is now in operation, and of which they are both reaping the benefit. Both, however, impudently refuse, without a particle of excuse, to pay either interest or principal of the bonds. At the last session of Congress they got an appropriation from the National Treasury for the erection of a new custom-house in Kansas City. We are glad to say that this has roused the indignation of the unfortunate bondholders, and they have petitioned the Secretary to refuse to build the custom-house until the county provides for the payment of its lawful debts, or, if he has no discretion in the matter, to delay the work until an effort can be made to induce Congress to reconsider its action. The building has not been begun, and the bondholders are now going before Congress with the very strong argument that they ought not to be taxed for the benefit of corporations which have already swindled them.

The Supreme Court has before it a somewhat similar attempt at fraud in the case of Huidekoper against Macon Co., Missouri. This county issued bonds in 1867 to enable it to purchase stock in a railroad, and it paid the interest until 1874. The bonds were issued under the authority of the charter of the railroad, which provided that the county might "levy a tax to pay the same not to exceed one-twentieth of one per cent. on all the assessed property in any one year." In 1874 the county stopped payment and the State Supreme Court held that the county need only levy a tax of one-twentieth of one per cent. for all purposes, and that the bondholders must take whatever they could get out of that, which was of course nothing. This decision was overruled by the United States Supreme Court in a case raised by the holders of similar bonds issued by Clark County, but the State court disregarded the decision, and now the point has been carried up again to the Federal court on the bonds of Macon County. A great many of these defaulting counties feel that "centralization" has gone far enough, and that there is too much meddling at Washington with local concerns.

The United States Supreme Court has decided on appeal in the case of a Mormon named George Reynolds, convicted of bigamy by the District Court in Utah, that the United States statute of 1862, prohibiting bigamy in the Territories, is constitutional. The only difficulty now in the way of putting down polygamy is that of supplying proof of marriage, and getting monogamous jurors; but this, the Mormons having been put on their guard, may be great. They may provide a mode of marriage which it would be all but impossible to prove in a Gentile court; and it is only by attacking the rights of children born of such marriages that they could be seriously discouraged—we will not say prevented. The great support of monogamy, even among Gentiles, is, after all, not so much the law as social opinion. If a man's neighbors and friends in New York thought he might fairly have two wives, the law would prove but a feeble restraint. It is to be observed, also, that legal prohibitions owe their efficacy in a large degree to the fact that as a general rule they create a right which some aggrieved person is interested in enforcing. For instance, among us a bigamous man is almost always pursued by an angry monogamous wife, who spares no pains to bring him to justice. Our statute would be of little account, however, if the first wife held bigamous views herself, and was willing to enter into a matrimonial partnership with the second. It is not at all as easy as it seems to suppress practices which have a religious source, and which do not create victims who feel themselves to be victims.

Mr. Schurz has replied to General Sheridan's "Supplemental Report," and after some slightly sarcastic observations on the General's use of the word "disingenuous," he goes on to say that many of the charges refer to the administration of his (the Secretary's) predecessors; that more of them relate to agents who have been dismissed and abuses that have been remedied, showing that the General had not brought his knowledge up to the latest dates. Reforms are still going on in accordance with the recommendations of the report of the Commission of 1877, and had the General had time to look into the actual state of affairs, the Supplemental Report would have been a complete vindication of the Indian Bureau, instead of an attack on it. To the Secretary's letter is added a report of

Commissioner Hayt's, dealing *seriatim* with the charges of starvation at the various agencies, which he says have been continuously coming in from the military posts ever since 1875. He brings forward facts and figures to show that, in several cases at least, these accusations were unfounded; but that men of the standing and character of the Army officers should make them, if they were absolutely without foundation, certainly requires some explanation. What is quite certain is, that Secretary Schurz is a formidable controversialist. There is hardly a politician in the Republican party who has not felt called upon, during the past six years, "to take a whack at Schurz," and not one has done so without considerable subsequent mental suffering.

The Cleveland *Leader* recently called attention with much force to the fact that, in spite of all that has been said of the unsoundness of the West on financial questions, resumption has been largely due to the efforts of Western men—*e.g.*, Sherman, Grant, McCulloch, Garfield—and thinks this is an answer to various reproaches which have been cast on the West in this matter by the *Nation*. But no paper has more strongly acknowledged the services of Western financiers to the cause of sound currency than the *Nation* has done. We have never, for instance, allowed a year to elapse since 1866 without testifying to Mr. McCulloch's claims on popular gratitude and confidence, especially in the midst of the crazy period before the panic, when it was the fashion to talk of him as a man who had tried to ruin his country by robbing it of its "battle-born" greenbacks. The Detroit *Post and Tribune* points out accurately the difference in the position of the Eastern and Western press and politicians on the currency question. The Eastern hard-money papers were all along expressing the sentiments of their readers, while the Western papers which fought on the same side were running in the teeth of popular opinion, and the Western politicians like General Garfield were risking their seats. Let us hope that the well-earned credit which he and others are now enjoying will infuse a little courage and honesty into the dodging, shirking, equivocating statesmen of both parties.

The Cincinnati *Commercial* repels our imputations with regard to its failing, in common with the Cincinnati *Gazette* and Chicago *Tribune*, to support the Resumption Act in 1877, and demands to be "taken out of that crowd." What happened was that the *Commercial* "weakened," as the politicians say, in July, 1877, and declared on the 8th of that month that the Resumption Act "was not originally a wise measure," and that what ought to have been done was to

> "organize such a state of things in the monetary system or machinery of the country as would have established a drift towards specie resumption, and let business solve the problem. . . . Having got the declared intent of the country to resume, it would have been, perhaps, wiser legislation to foster the sentiment in that direction by adhering to the excellent suggestions of Mr. Rowland's whereas, and omitting the designation of a day for the consummation of the Act."

It is true it admitted that, having been passed, the Act ought to stand, but the effect of such criticism, especially when accompanied with a paraphrase of the St. Louis platform, was undoubtedly to encourage those who were actively working for its repeal, and wanted to "drift" into the payment of their debts without naming any day when the creditors would get the money. In fact, the *Commercial's* plan of resumption ("to establish a drift towards resumption, and let business solve the problem") would have delighted Wilkins Micawber. He always wanted to meet his obligations by "drift," and to have "business," or the course of events, or the general progress of society, solve the various financial puzzles which vexed his life.

After considerable discussion the Lower House of the Virginia Legislature has passed resolutions inviting the State creditors, both foreign and American, to a conference at Richmond, on January 22, to settle the debt question. The project to hold the conference has been much opposed by some delegates on account of a belief that the burden of the debt was more than the State could bear, and that no settlement could be brought about with the creditors which would be sufficiently advantageous to make it worth while to keep up the credit of the Commonwealth. The auditor, however, makes a statement which disposes of this difficulty. The present rate of taxation is capable of yielding a revenue sufficient to pay four per centum on the public debt proper, if the present assessment on property can be maintained. No diminution is expected in the value of personal property, but in 1880 a general reassessment of real estate will take place, when a falling off in value of from twenty to twenty-five per centum is possible. In that case another source must be found for the required revenue. The Moffett Liquor Law, if properly enforced, would yield over $300,000 more than it has yet done, and the deficiency would thus be amply made up. As the principal creditors have shown a disposition to be satisfied with an interest of four per centum, everything now points to an amicable settlement, unless the "readjusters," who are opposed to paying more than three per centum, have strength enough to interfere.

The annual message of Governor Robinson is always refreshing reading, because it has two qualities not too common in political papers: it is marked by a spirit of truthfulness and it is very outspoken. He gives an encouraging picture of the State finances; shows that the State tax has been reduced since 1874 from over $15,000,000 to less than $8,000,000, that there is no longer any General Fund debt, any bounty debt, or any floating debt, and that there is good reason to hope, now that resumption is accomplished, for a period of general prosperity. With regard to the canals and the prisons, the facts presented by his message are a striking proof (though he says little on this point) of the success in the reformed system of managing the public works introduced by Mr. Tilden's constitutional amendments. There is a decrease in the expenses of operating the canals since last year of over $300,000 and an increase of about $250,000 in the net income. The total payments on account of canals (excluding the principal and interest of the canal debt) were in 1874 $3,842,892 35, in 1878, $903,347 02. The State prisons are advancing on the same road, the annual deficiency having been reduced from $704,379 85 in 1876 to $229,971 83 in 1878, and the prison at Sing Sing, which, when the Superintendent took charge of it, was in the worst condition of all, being now more than self-supporting. Some of the other public institutions of the State, it seems, might with advantage be brought under the same management, particularly the Inebriate Asylum, which the Governor says is a "complete failure." There being no compulsory confinement there, and consequently no patients who go there except voluntarily, the asylum has become "a hotel for the entertainment of wealthy inebriates," who "remain there so long as they find it pleasant and agreeable," and no longer. With regard to education, the Governor is opposed to the taxation of the public at large for the support of high-schools and colleges, as he is also opposed to the new Code and to the new Capitol, which he says will cost $20,000,000. He denounces the refusal of the Legislature to reapportion the State, and the interference of the Federal Government in the guise of "Johnny Davenport" in elections. With regard to the influence of the new Capitol upon the Legislature, he expresses the hope that the beauty of the architecture may improve its moral tone, and declares that if no such effects appear, and the vices of bribery and corruption shall "soil the new chambers," as he intimates they "too often marked the legislation of the old building," the people will have cause to regret its erection, and "to wish that the earth might open and swallow it up."

The proceedings against the County officers have made further progress during the past week. One of Mr. Gumbleton's objections to showing his books to the Committee of the Bar Association

was that they did not make the request simply as citizens wishing to see books, but as members of a self-constituted investigating body. It is difficult to know exactly what the distinction is, but to remove all pretext for this ground being taken, one of the members of the Committee has now, as a citizen, called upon Mr. Gumbleton to show his books, and Mr. Gumbleton has refused. His refusal, it is supposed, may lay the foundation for new proceedings. The scandalous character of the County Clerk's behavior is heightened by the fact that he was, before his accession to his present office, for a long time Deputy County Clerk, and has been throughout thoroughly familiar with the duties of the position. The Register, Mr. Loew, has replied to the charges preferred against him, and the Governor now has the case under consideration. His defence is generally that on taking office he was unfamiliar with the legal scale of charges, that he consequently directed his deputy to make the "proper" charges; that he always supposed the scale fixed was legal, that he never heard any complaints until September, 1878, when, before any investigation was begun, he immediately examined the law, and directed that no other than strictly legal fees be charged.

The second week of specie payments by the U. S. Treasury passed even more quietly than the first, and the Treasury continues to be the gainer rather than the loser of gold by resumption. Now that the Treasury is paying such of its demand debt, made legal tender, as is presented for payment, there is a great rush for its long-time debts, and the sales of 4 per cent. bonds continue enormous. One bank, the First National, has subscribed for $25,000,000 since the new year came in, and another New York bank, the Continental National, has taken $15,000,000. Altogether the banks have taken between $70,000,000 and $80,000,000 of these bonds, and the Treasury in less than two weeks has been able to notify the holders of $70,000,000 of 5-20 6 per cent. bonds that it will redeem them out of the proceeds of sales of 4 per cents. This extraordinary rapidity of refunding was unexpected even by the most sanguine, and the holders of bonds as remote in the order of redemption as the 10-40s have been selling them on the theory that they will be redeemed within two years. It is something gained that the annual interest charge should be reduced one-third on so important a part of the public debt. Nevertheless, the rapidity of refunding is regarded as not altogether assuring in another respect, which is the effect on the foreign exchanges. It is estimated that of the 5-20 6 per cents there still remain in Europe not far from $50,000,000, and these must, of course, be returned here if notified for redemption. None of the 4 per cents. are sold in Europe, and, accordingly, the demand for bills on London is largely increased. This demand, accompanied with a scarcity of commercial drafts in the market, has advanced the rates of sterling during the week to within one point of that which draws gold from here. Although the Treasury could stand a considerable drain of gold, all concede that in the early months of specie payments such a drain would be most unfortunate. At the New York Stock Exchange it has been a week of activity in railroad investments and of buoyancy in railroad stocks subject to speculation, and the money market was easier than for many years. Silver in London advanced from 49½*d.* to 49⅝*d.* and 49¾*d.* per ounce. At the close of the week the bullion value of the 412½-grain silver dollar, which had been $0.8353, was $0.8391.

The news from England is still a dismal story of decreasing trade, of unsuccessful strikes, of severe and increasing distress, and of terrible storms, with an inevitable decline of interest in the "imperial policy" and in all foreign questions. The omission of all mention of the suffering at home in the royal speech at the opening of Parliament, followed by the astounding proposal to vote money for the relief of the Turkish refugees in the Rhodope district, has infused fresh bitterness into the growing hostility to the Jingo Cabinet. It makes people feel as if they were as crazy about the Turks as they have shown themselves to be about the Russians. We were mistaken a fortnight ago in saying that a Liberal had succeeded a Tory at Bristol. What happened was the election of a Liberal by a much increased majority, with a corresponding decline in the Conservative vote. In Afghanistan the invaders are having it all their own way, barring some trouble with the mountain tribes, who do not like being invaded and are severely chastised for their discontent. A charge of Punjab cavalry killed three hundred of them the other day, the Bishop of Gloucester will be glad to hear, as, according to him, it will help "the advance of the gospel" in India. Candahar has been occupied without resistance, and Yakub Khan is in full possession of what there is left of Afghan government. The *Herald* reports that his father has been invited to Tashkend by General Kaufmann.

The news from Germany seems to show that Prince Bismarck is losing his head a little and drifting back into the condition of Junkerism and hostility to middle-class sentiment which he occupied before 1866. He has spread consternation among the German Liberals by publishing the outlines of a bill which he proposes to introduce at the coming session of the Parliament, making words spoken in debate triable and punishable by a Commission composed of two vice-presidents and ten members of the Reichstag, who would meet at the order of the President or on motion of twenty members. A member convicted by this tribunal of using improper language would be liable to public reproof or to be called on for a public apology or to be suspended, and if the suspension were for an entire term, to be made ineligible for re-election, and these penalties would not preclude prosecution before the ordinary courts. The object of it is to prevent the Socialists using speeches in Parliament, as they did last session, for the dissemination of sentiments which they did not dare to utter out of doors, but in practice it would, of course, make all freedom of debate dependent on the President and the Commission. Strange to say, the prevailing opinion seems to be that the bill will pass, so great is the Socialist panic and so thoroughly is Bismarck still master of the situation, in spite of the strong condemnation of the Liberal press. The police are enforcing the Anti-Socialist Act with great rigor, and especially that most terrible feature of it—the power of arbitrary banishment.

The Federal Council of the German Empire has appointed a special commission to revise the tariff, and Prince Bismarck has seized the opportunity to express his own views on the course which should be pursued. In his letter to the Commission he insists strongly on the advantages of indirect over direct taxes. Throughout a great part of Germany the direct taxes almost amount to confiscation, and the middle classes, composed chiefly of persons living on small and fixed incomes, are assessed, he says, beyond their strength. Direct taxes, too, are always the most disagreeable to the payer. A fixed amount paid by each individual, and collected if necessary by force, is far harder to bear than an indirect tax which depends in amount on the economy of the individual, and which is contained in the price of articles consumed. In considering the revision of the tariff, the Chancellor urges a return to the principles of protection. He wishes all articles brought into Germany to be liable to duties, except raw material required for home manufactures. He does not consider the question whether a system of free-trade, if universal, would redound to the advantage of Germany; but seeing that other nations have not adopted that system, and still surround themselves with a barrier of tariff laws, he thinks that Germany will best consult her interests by doing the same. The Chancellor's protectionist opinions are not new, though they seem to have gained much strength since his failure to induce Russia to modify her tariff in favor of Germany. Nor does he shine as a political economist; he probably cares little about either free-trade or protection, but he wants more money for the Federal treasury, and, since his defeat on the tobacco monopoly, despairs of getting it through direct taxes.

THE BURNSIDE ARMY BILL.

THE bill to reduce and reorganize the Army, lately introduced by the Joint Committee constituted last session to harmonize the conflicting views of the Senate and House of Representatives, is alarming in size as well as in some of its contents. It contains 724 sections, some of them with many numbered clauses, and fills 294 pages of royal octavo, being, as printed, about the bulk of an average volume of Statutes-at-large, comprising the whole national legislation for a long session. The concluding paragraph expressly repeals over two hundred sections of the Revised Statutes relating to a great branch of administration, the growth of a century. What the Committee offers in place of them will disappoint the ultra-economists who clamor for a material reduction of the Army, as its effect is by no means so marked in that direction as in its radical change of authority, division, and arrangement.

The two comprehensive reductions, each of them professedly final, that have been made in the regular Army since the civil war have fallen chiefly upon the line, leaving the staff comparatively intact, and it is contended that the latter has become disproportionately large. While there is some truth in the argument, so far as it applies to a common share of the personal hardship rendered necessary by economy, it must be remembered that the more important staff corps are not employed for the administration of the Army alone, but for the military establishment of the whole country, as well as for some of its most material interests. The legitimate work of the Engineer Corps would be about the same if the enlisted force of the Army were one-tenth or ten times its present number. The Ordnance Corps provides for the general national defence, only about one-sixth of its duty being in reference to the Army proper, the remainder concerning fortifications, State militia, and the preparation and care of the best material of war to meet the emergencies in which Government would otherwise be unarmed or at the mercy of swindling contractors. Constant efficiency in the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments also requires experienced officers to permit the sudden expansion of an army beyond the peace establishment; and their minimum strength, as well as that of the Medical Corps, even in the most profound peace, should be calculated not by the number, but the distribution, of the troops. A very large army stationed compactly in a small territory needs few staff officers compared with a small army scattered in multiplied subdivisions over an immense area.

The object of a military organization, however, is not simply defence or attack, but also the cultivation of military science. If there were absolutely no enlisted men, it would still be desirable to train officers, as in the German *Kriegspiel*, with wooden puppets and tin cannon; but live men and real arms are more useful. Nor is the discipline of troops by any means the whole lesson to be learned, their supply and maintenance being of at least equal consequence; and a trained staff, with judicious differentiation, is as important as are commanders versed in tactics and strategy. These facts are not wholly disregarded in the bill, which indeed but slightly reduces the numerical strength of the staff as a whole, but it does not preserve the essential feature of scientific selection and specialization. When civil-service reform is advocated through the success of the prevailing military principle by which faithful and trained officers are retained for life in their several specialties, it is surprising that the model itself should be so imperfect that, for one instance only, thirty-nine ordnance officers are to be cut off for no apparent reason except that thirty artillery officers should take their places, thus injuring both those branches of the service, while inflicting needless hardship upon the more scientific one.

The fundamental idea of the reorganizing sections of the bill is that every major, captain, and lieutenant who may be in favor is as fit for every kind of duty as any other officer of the same grade, and that staff duty is simply a privilege to be enjoyed in rotation, much as the other customary privilege of leaves-of-absence. The better results of the German system of inter-convertibility of line and staff are not secured, though it is provided that details from the line are to act as staff officers for certain periods, while many of the trained and experienced staff are turned out of the Army altogether or mixed in the line, where the special talents for which they were selected, and their experience gained, would be lost. In the actual working of the proposed inter-convertibility it will probably be found that the whole personnel of the officers of the Army will be shuffled together as if for "a new deal"; and even if there be not already a pre-arrangement of desirable offices by an army ring, to which the activity of the military lobby at this moment gives an air of probability, yet in the scramble there will be opportunities for both favoritism and malice on a great scale, never contemplated when the present definite commissions were accepted under the contract of law and established custom.

If it is determined to reduce the number of officers, the staff should bear its proportion of hardship, but no more, and not be disorganized to the injury of the service for the benefit of the line. If Congress decide upon any percentage of reduction, let it be impartially applied to all grades of all departments, corps, and arms. The true plan, which will not inflict injustice, is to open the retired list for officers of extreme age and those physically disabled, to offer a fair gratuity for voluntary resignation, and to stop all appointments and promotions to all grades until the established maximum in each shall be reached by casualty. This simple process will accomplish the object in two or three years, with easy adjustment and only such suffering as, being common to all in commission, would be cheerfully endured.

Turning to the features of the bill which have a public rather than a professional interest, we find the most important to be those affecting the relative powers of the constitutional Commander-in-Chief and his proper representative, the Secretary of War. In all well-organized free governments the military power and resources of the state are, as a rule, held in strict control by civil authority, in the shape of a ministry of war. The chief magistrate, under the restrictions of or in union with a co-ordinate branch of the government, appoints and commissions officers, and through his war-minister assigns them to proper duties. The military forces are commanded by officers assigned to and relieved from duty by the Administration at its discretion, and act under instructions from the War Office, being empowered by articles of war adopted by the legislature to enforce obedience and discipline among their subordinates. This system is maintained not only in time of peace, but in all wars in which disasters do not compel a resort to desperate courses, such as the establishment of a dictatorship.

The bill we are discussing, however, greatly increases the power of an office now unknown to law, styled "the Commanding General," and diminishes the control of the Administration not only over the military forces but over the national military establishment and resources. It vests originally in this General powers now simply delegated to the General of the Army (or the general who may be in command) by the President under his proper authority, and which might under the same authority be resumed; the only check left to the executive being in a new assignment as Commanding General out of the small number of general officers in order to find, if possible, one to execute his orders. Even if the serious and unusual experiment should be tried of placing a junior officer in command, it might well be that the President would gain nothing by the change, as all the eleven (to be reduced to six) generals in commission might hold the same views of policy or politics. The possibility of such a combination is foreshadowed by the concerted action of several of those officers in regard to the pending bill. The section (75) which defines the functions of the Secretary of War is carefully drawn so as to present the show of retaining legal authority in his office, by the words "shall exercise supervision and control," etc. The succeeding section, however, gives the General of the Army "*command* of the entire army, line and staff"; and by numerous other sections the nebulous "supervision and control" in the one declaratory section are both in spirit and in terms essentially modified by the specific provisions for "command" by the General.

Some of these may be mentioned. Section 82 requires all orders

relating to military operations, stations, movements of troops, etc., whether originating with the Commanding General or directed by the President or Secretary of War, to be issued from the headquarters of the army. There is an historic example of the operation of a similar law at the time when Johnson was President and Grant General of the Army. The latter was expected by the majority in Congress that passed the law for that purpose to defy, and did defy, the constitutional power of the Commander-in-Chief, as did the local military commander at Washington, and they were both sheltered by the act of Congress, the President being powerless. The constitutionality of that act has always been questioned, and, the party occasion having passed by, it was repealed. Though some politicians may have justified the temporary expedient to restrict the power of President Johnson at a particular crisis, few will knowingly advocate a permanent statutory permission to all Commanding Generals to disobey all Presidents. Section 83 is the complement of its predecessor, providing in effect that all correspondence from subordinates shall pass through the hands of the Commanding General before reaching the President and Secretary of War, thus enabling him by suppression or misrepresentation to leave them in any degree of desired ignorance as to the true situation of affairs, and so securing the permanence of the power before gained.

Section 120 requires that all details for duty in the staff shall be made by the President from nominations submitted by the Commanding General. The Secretary of War is ignored, and the Commander-in-Chief is confined by law to the choice of such officers as may be selected by his subordinate. When it is observed that all disbursements are made and all the civil functions of the War Department performed by the staff, some idea may be formed of the power over civil and administrative affairs placed in the military commander through the selection of his favorites in the first instance, and the "command" of them ever afterward.

Section 129 allows the Commanding General to assign "temporarily" commanders to the geographical divisions and departments in the absence or disability of those designated by the President. He can order any commander to Washington or elsewhere on some pretext and then assign a successor of his own choice "temporarily," and extend the absence of the former commander indefinitely, so as to obtain direct power over all departments and divisions—that is, the whole territory of the United States. These commands have political significance and aid the civil policy of the Administration, which hitherto has designated such officers to them as would cooperate with its wishes, whether concerning hostile Indians, bordering nationalities, or other sources of disturbance. If the General and President should differ in their views of public policy, as has happened, the former could thwart the views of the latter at an important crisis. This section should be collated with Section 84, which makes the geographical departments and divisions embrace all officers and troops, regular, volunteer, and militia, within their respective bounds, thus giving absolute control of all fortifications, arsenals, depots, and material of national defence and offence, including vast amounts of money and property, to the General and his possible selections.

Section 206 entrusts the Commanding General with the direction of the recruiting service; he should command the army, but not raise it. When there is a large amount of recruiting—raising questions of State rights, drafts, bounties, quotas of militia and volunteers, and other grave matters of administration—the subject is surely in the exclusive province of the political officer, and the anomaly, if not danger, of entrusting it to a soldier perhaps inflamed by the passions of party conflict, is obvious.

A centralization of all powers in the Commanding General, less specific but similar to that now proposed, was once brought about only a few days after the present General of the Army attained that rank vacated by President Grant's election. Then, a general officer being Secretary of War, the same who is credited with drafting most of the present bill, a general order was issued embracing some of the prominent features of the bill; but when General Rawlins, who was then a civilian, though thoroughly versed in military affairs, became Secretary the order was promptly revoked, the uncontradicted report at the time being that he informed the President that he would resign rather than be a mere clerk to the General of the Army, and that General Grant at once saw the vital errors in the order he had before inconsiderately sanctioned. Since that revocation some of the general officers have been astutely and persistently working for the acquisition of arbitrary command, and have to a large extent been checked in their attempts to impose upon the several Secretaries by the judicious and intelligent advice of the successive Judges Advocate-General. There seems to be a significant preparation for a struggle between "control" and "command" when Section 715 prohibits the Judge Advocate-General, or any other officer doing duty in the Bureau of Military Justice, from giving to the Secretary any legal advice touching his rights and duties. If the civilian Secretary should, in his temporary incumbency, attempt to defend the integrity of his office, he would, indeed, depending wholly upon the advice of the Attorney-General—another civilian, to whom military details are meaningless—fight a losing battle with the military chieftain whose subordinates alone would be allowed to surround the War Department.

THE REPUBLICAN BURDEN IN FRANCE.

THE Senatorial election in France, which has put the Government at last firmly in possession of the Republicans, has created great anxiety to know what they will do with their victory, and a speech delivered by M. Gambetta at a dinner given him by the Commercial Travellers in Paris has been eagerly perused with the view of discovering what the policy of the Government is to be. In this very speech, however, he reiterated his firm determination not to take office, and it is considered so important that he should not that it may be said without exaggeration that one of the most important points in the Republican programme is that Gambetta is not to have an office. The reason of this is that he has not quite outlived the reputation acquired during his dictatorship in the war for recklessness and impassioned partisanship. M. Thiers, in styling him in one of his speeches after the peace a "raging madman," probably expressed the feeling of seven-tenths of the French people about him. But there have been few cases in history of more rapid recovery from a certain kind of discredit. For the last seven years he has been steadily gaining in influence through the remarkable power of adaptation to circumstances, and of education through circumstances, which he has shown himself to possess. He occupies a position in French politics at this moment for which it would probably be difficult to recall any parallel, except (though *longo intervallo*) that of O'Connell in his best days in Ireland, and which is full of inconvenience. Indeed it may be said to constitute one of the difficulties of the Republic. He has obtained complete control of his party, and yet his party, though strong enough to take and carry on the Government, dare not give him office, so surely would the vast body of timid Conservatives whom the Republic has still to reassure regard his accession with a certain vague alarm. The first thing it has to say, therefore, on coming into power is, that Gambetta is not to be a member of the Government, and Gambetta has himself to repeat this; but in the next breath he gives what the whole country regards as an authoritative exposition of what the policy of the Government is to be. He is himself completely reconciled to his position by his youth—for he is only forty—and by the fact, to put the matter on the lowest ground, that to the career he undoubtedly expects to make the firm establishment of the Republic is essential.

The inconveniences of having the power lodged in hands which are not subjected to formal or regular responsibility are obvious enough. It, in the first place, in a greater or less degree discredits the Ministry. They wear in the public eye the air of being Gambetta's subordinates, or at all events of holding office by his permission, which of itself has a somewhat paralyzing effect. In the second place,

it destroys or weakens the public control over party policy in the Legislature, inasmuch as it surrounds every measure of importance with doubt as to the real authorship. Before the late election the Ministry derived a certain weight and authority from the fact that they seemed to form a sort of buffer between the Assembly and the Senate, or, at all events, an instrument by which the Senate could be induced to work harmoniously with the Assembly; but these the late election has destroyed. There is no longer any need of conciliating the Senate. It has come to pass that, to use our well-known phrase, Gambetta will now "run" the Senate as well as the Assembly; he does not any longer need the ministerial stamp to guarantee the safety of his plans. He, therefore, now talks with more authority than ever.

The speech at the Commercial Travellers' dinner, however, really announced nothing new except what may be considered a formal repudiation on behalf of the Republic of the old Rousseau idea of which the first Republic, and, indeed, that of 1848, was enamored, that it was possible to construct *à priori* a government which any nation could live under. An original French Republican scorned to construct a constitution for a particular nation; he made it for the human family, and the Chinaman and the Red Indian would be just as comfortable under it and could work it just as well as the Frenchman or Englishman. The desire to give other nations the advantage of it by force was a not unnatural consequence of the fanatical belief in its universal efficacy, and has hitherto shown itself prominently in all French Republican movements, in the form of a solemn recognition of what was called the "solidarity of the peoples." A spirit of propagandism was thus created which even the downfall of the Republic by no means extinguished. It survived in the various monarchical régimes, though expending itself on various objects. It imbued French politicians of all schools with the notion that France was responsible in a marked degree for the political condition of all the countries around her, and gave the conceit of "making war for an idea" an air of splendor, though the "idea" which was considered worth war varied greatly from decade to decade. M. Gambetta repudiates this propagandism with much earnestness. He says the business of Frenchmen is to found and maintain a government that will suit themselves; that they are not responsible for other people's governments, and will do well not to trouble their heads about them. But he acknowledges, in his happy, epigrammatic way, that though the period of "danger" for the Republic has passed away—that is, the period in which there was reason to fear that some other régime might be set up by force—the period of "difficulty" has come. By this he means that expectations will now be entertained about the Republic which have not been entertained previously because it was not in full possession of power, and that attempts will be made to realize these expectations by forcing the Government on new and dangerous paths. In other words, the Republicans will now be called on in a way they have never been called on before for a display of their conservative or resisting power.

The extreme Left already shows a disposition to bolt from the control of Gambetta and form an independent section. At a late meeting of the Republican Deputies in Paris M. Floquet called for a reorganization of the Cabinet, and M. Louis Blanc is said to be preparing an address on behalf of this wing of the party calling for a Government programme of a very extreme character. The danger of these schemes, and of all schemes concocted under these auspices, is that if they took effect on the Cabinet they might force or frighten Marshal MacMahon into resigning, and there would be considerable difficulty in finding a substitute for him. He is docile enough since his late defeat, up to a certain point, and commands the respect of the army and of the country for his military services, and furnishes what has been very useful to the Republic during the first year, a good figurehead for state ceremonies. It would be very hard to fill his place with any civilian in a manner satisfactory to the mass of the population. The tradition that the chief of the state must be a soldier, at least technically, as all kings are, is still very strong in France, and if an exception were made it would have to be in favor of a civilian as distinguished and with as many holds on popular confidence as M. Thiers, and civilians of this kind are not easy to find; so that it is clearly the part of wisdom for the Republicans to keep the Marshal as long as they can. But they will doubtless be obliged to carry out the reforms among the judges and the higher military commanders which M. Dufaure has already half accepted, and of which the recently-announced resignation of General Borel, the Minister of War, is probably the first sign. Even the moderate Republicans will never be satisfied until the corps at least, if not the divisions, are commanded by their own men, and the more advanced are just as eager for what they call the purification of the judicial bench. This last is, however, a hazardous task. It cannot yet be said with absolute confidence that "the era of revolutions" is closed, and it would be a tremendous misfortune if the victors in the next convulsion were to find a precedent for looking on the judiciary as "spoils."

THE LAST INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

I.

THERE is hardly a more romantic chapter in modern history than the conquest of British India, as all readers of Macaulay's Essays know, and yet the romance did not cease with the firm establishment of the Company's dominion. The work of extending and organizing and defending it during the last fifty years has been filled with episodes almost as brilliant as Plassey and Assaye, and the arena has never been without soldiers whose career and exploits seem to belong rather to the wars of Roland than to those of Moltke. The overthrow of the Beloochees, the campaign in Afghanistan, the fight with the Sikhs, and the great Mutiny are crowded with incidents in which Froissart would have delighted, and which illustrate the wonderful fertility of resource, the dauntless courage, and the unconquerable determination which are brought out in men of the Anglo-Saxon race by adverse fortune, under strange skies. No decorations are so full of meaning as those bestowed for Indian campaigns; they tell the "tales of many a glorious hour—

> "Of deeds in field or trench,
> Of crumbling fortress held
> When stoutest heart might blench
> And bravest hope be quell'd."

The Afghan war, begun in 1839, was one of the most striking of these episodes, and was, except in the tragic fate of the first army of invasion, an excellent illustration of Anglo-Indian political morality and capacity, and deserves far more attention than it has received for its remarkable resemblance, both in its origin and inception, to the contest now raging in that country. The whole story has filled many volumes of history and biography, but our present object is simply to sketch the two most striking incidents of the war, the retreat from Cabul and the defence of Jalalabad, so that we shall not attempt more than a mere outline of the situation which led to it.

In 1839 there was a sort of panic in India, not unlike the present one about the advance of the Russians in Central Asia, and the Persians were besieging Herat, the great fortress of Northern Afghanistan, it was believed under Russian instigation. The siege lasted some months and was watched with the keenest interest all over the East. The Persians were finally repulsed, after several desperate assaults, mainly owing to the exertions of a young Anglo-Indian officer, Eldred Pottinger, who had thrown himself into the place and superintended the Afghan resistance. The failure in no way quieted the fears of the Indian Government, however. Lord Auckland, a man of the Lord Lytton type, was then Governor-General, and during the siege he was up in the Himalayas at Simla, away from his older and steadier counsellors and under the influence of three comparatively young and very restless and ambitious members of the civil service, William MacNaghten, Henry Torrens, and John Colvin, who, to make a long story short, persuaded him that Dost Mohamed, the then Amir of Afghanistan and father of the present Shir Ali, was not to be depended on or controlled, and that the only way to make Afghanistan a barrier against Russian aggression was to put somebody on the throne of whose fidelity and subservience to British interests there could be no doubt. Such an instrument they found ready to their hands in the person of Shah Soojah, who had some years before been Amir, but had been expelled by a rising of the dominant faction of Afghan chiefs in the interest of Dost Mohamed, and was then living, old and feeble, as a refugee in British territory. They accordingly fished him out of his obscurity, acknowledged him as king,

made him enter into an alliance with the Sikhs, then ruling in the Punjab, and collected a force of about 15,000 men, 4,500 of them Europeans, to reinstate him at Cabul. Lord Auckland then issued a manifesto denouncing Dost Mohamed in much the same terms in which Lord Lytton now denounces Shir Ali, and declared that "so long as Cabul remained under his government we could never hope that the tranquillity of our neighborhood would be secured, or that the interests of our Indian Empire would be preserved inviolate." MacNaghten then was commissioned to accompany Shah Soojah as "envoy and minister on the part of the Government of India." The invasion began, to use the eloquent language of Kaye, the historian, "in defiance of every consideration of political and military expediency; and there were those who, arguing the matter on higher grounds than those of expediency, pronounced the certainty of its failure, because there was a canker of injustice at the core. It was indeed an experiment on the forbearance alike of God and of man; and therefore, though it might dawn in success and triumph, it was sure to set in failure and disgrace."

It did, indeed, like the present war "dawn in success and triumph." The march on Cabul was made not by the Khybar Pass, which was left to the Sikhs, but by Candahar, which was occupied without resistance, and on the 21st of July, 1839, the British force, under Sir John Keane, arrived before the fortress of Ghazni, ninety miles from Cabul, and met with the first serious opposition. The general had pushed on rapidly without waiting for his heavy artillery, and found the place so strong that it was useless to assail it with his six and nine pounders, and he resolved on carrying it by assault after blowing open one of the gates with gunpowder. This desperate enterprise was successfully carried out. The storming column rushed in at daybreak over the débris, and engaged at once in a hand-to-hand fight on the streets with the amazed Afghans. Dennie, one of the famous Indian officers who afterwards fell gloriously at Jalalabad, led the advance, supported by Sir Robert Sale, then a man of fifty-seven, who plunged into the mêlée with the eagerness of twenty-five. He had a narrow escape in a desperate encounter with a powerful Afghan, in which both combatants rolled over and over among the broken beams of the gate, before Sale, wounded as he was, got the upper hand and clove his enemy's skull. The struggle did not last long, however; the tulwar and the jezail, though backed by fierce fanaticism, were no match for the bayonets, the rolling fire, and the steady discipline of the British column, and the slaughter of the defenders was great. Five hundred were buried by the victors, who lost seventeen killed and one hundred and sixty-five wounded. Dost Mohamed, on hearing the news, marched out from Cabul for a last effort in the open field; but his levies were raw and treacherous and disheartened; they went to pieces, and deserted him before they saw the enemy. He was a gallant soldier, and it is recorded that he made a touching appeal to the remnant of his cavalry to stand by him in one charge on the infidels, in which he could die with honor, and then they could make what terms they pleased with the invader. But it was all in vain. They not only disbanded but plundered his tent before going, and he turned his horse's head sorrowfully and fled towards the Hindoo-Koosh, the great mountain range.

Cabul was then occupied without resistance, but the inhabitants looked on the entrance of the new monarch with cold indifference, and MacNaghten was satisfied, before he was a month in the place, that his protégé, Shah Soojah, had no hold on the people under any circumstances, and that coming back as he was doing, under the protection of infidel guns, he was looked on as a detestable usurper; that the British troops could not be withdrawn as had been originally intended, and that they must occupy the country, and carry on the government in the Shah Soojah's name, but nevertheless through his officials, who were as corrupt and degraded as oriental officials usually are. The invading force was therefore cantoned in various places, a strong garrison being retained in Cabul. The whole was then under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton, who had succeeded Sir John Keane; but when the prolonged occupation was determined on he retired on the ground of ill-health, and was in turn succeeded by General Elphinstone, whose appointment by Lord Auckland was the extraordinary feature of the expedition. Elphinstone was already an old man in infirm health, of but little Indian experience and no military fame, well born, a good diner-out, and passionately fond of London society, which he had recently left, and was constantly recalling, with regret. He had apparently, until the last dreadful days, no sense whatever of the gravity of his situation. The troops settled down in their quarters, however, with considerable cheerfulness. The climate was bracing, and the country around beautiful and full of game. The officers brought on their wives and daughters from India, and took houses in the city. The Afghans seemed to like their money, and were entertained by the hunting, shooting, and skating. That great discontent was abroad in the country was plain enough, but nobody considered it formidable. The chiefs were constantly rising here and there, but were easily put down. Dost Mohamed had raised a force of the Uzbeck tribes up in the mountains, but had been defeated, and had in despair surrendered himself to the British envoy and been sent to India, where he lived on parole with a pension. The winter of 1840–41 was reasonably quiet, and General Elphinstone was enjoying his whist and telling his stories with such placidity that he took no precautions whatever for the safety of the force in Cabul. They were quartered in cantonments on low ground, with feeble or ruined defences, and were commanded on every side by hills, forts, and villages, and, to crown all, the supplies were stored in a small fort outside the lines, the communication with which could be easily swept by an enemy's fire. The occupation had reached the autumn of 1841 with things in this condition; but a cloud had arisen which, small as it seemed, had in the East a tempest in it. What had raised it we shall describe in Kaye's own words:

"I am not writing an apology. There are truths which must be spoken. The temptations which are most difficult to withstand were not withstood by our English officers. The attractions of the women of Cabul they did not know how to resist. The Afghans were very jealous of the honor of their women; and there were things done in Cabul which covered them with shame and roused them to revenge. The inmate of the Mohammedan zenana was not unwilling to visit the quarters of the Christian stranger. For two long years now this shame had been burning itself into the hearts of the Cabulees, and there were men of note and influence among them who knew themselves to be thus wronged. Complaints were made, but they were made in vain. The scandal was open, undisguised, and notorious. Redress was not to be obtained. . . . The injured began to see that the remedy was in their own hands."

On the night of the 1st of November, 1841, a conspiracy for a rising in Cabul, which had been long on foot among the Afghan chiefs, was brought to a head, and the next day fixed for the outbreak, and it took place accordingly. A furious mob murdered some of the British officers, plundered the royal treasury, and, reinforced by armed crowds from the country districts, occupied the most commanding positions in and around the city. The garrison was taken completely by surprise, and General Elphinstone was so reduced by gout and rheumatism and old age that he was utterly bewildered. The insurrection was assailed by small parties of troops, who were repulsed and accomplished nothing. Fighting raged during the whole of the month with varied fortune, the British trying to hold the cantonments and the Bala Hissar, or citadel, on which the royal palace was situated, but short of artillery, ammunition, and provisions, losing men and courage in desultory frays, practically without a commander, and the surrounding country constantly pouring in fresh levies to attack them. Castles, villages, forts, and ditches swarmed with sharpshooters, who harassed them night and day. The losses were great, and by the first of December hope was gone, and negotiations were opened with the enemy for permission to withdraw to Jalalabad, then occupied by Sale at the other end of the Khoord Cabul Pass, on the road to Peshawar. The provisions were nearly exhausted and the troops utterly demoralized. Both Europeans and Sepoys ran away from the enemy without the slightest shame.

A convention was therefore concluded by MacNaghten with the Afghans, by which the whole country was to be evacuated, the Cabul garrison was to go to Peshawar, taking the king with them, and were to be supplied and safe-conducted on the road. But the negotiations took three weeks, during which the Afghans treated the British as conquered enemies, and inflicted on them the grossest insults. On the 18th of December the snow began to fall. On the 23d it was still questionable whether the force would be allowed to depart after all, so tricky and temporizing and insolent had the enemy become. On that day MacNaghten rode out, by appointment, for a final interview with Akhbar Khan, Dost Mohamed's son, and while debating the English party was suddenly surrounded, seized, and MacNaghten, resisting, was shot dead by Akhbar Khan himself, his body carried in triumph through the streets of the city, and hacked to pieces. Fresh negotiations were then opened and a new treaty signed by eighteen of the Afghan chiefs, under which the British literally surrendered at discretion. They agreed to pay a large sum as ransom, to give up their artillery, and to leave some of the ladies as hostages, and submitted all the while to humiliation of every kind. Finally, on the 6th of January, 1842, the march began, 4,000 fighting men and 12,000 camp-followers starting out in the deep snow. They made six miles before night, hundreds sinking under the cold, all discipline gone, and the whole force resolved into a confused and despairing mass. It

took them two days to reach the entrance of the Khoord Cabul Pass, a dark and gloomy ravine five miles long, ten miles from Cabul, and as soon as they entered it swarms of Afghans posted on the heights began an indiscriminate massacre, and killed 3,000 of them, and Akhbar Khan carried off Lady Sale and her daughters, and several other ladies, with General Elphinstone, ostensibly for safe-keeping, but in reality as hostages. On the 10th of January the march was resumed and the massacre again begun. In the Jugdulluck Pass, a little further on, a barrier had been erected which they could not force, and here they were nearly all slaughtered. A few officers stood together and struggled on a few miles but were pursued and killed. One survivor—an army surgeon named Brydon, who only died last year—rode in, wounded, on a broken-down pony, to bring the awful news to Sir Robert Sale, who was holding Jalalabad with his brigade. What befell this little force we shall tell next week.

THE PARIS EXPOSITION.—XVI.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH HOUSE-FURNITURE.

PARIS, September, 1878.

CURIOUS is the comparison between the French and the English work in house-decoration and house-furniture. If we consider the more rich and decorative displays, the two nations are as wide apart as the poles in their aims and tendencies. The first sight of the long alley of the Paris *ébénisteries* is not so strange as the general aspect of the British quarter, beyond the open streets and the art-galleries. The French work is what one expects. It is not novel in design ; its extraordinary grace and delicacy, and the great cost and richness of many of the pieces, are not visible at first glance. The Londoners and their followers are not so old-fashioned. Something strange is going on in London ; if your interest is excited by the odd look of the sideboards, and the wall-painting and tiles, you find it hard to explain to yourself what it is that is at the bottom of this general movement toward novelty of design, and a style of work such as is certainly not slavishly copied from any epoch of the past. There is something characteristic of the two nations, or, at least, of the more thoughtful part of the two nations, in their ornamental work in these branches. The Englishmen seem to have received a direct revelation, and in their unskilful way to be trying to obey it ; they are intense and unanimous, they are all working alike with a definite object in view, and their designs are quaint and vigorous as are those of the creators of a new style, but not graceful, as a general thing, not refined into harmony—the work of clever youths rather than of mature minds. The Frenchmen have nothing to say to any novelties of design ; they are as far as possible from any enthusiasm such as is excited by the possession of a newly-comprehended creed which must be fought for ; they have no particular religion, but they get on wonderfully well without it. Their work is skilful and accomplished to a degree which no English workman can approach ; their mastery of their material is wonderful ; their grace, symmetry, elegance can only be hinted at, not fully explained. Detail, which the English workman never can manage, which bullies him, and obtrudes itself into his work like a spirit he has raised and cannot command, is for the Frenchman an obedient slave. The Frenchman's detail is a part of his design, and keeps its place ; his rival's is a separate entity, and is not often taught to help in the general effect, as it should. In short, the French are the more trained and more skilful artists ; but it is not necessary to state that truism very forcibly or very often—it will be admitted. What is strange is to see the vigor of the English in working out what may be a new artistic style, and, as such, an era in the history of art. It is sad to think that all the conditions are against any such result : that it is probably only a fashion that we see, and not a style—not because there is anything lacking in the thing itself, so far as developed, but that it is quite sure to be abandoned at a day's notice whenever the evil goddess, the Até of modern art, Fashion, may choose to give the signal. Styles develop naturally, one out of another ; what we are looking at now in the British department is almost a style, having developed itself out of the Gothic revival, and in consequence of modern impatience with that in Gothic which it could not easily subdue to its needs. Fashions change by caprice and suddenly, with no deeper cause than the whim of some royal personage or some successful tradesman.

The difference between the French work and the English can be best explained if we begin with the former. This is almost wholly of one type ; the French themselves are apt to say that it is all Louis XVI. to-day, but that is not quite correct. It is not Renaissance, for it is too light and fantastic for that ; not sufficiently grave, not sufficiently architectural and massive. It is not Louis XIV., but much more refined, having in it a sort of feminine grace unknown to that epoch. And yet it is not Louis XV. or Louis XVI. either, except in the light card-tables and slender chairs, and some of the silk-covered divans and lounges, which do rather smack of the boudoir and the salon of those dainty days. Some of the cabinets exhibited are of wonderful costliness and magnificence, and really seem to be worth their cost, and in these the prevailing style is to be described in some such words as these : The proportions and general character are French Renaissance ; the detail more delicate, and evidently studied from Italian work of the same epoch. French sculpture in wood of the time of the Renaissance—that is, of the reigns of Francis I. and Henry II., and his sons ; or for about three quarters of a century from the year 1515—is more generally in oak, and of a somewhat bold style and handling, as befits that noble material : it is, therefore, somewhat akin to the French stone-carving of the same period. But at that time the glory of the Renaissance was past in Italy, where it had begun earlier and moved faster ; the materials at hand and the character of the people, too, in the peninsula affected the style of work there very much. Instead of bold work in sandstone, delicate sculpture in low relief in hard and fine marble was the chosen architectural decoration of the day ; and in interior woodwork, inlays of wood and ivory, mosaic of hard stones, and sculpture as refined and subtile as the world has ever seen took the place of the bolder work of the north. Now, in this modern Parisian work these two methods are combined to a certain extent. The cabinet exhibited by M. Guéret, entirely in boxwood, is an instance of this tendency. The design is French, and in its purity and simplicity of form it is rather of the time of Henry II. than later ; though, of course, at all times there have been elaborate cabinets designed in this severe fashion, carefully classic and according to Vignola. But the sculpture certainly would not have been what it is but for the existence in Italy of the exquisite carved panels and mouldings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is all in the pale-yellow wood, in very slight relief, and most admirably executed, erring perhaps on the side of minute finish, as if of a small casket of ivory or bronze, but in perfect harmony with the general design. This is by no means as costly a piece as some ; eighteen thousand francs is the price put upon it. A cabinet exhibited by M. Jules Allard has the panels in boxwood, but the frame in solid ebony—not "ebonized" cherry or maple, but the much more beautiful native wood, which is not jet black, but has lovely tints and half-seen gradations in its blackness. In this piece the sculpture takes great prominence, as there are statuettes in each of the two woods, the yellow and the black, and there is endless variety of design in the carved decoration : among the capitals of the little pilasters, the rosettes, and sculptured mouldings there are no two to be found alike. This is a remarkably successful instance of very rich and elaborate work retaining good taste and a general effect of simplicity and reserve.

In these pieces, and in pretty much the whole immense display of rich French furniture, this modern classic taste rules unquestioned. The style of the Renaissance and the epochs following that one are alone seriously considered. The influence of Gothic art, of Byzantine art, of the East in any of its varied artistic forms, is hardly to be detected in the more splendid pieces. The French designers are working just as they worked in the time of the first Empire ; modern eclecticism has influenced them no farther than this, that they are more careful of the purity of style, and mix their details and "motifs" less ; modern critical taste has influenced them only in this, that they are better paid, more honored and respected, and, therefore, chosen from a higher class and possessors of more cultivation and knowledge. No French designer dreams of an "Exhibition piece" in any but one of the modern-classic styles, nor have any of his predecessors for three hundred years, except here and there a bold experimentalist who knows, as he works at what he fancies Gothic or what he calls Chinese, that he is off the track, and that all the world will think so and treat his work as a mere vagary.

The work of the English designers for the past fifty years has been carried on under very different influences. In the first place, it is clear that at no time, from the death of Gothic architecture under Henry VIII. to the attempted revival of it—shall we say by Beckford and Horace Walpole ?—under George III. was there any such absolute agreement as to the only possible style of decoration as there has always been in France. If we contrast Elizabethan art with the "Style Henri Deux," from which it sprang, or Jacobean art with "Louis Treize," or the now popular Queen-Anne style with "Louis Quatorze," it will at once be seen how complete is the difference—how regular and systematic is the one,

how independent and even capricious is the other. It is one of the most curious studies possible, the absolute inability or unwillingness of the English designers to follow, like docile pupils, the classical styles of the Continent, to which any one of them would have avowed his complete adhesion ; and, with this, the steady and disciplined march of the French. But for the past forty years this English community, already individual even to excess, and deprived, for evil as well as for good, of an universally recognized standard of design, has been assailed by the most varied influences. The Gothic revival divided at one time all England, and about evenly, with the classical revival in the hands of Sir Charles Barry and others of like mind with him. But, also, as the details and the free use of color of Italian Gothic were brought in to help the native English Gothic, so Italian Renaissance came in through the study of the early painters, and of Majolica and stuffs of the time. Oriental ornament could not be disregarded, whether it were Moresque, borrowed at second hand from Spain, or true Arabic from Cairo, and, more recently, the wonderful charm of Japanese art began to be felt. All these influences existed for the French as well, but they were not felt in France as in England. For, see the result. In the British division of the long gallery of "Mobilier et Accessoires" there are few indications of purely classical feeling. Elkington's silverware is more nearly classic than any of the woodwork or decorative painting, except for here and there a separate piece. All the work is of one sort ; you can see it in Du Maurier's woodcuts in *Punch*, you can feel it in Walter Crane's charming designs, you have it in New York at one cabinet-maker's shop, at least, to the exclusion of all other styles, and at all the furniture-stores you see traces of it. Cool colors, half tints, sage-green, with oriental blues which are almost greens and greens which are almost blues ; much use of floral ornament painted in flat tints or slightly relieved with gradation, and firmly outlined ; much use of small-scale figure-design, the costumes those of the last century, at least in form, the colors brought into the general system as stated above ; gold backgrounds and gold outlines very frequent ; the influence of Japanese decorative work in color very general, although some of the best designers seem to be trying to resist it —these are some of the characteristics of the wall-painting which is now in the ascendant. Wall-papers are much used, and are designed upon the same principles ; in fact, wall-papers should be considered as a mere variety of wall-painting, fitted for inexpensive and unpretending interiors. Tiles are used for decoration to a very great extent, and in boundless variety ; but of this hereafter. The larger pieces of furniture are designed in a style which seems to be half way between modern Gothic and "Queen Anne." It is a style not to be despised on account of its mongrel parentage. The work of the better English furniture-designers for the past twenty years has been a not unsuccessful seeking after convenience and fitness for modern uses, while preserving something of the character of mediæval work ; their adoption or partial adoption of the Queen-Anne fashion or taste has been in a great measure in deference to practical utility; and the result is that the sideboards and chimney-pieces of to-day, which may almost be described as of Sir Charles Grandison's time but with details of Chaucer's time, are very convenient, very appropriate to their places and purposes, very domestic-looking, yet not lacking in a certain magnificence. The French have noticed this peculiar domesticity of the English house-fittings : they think it a characteristic of the people, and trace its analogies in the British pictures with their quiet scenes of home-life and meetings by stiles and under garden trees.

It is to be observed that these tendencies of modern English art toward subdued color, unarchitectural form, and a generally simple and domestic as opposed to a grandiose and palace-like treatment of their interiors, cannot be traced direct to any one origin. Japanese design and Japanese feeling have helped in this, for it is a very prominent trait of Japanese art that it ignores stateliness, and lavishes its lovely detail on the simplest objects ; moreover, Japanese design is never balanced and formal, and that can hardly be dignified and stately in European eyes which is not balanced and formal. The lack of great magnificence in the public buildings of England as compared with those of France ; the fact that the Halls and Manors of Queen Anne are less stately than the Châteaux of Louis XIV., and that by a great deal ; the comparatively domestic character of the architecture and appointments of the palaces of Great Britain as compared with Versailles or St.-Germain or Fontainebleau, all these have helped in determining the character of the new style. These questions of its origin, however, though interesting, are not important in determining the question of the value of the style itself. We find it now, in 1878, well understood and recognized as the ruling taste, a standard common to nearly all British designers.

This being so, great things might be expected from the English decorators, for it is an axiom in art that there must be an agreement of many men—of a whole community—as to methods of work and recognized aims, in order to bring out the best powers of each designer and to produce the best general result. And if this goes on long enough—this common consent, this working together in a style of their own creating—better things may be looked for than this century has seen in Europe. The style has the "defects of its virtues," of course ; if it is simple and domestic, as is right, it is also clumsy, beyond experience. These rationally-designed sideboards are not to be compared for grace of form and harmony of proportions to the French cabinets, and the misunderstood naturalism of their detail is far inferior in value as ornament to the delicate classic patterns of the Parisians. There is, too, an incomprehensible diversity in this work. Their wall-painting and wall-papers and much of their decorative glass are so good, why do they paint pottery so badly ? Why are the British earthenware and porcelain tiles generally so bad ? Why are the French tiles generally so effective ? The reason seems to me to be this : the English school has not yet gained such mastery over its chosen style of decoration as it fancies. In the boldest way it is seeking to cover ceramic-ware mantels, dados, door-pieces with figure-subjects of a complex character ; no other nation, in the heyday of its life and the fullest development of its art, has dared to do so much. The human figure, both nude and clothed, animals, plants, landscape effects—anything that can be painted with the brush—is spread over these earthenware surfaces, and fired, in the full confidence that variety and spirit will make up for all deficiencies. But the fact is that there are only a few painters of such things in England who have knowledge and power enough for these elaborate and original designs. The French, with a vastly larger number of strong and highly-taught designers, fully competent to put upon ceramic ware anything that the ungrateful material will receive, are yet much more timid. They have no new style of work they are developing ; they give us tile compositions in the Moorish style, in the Persian style, and are at peace. Now and then an immense landscape is painted on a surface made up of small tiles, but this is painted on exactly the same principles as a painting on canvas, and pretends to no decorative, as opposed to pictorial, character. Moreover, the French painters of landscape and figure are immeasurably more attentive to the decorative effect of a canvas than the English. It is their virtue, and, from some points of view, their failing, to care little for subject as compared with artistic effect. So that it is not a great effort for a French artist of ability and training to paint a huge landscape on three hundred square tiles, or a hunting piece on six hundred, and preserve a purely ornamental treatment.

I hope, in the next letter, to point out the workings of the same influences in other things, more particularly in silverware and glass. R. S.

Correspondence.

STEEL RAILS ON THE UNION PACIFIC.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : In the notes of the week in the last issue of the *Nation* I notice the following statement, alleged to be taken from the recent report of the Union Pacific Government directors: "Only 29 out of 1,026 miles of the iron rails have been replaced by steel." A similar statement, I understand, was telegraphed to the Associated Press. The blunder may not be so obvious as to be unworthy of correction. I will therefore say that the mileage of steel rail really reported by the Government directors was 290, instead of 29. This, however, was in round numbers. To be exactly accurate, taking the return made to the Government directors from the office of the general superintendent of the road, on November 14, the "amount of steel in track and that ready to go in before year closes [was] 283 miles," laid as follows : "1870, 2 miles ; 1874, 12 miles ; 1875, 18 miles; 1876, 30 miles; 1877, 130 miles; 1878, 91 miles."

As few of those who have seen the summary will read the original report, you will do an act of justice to the Union Pacific and oblige the Government directors by publishing this correction.

C. F. Adams, Jr.

Boston, Jan. 13, 1879.

TRADE WITH SOUTH AMERICA.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir: Your correspondent "B.'s" assumption that trade is a barter of merchandise is true only if the term "merchandise" is meant to include

evidences of indebtedness ; otherwise the logical consequence would be that no nation could for any considerable length of time export merchandise to a greater value than its imports, or, in other words, that the balance of trade could not long remain in favor of the same nation, a proposition which the history of England's commerce shows to be untenable.

Our exports to South America—which, by the way, are not sold at ruinously low prices, but yield a fair profit to the manufacturer—will be paid for, as "B." observes, in bills of exchange drawn on Europe ; but the kind of merchandise which he seems to ignore, and which we can afford to import in large quantities in payment for those bills, will be the certificates of our indebtedness, United States, State, and railroad bonds, etc., now held abroad ; or, if preferred, we can be paid in consols, rentes, and similar foreign "merchandise."

The conditions of society which make actual barter necessary exist at present only in some of the interior countries of Africa, and in the minds of certain political economists.

Yours respectfully, H. S.

Boston, January 13, 1879.

[England is hardly the kind of illustration our correspondent needs, because she is not only a great manufacturing nation but a great investor of spare capital in foreign countries, which the United States is not. Moreover, there is no likelihood of any sensible demand here for consols and rentes, or other foreign securities bringing low rates of interest. The current rates of interest to be had here on perfectly safe security forbid and will forbid it. It is extremely probable, too, that after the revival of business our own bonds instead of flowing home will again begin to flow abroad, for the simple reason that comparatively few Americans will be content with four or five per cent. when they can, with peace of mind, get seven or eight. The domestic demand for our bonds at present is almost certainly abnormal and transient.—Ed. Nation.]

BISHOP FRASER.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : The mistake made by the *Nation* in quoting the Bishop of Manchester's position on the Afghan question, in the number of January 9, seems more like a slip of the editor's pen than a compositor's error. Feeling a good deal as you say the Liberals among English Churchmen do on this matter, it seems to me you almost owe to the bishop the reparation of quoting the words of his letter to the *Spectator :*

"But for an attack of bronchitis . . . I should have felt it my duty to place myself by the side of the Bishop of Oxford, . . . so that he might not have seemed to 'stand alone' among the bishops in his judgment of a policy the motives of which I yet fail to understand, and the morality of which—if morality is still in any measure to regulate the intercourse of nations—I cannot approve. . . As a bishop of the Church of England I would not be thought indifferent, as by my absence from the division I might be thought, in a case where 'the path of truth and justice' is at least as much deserving of regard as the necessity, assumed by the *Times*, that, *per fas aut nefas*, 'we must make ourselves secure.'"

Very respectfully, etc.,

An American Churchman.

[We have, as might have been expected, received several letters on this subject. The error was a proof-reader's oversight in letting "ministry" pass for "minority."—Ed. Nation.]

THE PROPOSED YORK-ANTWERP RULES ON GENERAL AVERAGE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir : Having noted the evident reluctance with which you have hitherto admitted into your valuable paper communications which even partake of a controversial nature, far more those of a *personal* character, I read with great astonishment the letter addressed to you by Mr. Gustav Schwab upon the subject named at the head of this. It seemed to me a little singular that after this matter had been three times brought before the Chamber of Commerce, twice discussed in public at length, a special meeting called for the purpose, and the fullest opportunity given for every one to be heard, this gentleman should have reserved all his arguments and thunderbolts to be circulated through your medium instead of advancing them in their proper place and time, where their weight, if they had any, might have been used in influencing action which he now deprecates, and the poor chairman of the majority have been spared the vials of his wrath. The real pain which I experience in being so completely misunderstood and misrepresented by so respected a gentleman is modified by the evidence which his communication furnishes that he has utterly failed to grasp the subject on which he writes (which is not to be wondered at), and, dissatisfied with his own reasonings, has been driven into that *dernier ressort* of arguers—personalities. Feeling quite sure of my own position and motives, I shall not be driven to the same weapons. The reports of the proceedings of the Chamber of Commerce being very meagre as given by the daily papers, the communication you have published is calculated to convey a very erroneous impression both of the report of the committee and the action of the Chamber ; and as your paper circulates amongst and influences the highest intellectual class of our nation, I should feel that the work of the committee was very imperfect were we to suffer it to pass unnoticed.

Briefly, then, this entire question arises from one branch of those International Conferences inaugurated about twenty years ago, under the management at that time of Lord Brougham. Among the subjects deemed worthy of consideration was that of "General Average," or those broad rules governing the extraordinary expenditures and sacrifices which vessels are often compelled to make by reason of threatening destruction or disaster on their voyages upon the seas. These rules were found to vary in different countries. In Great Britain, the first country to which we naturally look, a characteristic tenacity to existing customs had produced a strange anomaly. Arbitrary *practice* had assumed the place of *principle ;* and whilst text-writers repeatedly declared what *should be* the proper mode of adjustment, the adjusters had persisted in maintaining practices in direct opposition to such views. The same feelings had studiously withheld and prevented appeals to the legal tribunals on points not specifically ruled upon, and their entire code of practice was pronounced by their own elementary writers crude and inconsistent. In France and many other countries influenced by her great ruler, the Code Napoléon in its brief, terse terms swept away all previously existing laws, and arbitrarily established a new order of things ; but here, as with all new legislation, constant appeals to the courts had been necessary in order to define correctly the meaning and intention of the Code, and in adhering to the literal wording of the text many decisions had been given which in their application seemed to exceed the true principles sought to be established by the originators of that remarkable system of laws. In most of the other Continental Governments and in America, some, and in fact most, of the practice was found in accord. In distant and comparatively limited commercial countries there existed many obsolete, incongruous, and objectionable practices.

A separate branch of the Conferences was established on this subject, and delegates thereto were invited from the various commercial countries. Our Chamber of Commerce courteously responded to this invitation, and our first delegate to that first regularly organized body of this branch of international subjects was the Hon. Judge Wm. Marvin. At that Conference the result of their discussions was embodied in what was subsequently known as the "York" rules. So far was that learned gentleman from deeming the Chamber *committed* to the action of that body that he personally accounted to the writer for not taking a more energetic part in the discussions by the fact that the whole subject had to be referred back to each Government for authoritative action, where it would undergo scrutiny and discussion and a proper revision. Suffice it to say that these rules were found to be so inconsistent and impracticable that no one had the boldness to propose any action whatever looking to their adoption. Since that time there seems to have been little done in this branch—at least no new rules had been announced or proposed until the intended Conference at Antwerp to which our respected contemporary, Mr. F. R. Coudert, was appointed a delegate. At this meeting the York rules were first adopted as a basis for discussion, and it seems to have been decided that the discussion should be limited to amendments and alterations of those particular rules. However that may be, the product of this latter Conference is the York-Antwerp rules, but now accompanied by a new feature : reference to Governmental action is deemed too "old fogyish." Whether a fear of investigation or a contempt for constituted authorities was the motive, it is certain that, with an unheard-of and certainly unintended assumption, this body arrogates to itself the sole intelligence or capacity to review this subject, and couples with its decisions and results the resolve that at once, January, 1879, all ship-owners be urged to introduce into bills of lading a clause intended to bind all parties to the adoption of these rules, viz. : "General average, if any, to be payable according to the York-Antwerp rules."

Our own delegate reported fully the proceedings of the Conference to the Chamber, but simultaneously with his report a circular was promptly addressed by another person to ship-owners, merchants, and agents of steam lines, asking that they give their adherence to the rules by introducing the clause in question into all bills of lading to be used after January, 1879. Notice of this circular was brought before the Chamber, and that body referred the whole subject to a committee to report thereon to the Chamber. This committee carefully weighed every argument which could be adduced in favor of these rules, but failed to find them a fitting substitute for our existing law. They were compelled to declare them inconsistent in themselves, opposed to the true and only principles upon which uniformity is desirable, and, therefore, not willingly to be accepted. They further reprobated the very unusual and objectionable mode proposed to accomplish the result of a radical change in the law of the land, viz.: by special clauses in bills of lading. They were of opinion that the *only* body which the voice of the nation declared should have power over so important a subject was the Congress of the United States, where it would naturally receive full consideration and discussion, and where, if adopted, any legislation would necessarily ensure uniformity, which cannot possibly be claimed or anticipated for individual agreements.

To all and each of these propositions the committee invited attention and discussion, and they have yet to hear an argument which confutes their conclusion. The subject being purely professional, its elementary nature is not readily grasped by the ordinary mercantile mind. To a merchant it is simply an adjustment to which he is called to contribute for sacrifices or expenses incurred on the voyage, with which his only concern is usually to sign a bond and see that his insurer settles the bill. To the ship-owner or agent it is a means of getting back a portion of the account of disbursements and of stating his own claim against his insurers. To this latter class your correspondent belongs, and it is not to be expected that he should look upon it other than a question of barter—"give and take"; "What do we ship-owners gain or lose by the change? How much greater will be the allowance to us of ship's expenses during the delay?" etc. But to the legal mind the entire question is one of principles. The subject has its origin in the golden rule of equity. It seeks to restore the equality existing between all interests, which the act of man has set aside or suspended, for the general safety, and to compel participation in all expenses whereby any interest has been benefited. In such a view, every *deviation from principle* is unpardonable, for such deviation leads to endless difficulty and confusion. To distribute charges with accuracy and lay them upon their own proper beneficiary; to arbitrate and judge whether a sacrifice is entitled to contribution or not; to determine the exact time when the line of separation of expenses is to be drawn between general and special interests—these demand fixed and settled "principles" of equity. Everything less than these completely fails, for, being founded in injustice, true-minded men and nations will chafe under the restraint of such arbitrary and unjust rules, and will sooner or later set them aside. In such a view, any idea of giving up a practice strictly in accordance with true principles because some other nation, now for the first time alive to its own failings, offers to give adherence to some other practice which cannot be rejected without violation of those principles, is simply absurd. Consequently, the writer did earnestly oppose these rules of the York-Antwerp Conference, and did not discuss any points of the relative loss or gain in dollars to be thereby effected. I respectfully deny any attempt, directly or indirectly, to invoke national prejudice. I did state that Great Britain was the only country on the globe that had sought for the ruling that Rule 5 would establish, and that their own writers declared that their own courts would certainly conform to a different practice whenever the point came before them. And surely the admission by all the rest of the world that the ruling proposed is wrong should outweigh the wish of that one country on the opposite side, admitting that the wish exists, which may be doubted. If this be invoking national prejudice, then I am guilty of the accusation, and am wicked enough not to feel any regret for it. But I will not take up your valuable space with discussions on the merits of the Rules, nor go over the many other forcible objections to other inconsistent and improper changes proposed. The verdict of the committee was a deliberate one, and I stand by it.

If to endeavor conscientiously to preserve and maintain exact principles, instead of abandoning them for some unknown advantage to be derived from uniformity, is to be "one-sided," "erroneous," and "artful," and my arguments are to be stigmatized as "unduly magnified," "self-sufficient," and "discreditable," there would be little encouragement for that standard of uprightness to which I aspire; but I am somewhat consoled by the belief that your correspondent has not a large following, and that the main body of merchants are too intelligent to join him in so unjust and unwarranted premises. At the last meeting of the Chamber a reconsideration was asked for by a ship-owner, who pleaded lack of opportunity to inform himself, although avowing that he had voted with the majority. In this affirmative vote I joined, being willing to have the subject discussed from every aspect, and I am particularly pleased that it affords my esteemed opponent another chance to impress his views upon others; but I trust that he will then show by pertinent arguments that his opinions are based upon some true principles, and not on mere expediency, the doctrine of "give and take," or the reason that some pecuniary gain may be made.

Thanking you for the privilege of transgressing to such an extent on your valuable columns, I am,

Yours sincerely, A. F. Higgins,
Chairman of the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce.

New York, Jan. 7, 1879.

Notes.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS' new announcements include 'The Great Fur Land: Sketches of Life in the Hudson's Bay Territory,' by H. M. Robinson, illustrated; 'Soldier and Pioneer: Life and Family History of Richard Clough Anderson,' a Virginian of the last century; 'The Secret of Success,' by Wm. Davenport Adams; a volume on 'Ethics,' by President John Bascom, of the University of Wisconsin; 'The Art of Figure-Drawing,' by C. R. Weigall; a translation of Couture's 'Conversations on Art'; 'Emergencies, and How to Meet Them,' by Prof. Burt G. Wilder, of Cornell University; 'A Reading-Book of English Classics,' by the Rev. C. W. Leffingwell; 'Poesie für Haus und Schule,' by L. R. Klemm; 'The Currency Question,' by Robert W. Hughes, U. S. Judge of the Eastern District of Virginia: and additions to the "Hampton Tracts for the People" and the "Economic Monographs"—among the latter, 'The Currency of the Country,' by Secretary Schurz.——Roberts Bros. have in press Legouvé's 'Reading as a Fine Art,' translated by Miss Abby Alger; Mrs. Haweis's 'Chaucer's Tales Retold for Children'; 'The Dramatic List,' by Charles Eyre Pascoe; Mr. Kegan Paul's 'Mary Wollstonecraft's Letters to Gilbert Imlay'; Seeley's 'Life and Times of Stein'; and Hamerton's 'Life of Turner.'——Henry Holt & Co. will publish this month Mrs. Kemble's 'Records of a Girlhood,' with an early portrait of the author specially engraved for this American edition. They have nearly ready 'Demonology and Devil-Lore,' by Moncure D. Conway, a large work in two volumes, illustrated.——A. S. Barnes & Co. announce as in press the early numbers of the second volume of Mrs. Lamb's 'History of the City of New York.' The same house follow the lead of the *North American* in changing their *International Review* from a bi-monthly to a monthly, beginning with the January number. With the March number, they state, "the editorship will be assumed by Mr. John Torrey Morse, jr., author of the 'Life of Alexander Hamilton,' etc., and by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, formerly editor of the *North American Review*, and author of the 'Life of George Cabot.'" This will be welcome news to those who have not been reconciled to the transformation of the *North American*.——The Hebrew Book Union, 344 W. Thirty-first St., this city, solicit subscriptions to a 'Concise Lexicon to the Talmud, Targums, and Midrash Works,' by F. de Sola Mendes, Ph.D.——The *Jewish Messenger*, 92 Walker St., has begun issuing a monthly supplement called *Hebraica*, devoted to Hebrew literature and the science of the Bible. The editor is Dr. A. S. Isaacs.——The usual abstract of the proceedings of the American Philological Association for their Tenth Annual Session has just been published at Hartford. The eleventh session will be held at Newport, R. I., beginning Tuesday, July 15, 1879.——With the January number the *Bulletin* of the Nuttall Ornithological Club (Cambridge, Mass.) enters upon its fourth volume, with a very prosperous appearance. It is rare indeed that a technical magazine like this supports itself pecuniarily from the start, and is able to double the price of subscription while doubling its size. The publisher is Ruthven Deane.——We have before us the prospectus of the *Philosopher*, "a quarterly periodical, devoted to the advocacy and promulgation of Philosophy in its actual and ideal comprehension." The editor's address is 327 N. Third St., St. Louis.——We have received the first number of the *Canada Educational Monthly*, a magazine of good shape and promise (Toronto).——The *Tribune Almanac* for 1879 maintains its character for usefulness to journalists and politicians especially, but also to a larger public.——

Macmillan & Co. publish in a little pamphlet a course of addresses on Total Abstinence by Dr. B. W. Richardson, which deserve respectful attention on account of the author's standing in his profession. They have also issued Vol. II. of the second edition of Prof. J. E. B. Mayor's 'Thirteen Satires of Juvenal.' It contains the brief life of Juvenal, and the Notes to viii.-xvi.——B. Westermann & Co. send us Part I., Series 1., of Kampen's 'Descriptiones nobilissimorum apud classicos locorum,' to which we have before alluded. The contents are two pages of English letter-press on the insides of the cover, and three maps: the rout of the Helvetii, the fight on the Axona, and Alesia. This publication recommends itself strongly to classical instructors.——The honor of gratuitous imprint at the *Imprimerie nationale* has just been awarded to M. O. Douen's 'Clément Marot et le Psaultier Huguenot,' a work in two vols. 8vo, of great erudition, and curious for the specimens it gives of the primitive melodies of the psalms. The prospectus comes to us from the office of the *Société Biblique Protestante*, 5 rue des Beaux-Arts, Paris.—— Edmund Hoefer has published under the title 'Goethe und Charlotte von Stein' (Stuttgart, Krabbe) the papers which he has recently contributed to *Westermann's Monatshefte*. They have excited a lively interest in Germany from the singularly delicate and discriminating way in which he has treated the much-discussed relations of Goethe to Frau von Stein. He strongly opposes the commonly received theory of a platonic friendship, dwelling especially upon the marked change in Goethe's letters to her from March, 1781—a change which the late Mr. Lewes also referred to in his 'Life of Goethe.' His arguments, though strong and ably urged, are not convincing.——Under the title of 'Atlas de la Production de la Richesse,' Émile Justin has just published a series of twenty colored plates, in which he has ingeniously arranged the main classes of industry and wealth of each country, in order to exhibit their comparative standing, using the circular form of graphic representation invented by Mr. Wines and used in General Walker's 'Census Atlas.' It takes but a glance to comprehend that in a table of the comparative literacy of civilized nations the United States has the greatest number of those able to read and write, leading Germany slightly, while Portugal shows the largest segment of illiteracy, followed closely by Russia.

—The editor of the *United Service*, "a Quarterly Review of Military and Naval Affairs," of which the first number lies before us (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly & Co.), proposes that while this magazine shall, as its name indicates, be devoted specially to the interests of the Army and Navy, it shall present at the same time "such articles of general interest as to command the attention of all classes of readers." In fulfilment of this plan the first number contains the proposed variety of pieces, some good and some bad. "Polar Colonization and the Preliminary Arctic Expedition of 1877-78," by Capt. H. W. Howgate; "Conversion of Cannon," by Commodore E. Simpson; "Nicaragua and the Interoceanic Canal Problem," by Commander E. P. Lull; and other technical articles by officers of acknowledged authority on their respective subjects, are specially adapted to the military class of readers. "Four Naval Officers whom I knew," by H. Clay Trumbull; "A Spanish Fair," by Medical Director E. Shippen; and "The Wreck of the *Huron*," by Assistant-Engineer E. T. Warburton, one of the survivors of that disaster, are good average magazine articles. The number opens with an article entitled "Our Navy," by the Senior Flag Officer in the service, which is trivial in substance and undignified in style; and a quasi-scientific article, called "The Sun's Repulsive Force," by Lieut. R. M. G. Brown, is unqualifiedly bad. A good feature in the review is the publication in each number of one or more articles translated from foreign military journals. "Reminiscent of the *New Ironsides* off Charleston," by Capt. Geo. E. Belknap; "The Battle of Port Royal," a poem by Commodore T. H. Stevens; "The Grand Army of the Republic," by Robert B. Beath; and "The Indian Question," by James Joseph Talbot, make up the contents of the number. It is a question whether, in this country, a review devoted to military and naval affairs can command a sufficiently large circulation for success. The one way to secure such a circulation is the employment of good talent. Reminiscences of the late civil war are a trifle stale, even in the popular magazines, and the general reader would naturally expect from a review of this character some extended notice of foreign military affairs and of wars actually in progress. If the review is to be made a vehicle for the lucubrations of any Army or Navy man who wishes to see his name in print, it is easy to predict that a few numbers will finish its existence.

—We have been tardy in rendering an account of the third (Centennial) volume of the Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society, published last fall. It is a remarkable proof of the Society's vigor that it should, in the space of ten years, publish two elaborate histories of the Battle of Long Island—the one, Thomas W. Field's, an octavo volume of 550 pages; the present, by Henry P. Johnston, of a little more than 500. It is safe to predict that a third will never be attempted, for as regards all the main features of this battle, and the fortifications and disposition of troops on the American side, Mr. Johnston's 'Campaign of 1776' has the stamp of a "last word." A clearer, more dispassionate military narrative, better supported by cited evidence, it has never been our good fortune to read; and the topographical details, so interesting to the inhabitants of the two cities separated by the East River, have been worked out so diligently and so admirably mapped that nothing is wanting for a complete understanding of the chain of disasters which began with the surprise of the American patrol at the Jamaica Pass in the early morning of August 27, 1776, and ended with the surrender of Fort Washington on the 16th of November following. Some of the moot points discussed in the text or in the longer notes may be briefly enumerated. General Putnam is vindicated against Bancroft, Field, and others, who have charged him with being responsible for the loss of the battle of Long Island. The British and Hessians are acquitted of excessive cruelty: "that word 'massacre' should have no place in any accurate description of the battle." The American losses are set down at 1,000 in round numbers, confirming Washington's original estimate to Congress. Washington's sudden determination to retreat Mr. Johnston prefers to ascribe, with Gordon, to the development of Howe's intentions of advancing by trenches upon the Brooklyn works. The responsibility for the loss of Fort Washington is fairly divided between the Commander-in-Chief and General Greene—that is, the latter is held accountable for having given bad military advice; the former for having refrained from ordering the evacuation while there was yet time, and when, by his presence at Fort Lee, the acts of his subordinate became his own if not peremptorily countermanded. This disaster by far exceeded all the losses on Long Island, at Kip's Bay, Harlem Heights, and White Plains. In describing the Kip's Bay affair, by the way, Mr. Johnston makes the only slip in a uniformly excellent style when he speaks of Colonel William Douglas having "all but escaped capture"—meaning "was all but captured." The second half of this volume is filled with valuable documents, mostly inedited, of which the most important is General Greene's order-book while in command on Long Island. Corresponding to the scheme of the American army, in chap. iii., is the list in the appendix of officers and men taken prisoners on Long Island. The portraits of four colonels—Lasher, Hand, Glover, and Huntington—are representative of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Connecticut—four of the nine States whose troops composed Washington's army. Finally, the maps are worthy of the highest praise; that representing Manhattan Island in 1776 will be particularly acceptable to New-Yorkers.

—We have received the 'Catalogue of the Loan Exhibit in aid of the Society of Decorative Art' of Chicago. This exhibition, as we in New York, in our old-fashioned way, would call it, was held during the past autumn. A brief prefatory notice, signed by Mr. Stanley Waters, states that the society entrusted to him the collection, arrangement, and cataloguing of the whole. Our New York exhibitions of last year and the year before had not the benefit of a general director. They did very well in spite of that want, especially the latest one, which was really a wonder of clever arrangement and classification, considering the manner of its inception and carrying out. Still, much better things are possible with a competent person at the head, giving time enough to go more or less into detail. And the catalogue especially needs an editor or compiler, if it is to be a "catalogue" at all, in the strict or technical sense. To be a catalogue, and not a mere list, some system of classification must be followed in the work. But in this respect Mr. Waters's work is not carried so far even as the more recent New York Loan-Exhibition catalogue; that at least followed the classification by rooms, and the Oriental wares were carefully separated from European, European pottery from other works of ornamental art, and all from the paintings. But even this primitive division, according to origin and material, has not been followed in the Chicago example. At first it seems that Greek pottery is to be kept by itself, and Majolica, etc., to follow in their order, but at No. 137 this order disappears. The requirements of ownership take precedence; a Minton cup and saucer and a Lowestoft cup are followed by "Towel, old Turkish embroidery, of a stitch not now used," five numbers farther on by a "Collection of Turkish Rag-Babies from Mosul," this by a Japanese crackle vase, and that by an engraving by Raphael Morghen. In one respect, however, this pamphlet goes further than its New York

equivalent: the accounts given of the objects exhibited are fuller and more explanatory, at least in many cases. *Scribner's Monthly* for January, in its editorial pages, has pointed out that it is in this direction chiefly that it will be found practicable to improve these catalogues. Elaborate classification will be found too slow a process, time will be consumed, and the pamphlet will not be ready until long after the opening of the exhibition, but nothing prevents the describing with greater fulness and accuracy each article under its number. All that is needed for that great improvement is to obtain the services of a competent person; but that, as *Scribner* hints, is the difficulty, inasmuch as "the few competent persons are unable to give away their time and knowledge to such an extent, and it is not the fashion with us, as yet, to pay for professional or skilled services where it can possibly be avoided." However little has been done hitherto in this direction, it becomes easier each year to be more full and thorough, and harder each year to remain brief and careless. The step Mr. Waters has taken in the work under consideration will be followed by a longer stride in the same direction without doubt, and whenever loan exhibitions begin to be held by artistic societies for the sake of the exhibition, and not of what it earns, it will be found absolutely necessary to give information with regard to the works of art exhibited at once more full and more carefully arranged than we have allowed ourselves to dream of as yet.

—A recent number of *L'Art* contains, among other engravings from American pictures at the Exhibition, two woodcuts from Mr. Vedder's "The Young Marsyas" and "The Sybil." They are engraved on a large scale, and the woodcuts preserve much of the character of the painting, as well as can be judged by a comparison with three months' intervening. The engraving is not of the last refinement, certainly, but suits the style of the pictures better, perhaps, than if more minute and delicate. The text contains a very severe criticism indeed of these pictures. Oddly enough, it is the use and alleged misuse of classical themes that enrages the writer; he has little to say about the purely artistic qualities of the pictures, but assails them in the same terms that he might use in speaking of a poem of classical subject—Morris's "Bellerophon" or Swinburne's "Atalanta." It certainly seems strange, too, that the magazine should give up so much space to careful engravings of these two works if they were so badly thought of in the editorial office. Mr. Vedder sends, from his studio in Rome, a vigorous protest against the treatment he has received. He alleges that he never means to object to criticism, but that in this case he thinks he was "caught in a trap" and betrayed. His reasoning seems to be: "Certainly I had a right to assume, when I was formally asked leave to engrave a picture, that the said picture was admired; certainly, if I had known that it was despised, and that its appearance in *L'Art* would serve only as a chance for unmeasured abuse of it and of my way of work, I should never have granted the permission asked for." And in this Mr. Vedder is clearly right. As to the merit of the pictures we have now nothing to say; but imagine the position of a writer for an American magazine who should write Mr. Vedder at Rome, to ask for a photograph or drawing that it might be engraved, and then use it in his article only to "pitch into" it and him. Besides the lithographed circular of which we have spoken, there are in town copies of the letter from *L'Art* to Mr. Vedder asking for a drawing of the picture, or, failing that, permission to photograph it, and of his letter to *L'Art* after the appearance of the engravings and the criticism. With a proper feeling Mr. Vedder has made his circular less sharp in language than his letter to the journal.

—In response to numerous memorials from Western agricultural and horticultural bodies, and the petition of a special congress of the executives of the various States and Territories more particularly interested, Congress, in the spring of 1877, created a special commission to report upon the Rocky Mountain locust or Western grasshopper. The commission was charged to make such investigations as would avert, wholly or in part, the fearful destruction to the agriculture of the trans-Mississippi country that had so often followed the undue increase of this pest. The Secretary of the Interior displayed unusual judgment in the appointment on this commission of Prof. C. V. Riley, Dr. A. S. Packard, Jr., and Prof. Cyrus Thomas; and their first annual report, made within the year of appointment, is a monument to the industry, energy, and method with which their enquiries were pursued. Its 700 odd pages are replete with original facts and conclusions in a field that had scarcely been trodden before, and it is one of the few Government documents which will bear republishing in future years, being not only a contribution to science, but a repertory of important practical information. The first edition has already been found quite inadequate, and the Interior Department has had a small special edition published, while Senator Paddock, of Nebraska, a Chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, has introduced a resolution calling for the printing of 30,000 additional copies. In his annual report Secretary Schurz points to the fact that the problem of destroying the young insects as they hatch in the more fertile country to the southeast is virtually solved by the commission, but that there is an important task yet to be performed in learning how best to prevent the excessive multiplication of the insects in their native northwest breeding-grounds, and their consequent migration therefrom. The small appropriation of $15,000 is asked for this purpose and to enable the commission to complete the work assigned to it. We give prominence to these facts because the fear is being expressed in some leading agricultural journals that the reorganization of the public surveys, as explained in our last week's issue, will virtually do away with this commission and prevent the completion of its work. This fear is based on the fact that the commission is nominally attached to Hayden's Survey; but whatever action be taken on the recommendation of the National Academy regarding the different surveys, the completion of the work of the Entomological Commission is easily ensured by substituting "under the Interior Department" for "attached to the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories," as the appropriating clause now reads in the bill of estimates. The important work yet to be done in this locust enquiry ought not to be hindered when the obstacle to its accomplishment is so easily removed.

—There seems to be no small danger that the present Congress may show more energy and zeal than wisdom in legislating with regard to the public health and for the prevention of epidemics. Certainly there is great distrust among leading physicians and sanitarians as to the results of the labors of the present Congressional Commission on Epidemics with its so-called experts. Although seven medical men are members of the House and two of the Senate, no one of these was placed on the Committee, and of the experts not more than two have any reputation as sanitarians among those qualified to judge. To this select committee has been referred Senate Bill 1462, introduced by Mr. Lamar, a copy of which we have before us. This bill converts the Marine Hospital Service of the Treasury Department into a Department of Health, with despotic powers in the hands of the Chief of the Department, who can only be removed from office by trial before the Chief-Justice of the United States, and whose salary is to be $7,500 per annum. He is to make and enforce all quarantine and other regulations for the prevention of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemic diseases in the United States, can override State and local Boards of Health, close any port, or stop any railroad that he pleases, and is responsible to no one. When it is remembered that the person who is to have these powers and privileges, and for whose exclusive benefit the bill seems to be drawn, is now the chief of the experts who are counselling the select Congressional Committee just referred to, and that he was the sole professional adviser of the Committee in the selection of its experts, there certainly seems good reason for the declaration of the American Public Health Association, through its officers, that "the true interests of public health and sanitary science in the United States are in grave danger at the present time."

—This declaration we find in a memorial signed by the officers and Executive Committee and members of the Advisory Committee of the Association, as the result of their deliberations at a special meeting in Washington January 2 and 3, 1879, and as the names appended to it are those of the best known sanitarians in this country their advice certainly demands respectful consideration. They urgently recommend that no legislation be undertaken by the present Congress with regard to a National Quarantine, but that a Provisional National Health Commission be authorized to elaborate and report to the next Congress a plan for a permanent organization bearing a similar title. This plan, they continue, should include one for a national system of quarantine, and should be prepared after consultation with the State Boards of Health and experts. The Commission should also "take charge of any investigations into the causes and means of prevention of yellow fever," or any other epidemic diseases referred to it by Congress. To free it from all suspicion of incompetence or political intrigue, its members should be selected by the National Academy of Sciences. The Association further think it "highly desirable that there should be added to the Standing Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives a Committee on Public Health."

—The rage for burlesque seems to continue with unabated force wher-

ever the English language is spoken, and it continues to improve in musical as well as in dramatic qualities. With "Evangeline" at Booth's, the "Babes in the Wood" at the Park, and even a private production of "Fair Rosamond" at the Union League Theatre, for the benefit of the Harvard Crew (all very successful), there can be no doubt as to the popular liking for this sort of extravaganza, though its popularity is also well calculated to make the judicious theatre-goer occasionally grieve over the decadence of the drama, or of popular taste, or both. With the exception of one or two plays ("Trial by Jury" and "H. M. S. Pinafore" are the only productions of the kind that we now recall) there is a total want in the English burlesque school of any regard for, or even recognition of, the laws which regulate this branch of the drama. Burlesque on the stage is no new thing: to take a single example, almost the whole of Sheridan's "Critic" is burlesque of the wildest description; but it is burlesque which makes fun of the subjects selected intelligently. There is burlesque statesmanship, and burlesque love, and burlesque war, but they are all recognized at once as based on a perfectly just appreciation of what the real thing is, and the difference between it and the sham. In the French *opéra bouffe*, too, in its wildest moments, there is always a coherent and intelligent idea behind the absurdity; and though professors of wit and humor might not in all cases agree as to what particular intention underlay a particular piece of *bouffe*, there is never a feeling of that emptiness and weariness produced by efforts to be amusing, which fail because there is nothing to be amused at. Modern English burlesque, however, knows no law of any kind. Generally some familiar fairy story is taken and dramatized with changes which relieve it of all its prettiness, and incorporate into it much vulgarity. Sometimes, instead of a fairy story, it is a myth or historical story; and always the aim of the author is to make his dialogue full of puns and meaningless play upon words, and airs and choruses more or less pretty. Although an enormous amount of labor is misspent on the dialogue, the music is really what makes the whole endurable; for it is impossible to imagine any one listening to an English burlesque as a play for half an hour. In the music there is steady improvement, as any one will admit who will compare such singing as that of the Park company in the "Babes in the Wood" with that which Miss Lydia Thompson used to provide for the public a few years since.

—It has been a matter of wonder and regret that to this day the land of Goethe, the book-making country *par excellence*, has not produced any edition of the works of its greatest literary genius worthy of the man and the land. Up to 1867 the copyright of Goethe's works was owned by the Cottas of Stuttgart, who published many different editions on good and bad paper, but all equally poor with regard to the text, which was corrupted to unintelligibleness and full of misprints copied from one edition into the next, and often improved on after the fashion of Mr. Ballhorn (as the German saying goes), but never benefited by any critical revision or an attempt at such. When at last the copyright ceased and everybody could print Goethe the market was flooded with 8vo, 12mo, 16mo, and other editions in German and Roman type, with and without illustrations. None of them, however, with the exception, perhaps, of the illustrated edition of Grote, in Berlin, were any improvement, with regard either to external appearance or textual revision, on the old Cotta editions. To the late Gustav Hempel, of Berlin, one of Germany's most enterprising publishers, the Fatherland is indebted for the first "nach den vorzüglichsten Quellen revidirte Ausgabe" of the works of Goethe (and many other classic writers), published in "Hempel's National-bibliothek der deutschen Classiker." Since 1868, G. von Loeper, Strehlke, Biedermann, Düntzer, and the publisher himself, although his name does not appear on the title-page except as publisher, have edited that truly excellent edition which has already become the standard one quoted by all scholars. It size and print, however, are inadequate to the greatness of Goethe's fame and the place he takes among the writers of all ages, not to speak of the wishes of book-lovers and bibliomaniacs. If a French publisher could bring forth a monumental, almost folio, edition of Alfred de Musset, with fine engravings, which his countrymen absorbed to the last copy, though the heavy volumes almost weighed down the graceful but by no means grand poet, the German bookseller had to blush when he could offer none but this pocket edition of the giant among modern writers as the only textually recommendable one. It is with a genuine feeling of great satisfaction, therefore, that at last, forty and odd years after his death, we can announce that a second "Bearbeitung" of Hempel's Goethe is spoken of as in preparation, which is meant in its outward dress too to take the measure from the man. As a precursor, "Faust," with introduction and annotations by G. von Loeper, is announced by Hempel's publishing house, in 8vo, well printed on good paper, as appears from a prospectus just issued. Although even this new effort might have aimed a good deal higher, yet, if one thinks of the various library editions of Shakspere, Milton, Molière, Dante, and *dii minorum gentium*, the text and notes will certainly be all that can be desired; for Loeper nowadays holds without doubt the first rank among Goethe scholars—an opinion academically endorsed last year by the Berlin University, which conferred on him the degree of "Doctor phil. honoris causa" for his eminent services as editor of Hempel's Goethe; and it is to be borne in mind that the Berlin University, if anything, is quite the contrary of lavish in thus honoring even those to whom honor is due. There is no doubt that this second edition will be benefited by the vast material brought to light since the first was started, and by the many fresh contributions to the study of Goethe, in a great measure brought out by the Hempel edition. Germany, and the adherents of the Goethe Cultus at large, may well be congratulated on this prospect, if there is reason to congratulate Goethe's country for performing a sacred duty at so very late a date.

—The German periodicals are just at present filled with discussions as to the relations between Darwinism and Socialism. Those who have clear and definite ideas regarding these two "isms" must be at first inclined to regard the matter in the light of a broad joke. Certainly nothing could be more comic or even grotesque than the accusation that evolution or Darwinism has furnished the Social-Democrats with weapons of defence or justification. One is tempted, therefore, to attribute the whole discussion to the proverbially defective sense of humor which characterizes the Germans as a people. But when one finds no less an authority than Professor Virchow hinting at a connection between the two pernicious doctrines, and Professors Haeckel, Oscar Schmidt, and Carl Vogt protesting against the accusation of such an alliance, one feels bound to pause for a moment and see what this new paper-war is really about. At the fifty-first assembly of German naturalists, at Cassel, Prof. Oscar Schmidt delivered a lecture on this topic, which subsequently appeared in the *Rundschau*, and may now be obtained in pamphlet form. Haeckel's remarks on the subject will be found in the preface to his reply to Virchow; while Vogt's letters have appeared in the *feuilleton* of recent numbers of the *Neue Freie Presse*. One ingenious Socialist, it appears, has made the remarkable discovery that the fundamental maxim of Darwinism teaches the perfect equality of all men; while another kindly informs us that Marx's book on Capital, the Socialist's bible, is the continuation and completion of Darwin's 'Origin of Species' and 'Descent of Man.' On the other side, an Ultramontane newspaper published at Berlin did not hesitate to make the theory of descent responsible for the murderous assaults of the Socialists Hödel and Nobiling. Such statements, of course, do not come within the sphere of serious criticism. Considering that no theory was ever announced in more precise and definite language than that of Darwin, it seems to take an abnormal amount of time to beat into most people's heads correct ideas in regard to it. The only point in which a Darwinist may condescend to shake hands with a Social-Democrat is that both reject certain religious dogmas relating to the special creation of man. In all other respects, however, the two parties in question are directly at cross-purposes with each other. While the Socialist clamors for an equal distribution of property and privileges, the banner of Darwinism bears the motto, Selection—the survival and preference of the fittest in the struggle for life. This is essentially an aristocratic principle. If by some decree of Providence the Socialist ideal should be suddenly realized, and all wealth and rank equally divided, a few years would suffice, through the operation of natural selection, to restore the old order of things. That the word *fitness* is not synonymous with moral worth but with power is not Darwin's fault. He did not make the world. All he did was to point out that the struggle for life, with its consequences, is found everywhere in nature, in human society as well as among the lower animals and plants. Civilization has, however, done something to counteract the harshest results of the law of selection. We have hospitals and charitable institutions for the deaf and dumb, the cripples, the insane, and for those even who are afflicted with incurable diseases—all of whom in a state of nature would be eliminated. Now, if some bold moralist should step forward and argue that the law of selection should be restored in all its vigor and these individuals allowed to perish, he would be a proper subject of attack for all those who believe in the principles of Christian ethics. But to make Darwin and his followers responsible for Socialist disorders because they have pointed out that to some extent the law of selection operates in human society, is not a bit less ridiculous than it would be in case a falling meteor should kill

a peasant in the field to accuse Newton of murder because he pointed out the law of universal gravitation.

—Don Baldomero Espartero died last week, at the age of eighty-six years and ten months. Though he outlived his time of public activity by nearly a quarter of a century, his record, either as a general or a statesman, has not been eclipsed by a single name in the Spanish history of his time. The achievements of the most renowned Spaniards who figured during his long life—though the list includes Palafox, Riego, Toreno, Mina, Cabrera, Martinez de la Rosa, Olózaga, Narvaez, O'Donnel, Prim, Serrano, and Castelar—are insignificant in comparison with his. The best of his competitors in the field of ambition failed to achieve lasting success, from lack of ability or from excess of enthusiasm; the most successful stained their record by self-degradation at the court of Maria Christina or of Isabella, by political desertion, and by shedding blood profusely in the cause of despotic repression or in reckless insurrections. Espartero's public career—whatever the inner traits of his character and the real springs of his actions may have been—was free throughout from blots of this kind. He fought for the independence of Spain against the French (enlisting in 1808), for her power against the South-American insurgents (1815–24), and for her freedom against the Carlists (1833–40); and when constant victory in the struggle with the latter successively raised him to the dignity of commander-in-chief (1836), of duke (1839), and of regent for Queen Isabella (1841), he clung to his Progressist banner, maintained his dignity against the abettors of Maria Christina, and succumbed (1843) only to a combination of rivalries, intrigues, and anarchical opposition such as a bloody terrorism alone could have disarmed. In exile (1843–7) and in voluntary retirement (1848–54) he abstained from conspiring, and when sharing power with O'Donnel (1854–6) he represented the Progressist side of the coalition. In his last retirement he declared his adhesion to the cause of the people on the fall of Isabella (1868), and declined to be a candidate for the vacant throne, when his name was brought forward in the Cortes (1870). He was the son of a wheelwright.

—Poggio Bracciolini, the famous scholar of the Renaissance, to whom we owe the discovery and preservation of so many classic works, is now chiefly remembered for the collection of questionable anecdotes which he published in the last years of his life under the title 'Liber Facetiarum.' The officers of the Roman chancery were accustomed during the pontificate of Martin V. to assemble in an apartment called the *Bugiale* (which Poggio explains by *mendaciorum officina*) and tell stories. "No one was spared there," says Poggio; "we spoke ill of all that displeased us. Often the Holy Father furnished the starting-point for our criticisms, and many persons came to our meetings for fear that we would begin with them." These stories Poggio turned into Latin, to see, as he says, whether it was possible to render into Latin many ideas which are considered difficult to express in that tongue. They proved very popular, some thirteen editions, including translations, having been published since 1470. Many of these editions have become scarce, while the text of the majority is incomplete and bad. The want of a complete edition led to the recent publication at Paris of the Latin text with a French translation. A small number of copies were printed and sold at once. A second edition has since appeared under the title 'Les Facéties de Pogge' (Paris: Liseux. 1878). The text is preceded by a bibliographical notice, a life of Poggio, and an examination of his various writings. The stories are unaccompanied by notes, which lessens the value of the edition for scholars, who will still be obliged to refer to the edition of Noel (London: 1798). There is, however, an index of proper names containing some historical information. The collection is chiefly valuable for the history of the culture of the Renaissance, and also for comparative storiology, as some one has named the genealogy and comparison of popular tales. It was also the first of the long series of *Facetiæ* which make such a show in the literature of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. The last edition forms part of the *Petite Collection Elzévirienne*, and is most daintily printed.

ROSCHER'S POLITICAL ECONOMY.*

THE present status of the science of political economy is most unsatisfactory. While the chief scholars in the science are not agreed as to its methods, axioms, or objects, it can hardly be expected to advance steadily or rapidly, and it will be exposed to the easy contempt of charlatans and "practical men" on the one side, and to the confusion produced by clever but ill-trained adherents on the other. It has been known that the Germans, having only latterly taken up the study of political economy, professed to have reconstructed the science which their predecessors in England and France had only entangled, and to have given it form, method, limits, and purpose. We have now before us the first English translation of an important work in this school. No doubt this task has been so long neglected because it was not believed that the German systematic works contributed anything at all proportioned to their bulk to the science as already presented in English text-books, but the appearance, in an English dress, of a work which has long enjoyed high reputation on the Continent is nevertheless an important incident in the history of political economy amongst us. It is likely to produce a controversy similar to that which has been for a good while carried on between the French and German economists as to the merits of the "historical method." It is very possible, also, that it may for a time only increase the confusion now reigning in the science, because the views of the historical school are well adapted to captivate just that group of professed economists who, as an English critic expressed it, "only muddle things." We believe, therefore, that it is especially necessary to point out, upon the introduction of this work, (1) that economists cannot be divided into schools which are distinguished by the fact that some study history and others do not, so that the issue raised by the designation "historical" is not correctly joined; and (2) that Roscher is by no means a fair representative of the new German or historical school.

Roscher mentions but one other school to be distinguished from his own. This he calls the "idealistic." He does not define it very clearly, and does not mention the writers who compose it; but he seems to refer to the utopia-makers, or to the *à priori* world-reformers. It is a perfectly legitimate usage, however, to exclude all such writers from the group of "economists" altogether. If they were to be included, and then distinguished as non-historical, the distinction would be just; but it would contribute nothing to the classification of the economists properly so called, while there are distinctions among the latter which require classification. Roscher has behind him a whole school of writers who have seized upon certain notions and tendencies of his and pushed them to exaggerations in every direction. In his doctrines he agrees with the great English and French economists of the century which has just closed; but his followers (as they call themselves) have run off into every divergent doctrine as to wages, rent, population, and international trade. Roscher does not limit political economy to the bounds observed by English and French economists. He makes it a point to go over the bounds of the science and to trench upon those of the art of economy, especially when in taking the latter step he is led into statecraft, or the art of the statesman. He believes that this is proper for the economist. Hence these two volumes only reproduce the first of four which his plan comprises. His followers of the school embrace in their works discussions of moral, social, æsthetic, and philanthropic projects. Instead of striving, as the English and French economists have done, to give precision to the science, they overload and dissipate it by introducing all sorts of matter into it, and by taking away its boundaries. Instead of favoring a division of labor between History, Statecraft, Law, Police, and Political Economy, and seeking to advance by the more complete and independent development of each of these subjects by itself, they obscure all the distinctions between them. They yield themselves, also, in pursuing the course described, to the motives of sympathy, sentiment, benevolent preference, and philanthropic hope. They therefore present too often the spectacle of men with whims or hobbies. One has a "fad" for trades-unions, another for co-operation, another for forest-culture, another for preventing a scarcity of houses, another for putting a stop to stockjobbing.

Roscher allows to the state a degree of initiative and regulation which may seem practicable and advisable to a German, but which few Englishmen or Americans would approve. To take an instance which Americans are in a good situation to criticise, it is only necessary to refer to what he says about emigration and colonies—things which certainly involve some measure of statesmanship. This economist undertakes to discuss the advantages to a country of getting colonies by state initiative when it has none; where they should be, how they should be organized, etc. He appears to assume that they would certainly trade with the mother country, and even hints at a "colonial policy" of taxation. He also follows emigrants to their new home in an independent state, and discusses their subsequent relations to their old home, or to their new neighbors on account of their old home. The impropriety, from a scientific point of view, of such speculations could not be more clearly demon-

* 'Principles of Political Economy. By William Roscher. With Chapters on Paper Money, International Trade, and the Protective System; and an Essay on the Historical Method in Political Economy, by L. Wolowski. The whole translated by John J. Lalor, A.M.' 2 vols. Chicago: Callaghan & Co.; New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1878.

strated. They are necessarily *à priori* speculations; they do not deal with scientific theorems but with practical exigencies; they belong to a domain foreign to the writer, viz., that of the statesman. Another example is furnished by the Appendix on the protective policy. After stating with great clearness the grounds for free-trade, the author declares that infant industries may properly be nursed by protective taxes. This is a most plausible notion when regarded *à priori*, but there is no notion which "history" has more distinctly proved to be fallacious.

Roscher's followers have here again exaggerated his tendency. They invariably look to the state for the force to execute the projects to which they take a fancy. They exaggerate his almost comical horror of "atomism." They distrust the individual and regard his initiative as always selfish and anti-social. They trust the state without reserve; they believe in its power and wisdom, and seem to think selfishness has no possible place in its activity. But it is to be observed that the economist who recommends to the statesman to take certain measures so as to realize certain social improvements, must have before his mind an "ideal" of what he wants to see accomplished. It may not be a Utopia, but it is the present society modified as to one or more of its elements. He may have borrowed his ideal from an obsolete state of society instead of creating it in his fancy, but it is just as impossible to wake the dead as to create a new order of men, and just as impossible to revive a dead institution as to create one *à priori*. The economist may bring forward any amount of historical lore; he is none the less an idealist, and with his state control set at work to "elevate" society or classes, he is a socialist.

The men of this school in Germany have assumed the name of the "historical school." In their books is to be found a great mass of material in reference to the history of economic doctrines and literature, and in regard to the history of institutions. The zeal and industry with which this material has been collected are recognized by everybody. Its value is unquestionable and unquestioned. No economist nowadays can afford to neglect this material. Roscher's book comprises, for perhaps nine-tenths of its substance, historical and statistical notes of great interest and value. They embrace the history of the doctrines presented, the literature of the subject, illustrations of the text, and statistical proofs. In general, it may be said of these notes that they are judiciously selected and limited. They unquestionably add much to the interest and satisfaction with which the reader peruses the text. But it cannot be said that there is here any novelty of method. It is at most a matter of degree. The text proceeds by the deductive method common to all the economists. The opening sentence of the book is, "The starting point as well as the object point of our science is Man," a proposition which is entirely idle and superfluous, because it is true of political economy only as it is true of any other science. It is, however, one of the points on which the "school" prides itself, that it keeps this proposition in mind, and it is the proposition by means of which it breaks down the proper limits of the science, and sallies forth as has been already described. This stumbling block being passed, the next sentence is, "Every man has numberless wants," and from this axiom the whole system is deductively constructed in the usual manner.

Here again the disciples have left far behind the reserve and moderation of the master. It is easy to see how this method of constructing books (for this is what it is, and not a method of treating the science) may be abused. The notes may run into pedantry or display of erudition, or they may include mere antiquarian curiosities. Such notes are, in fact, dangerous, for they can only be fragmentary and one-sided, and nothing is more mischievous to the science than generalizations from fragments of history and shreds of statistics. These errors are abundantly illustrated in the literature of the "historical school." There are treatises which pretend to discuss doctrines, but stop short with a history of doctrine. There are others which give a history and then take flight into the realms of speculation. To the careless reader the former part may seem to give some authority to the latter when there is really no nexus at all. The best-informed scholar is the one who knows best how very difficult it is to obtain from books a deep and thorough comprehension of social conditions which are past or remote, and how careful it is necessary to be in drawing inferences. In proof of this we have only to refer to the statements about the United States in the book before us. They are rarely accurate, and never sufficiently comprehensive. It is to be observed, further, that these historical and statistical notes lose value as time goes on, unless they are brought down to date with every new edition of the dogmatic treatise of which they form a part. This is done to some extent in Roscher's book, but the standpoint is still that of the first edition, twenty-five years ago. The method of the historical school, therefore, even as a method of book-making, is only an extension of that with which we are all familiar, and it is open to question how far that extension is wise.

It appears, then, that the "historical school" has no monopoly of respect for history, that it embraces men of extremely different opinions, of whom Roscher is perhaps the most conservative who could be mentioned, that it has no "method" which can be distinguished from other methods, or which is an independent method of treating a science, and that the men who are grouped in it have in common a set of views as to the limits of political economy and its relations to other sciences, a set of motives in sentiment, sympathy, and hope, and a peculiar faith in "the state." These latter peculiarities, however, are what constitute a "school." The opponents of the "historical school" have, therefore, never disparaged the historical method, and have never admitted the justice of the designation assumed, and they have given to the school in question the name of the "professorial socialists." The opponents study history in its breadth and sweep, believing that it is only when thus studied that its true lessons can be learned, or, especially, that the social forces at work in it can be discerned and their laws discovered. History, therefore, cannot be written together with dogmatic science, but is a separate discipline which must be cultivated by itself. The same may be said of statistics. The scientific economists (if we may so call them for distinction) aim to restrict political economy within the limits of a definite group of phenomena, and to work out the laws controlling those phenomena with the greatest possible precision. They therefore draw the line between the science and the art as sharply as possible. They regard the state, for all purposes which here come into account, as simply a group of men, who will be found no different from other men, and against whom the individual must be guaranteed his liberty just as much as against his neighbors. They perceive that the social order is controlled by laws in regard to which man has nothing to do but to learn and obey them. The existing social state presents those laws under complex phenomena, which cannot be separated by experiment. The object of study, therefore, is: What is; and the value of history is that it shows in operation the forces of which the existing status is the resultant, and thus helps to explain it. As for what ought to be, or what will be, with that science has nothing to do, but economic science teaches just what other sciences do—namely, that man will be better off in this world just in proportion as individuals apprehend correctly the laws of life which this science teaches within its domain, and regulate themselves accordingly. The "historical school" bears witness in its polemics to the fact that the scientific economists are its true adversaries.

We have several times remarked that Roscher presents the errors of the school in their mildest form, and that the doctrines which he teaches are those of the "orthodox" economists. The chapter on Population is the best in the book, and it contains the best exposition of that subject before the public—stated, too, within very moderate limits. This chapter and the one on Rent present those subjects in a manner especially adapted to meet the empty objections which are most current on this side of the water. The chapter on Wages is not so strong. Although in the main correct, it stumbles over the doctrine that a demand for commodities is not a demand for labor.

The translation is very conscientious and correct. German, with its numerous abstract terms, lends itself with facility to a writer who is willing to yield occasionally to kindly feeling. When such a sentence is translated into English, there is likely to be little clear sense in it; but it is not the translator's fault. However, on page 12 of vol. ii., the author is made to say: "If justice pure and simple were meted [out in the distribution of products] no man could *subsist*." What he says is: "No man could stand the test" (*bestehen*). This assertion is out of place, for it alludes to other considerations than those in the context, but it is very different from the former assertion.

Thirty Years at Sea. By E. Shippen, U.S.N. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.)—The argument of this book is the adventures of a boy born at sea, working his way up from before the mast to being captain of a brig and acting-master in our Navy. In his career he is concerned in every form of adventure known to the annals of the sea. The scenes and events are described with much minuteness, but some of the observations are trivial and some out of character. As a whole the descriptions lack color. Some most tragic events are treated with the brevity and baldness of a school geography; others, which evidently are part of the writer's own experience, are much more stirring in the reading, and among these are the loss of the *Congress* and the actions of Fort

Fisher. Both the last are familiar passages of history, and need not be repeated. But the scenes on board the fleet described by an eye-witness are full of interest. The captain of the *Congress* had been detached and was waiting on board for a transport to take him South to his new command. The ship was temporarily in charge of the first-lieutenant, who had orders to take her to Philadelphia, and lay her up as soon as she was relieved by her successor. She expected to sail about the 10th of March. The existence of the *Merrimack* was well known, but the endurance of ironclads had never been tested. It was believed on board the *Congress* that if she could get the *Merrimack* under her guns she could send her to the bottom. The frigate *Congress* and the sloop *Cumberland* were off Newport News, at the mouth of James River. The frigates *Roanoke*, *Minnesota*, and *St. Lawrence* were off Fort Monroe in Hampton Roads, which was full of army and navy supply-boats. The 8th of March was a fine, soft day, such as at the South often gives early promise of summer. The men were engaged in their regular dull routine at anchor, and the officers on deck were lazily moving about and watching the gulls. Between twelve and one P.M. the lookout on the *Congress* reported three steamers coming out of Norfolk. Two of them were the *Jamestown* and *Yorktown*, and the third, which looked more like a child's Noah's ark, was soon recognized as the *Merrimack*.

As they kept on slowly clear of Sewell's Point they were seen from Hampton Roads and created no small stir there. They soon turned into the James River channel, which disclosed their purpose. The two great steam frigates in the Roads, assisted by tugs, and the *St. Lawrence*, depending on tugs alone, directly got under way and hurried up to meet the *Merrimack*. In their eagerness they pushed into shallow water and ran aground, one after the other, a mile or two from Newport News. There they lay helpless and anxious, excited spectators of the fate of their consorts, which seemed impending over themselves. In the meantime, as soon as the object of the attack was evident, the *Congress* beat to quarters, and her drum was instantly answered by that of the *Cumberland*. Springs had been put on the cables for just this emergency, and the men had been drilled at springing the broadside in different directions. Now the tide was too strong. The ship would not move, and her broadside could not be brought to bear. As it turned out this made no difference in the result. The *Merrimack* came on silently and doggedly. When near enough to make out her plating the *Congress* fired a solid shot from a stern gun. It struck full on the forward casemate of the *Merrimack* and bounded off like an india-rubber ball. At this the hearts of our men sank within them. They had known they were weaker for defence, and now they saw they were powerless for offence. The *Merrimack* answered with grape from a forward port with destructive effect. She then passed the *Congress* within two hundred yards, receiving her broadside and delivering one in return. The discharge of the *Congress* apparently had no effect. That of the *Merrimack*, on the contrary, was fearful. Most of the men hit were killed outright. A single shell dismounted one gun and killed or wounded every man of its crew. After this the *Merrimack* kept steadily on up the river. The crew of the *Congress* in their pitiable inexperience thought she was beaten off, and began to cheer. They were soon undeceived. She headed for the *Cumberland*, whose guns, though well served, were as useless as those of the *Congress*. When near enough, she put her helm hard a-port and drove her ram into the *Cumberland's* sides. The heavy timbers and thick planks were crushed as if they had been sugar-frosting. The fine sloop filled rapidly and sank in deep water in a few minutes. Some small steamers and boats from the shore gallantly put off to the rescue, and saved large numbers in the water.

While this was passing, the *Congress* was found to be on fire in four places. One of these was near the after-magazine. This fire was never extinguished. With the fate of the *Cumberland* before her eyes the first care of the *Congress* was to get into shallow water. She set her jib and topsails, slipped her chains, and, with the help of a tugboat, under a sharp fire from the smaller rebel gunboats, ran on the flats that make off from Newport News Point. The tide was on the ebb. As it fell the frigate heeled over, leaving only her stern guns to bear. When the *Merrimack* had finished with the *Cumberland* she dropped down the river again and took up a position about one hundred and fifty yards astern of the *Congress* and raked her fore and aft with her eighty-pound shells. The other steamers concentrated their fire on her from a greater distance. The state on board was now dreadful, and soon became desperate. The bulkheads and partitions between decks had been shattered by shells and knocked away by axemen, making way for hose to keep down the fires. Men were falling at every shot. The shells searched them out everywhere. Wounded men taken to the cockpit were killed there while waiting their turn with the surgeon. Others were laid in rows on the cockpit deck, drenched with icy salt water, which had to be sluiced over it to keep the fire away from the shell-room hatch. Once when the fire of the remaining guns slackened it was found that the line of men stationed on the berth-deck to pass "full boxes" had all been killed or wounded. Soon the last gun was disabled. No succor was to be seen. The ship was defenceless. She had borne her hopeless torture over an hour. To stop useless slaughter she hauled down her colors. A boat from the *Merrimack*, and subsequently one of the smaller steamers, boarded the prize and took off some prisoners. The *Congress* could not be got off. It was slow work to remove her wounded. It would have been scandalous to blow her up full of them. It was concluded to leave her to the fire, which there was now no chance of extinguishing. The infantry on shore was making it uncomfortable for the captors to loiter on board longer; and in a few minutes—about four P.M.—the flotilla passed down to destroy the stranded *Minnesota*. Fortunately, the noble frigate was saved by the shallowness of the water in which she lay. Then the Confederates floated back to a delirious welcome at Norfolk, and the sun soon set on their short day of naval triumph.

Left to themselves, the survivors in the *Congress* plugged up the holes in her shattered boats, and, with some aid from the army, worked far into the night bringing ashore their wounded comrades. The officers came with the last boat. To bring it safe to land they had to go overboard in the ice-cold water and swim and wade ashore. About midnight the fire reached the magazine, and the ship blew up. Since dinner, of her crew one-third were killed, wounded, drowned, or taken prisoners. Before the explosion the *Monitor* had arrived in the Roads and had been ordered to the assistance of the *Minnesota*, much as a terrier might be set to protect a bull. There she quietly passed the night under the shadow of the great ship, ready for her timely and famous service of the next day. But in this the author apparently took no part.

The narrative ends with the two bombardments of Fort Fisher. Subsequent voyages are kept for another volume, which the public is encouraged to hope for. If in this the hero is represented as being as much of a Jonah as in the first one, there will be little fear of its tempting any but the boldest boys to run away from home to go to sea.

Scientific Memoirs: Being Experimental Contributions to a Knowledge of Radiant Energy. By John William Draper. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.)—It may be a debatable question whether the winning of scientific recognition is more determined by ethical principles than the acquisition of wealth is. If an honest, capable, and industrious man fails to acquire a fortune so rapidly as his more stupid neighbor, it is vain for him to demonstrate to the world that he is the one who is entitled to the largest share of success. We should be sorry to suppose that it was equally useless to demonstrate to the scientific world that an investigator whom it had long overlooked was really entitled to the highest recognition—indeed, the case of Dr. Draper himself shows that it would be a mistake to do so; yet it is certain that such recognition often seems to depend on circumstances as little capable of judicial examination as those which determine success or failure in other walks of life. One who reads between the lines of the present collection of Professor Draper's papers may see in it a disposition to show the scientific reader that one of the pioneers in the experimental study of the radiation of heat and light has been strangely overlooked. He was an active worker in this direction when some of our present workers were not born, and many of our present leading men took their first lessons in chemistry from his book on the subject.

Undoubtedly the most interesting chapters in the book are those on spectrum analysis, which show that the author is to be added to the list of those who preceded Kirchhoff in suggesting and applying this wonderful method; doing everything, in fact, but complete the invention and generalize the principles on which it rests. It has sometimes been said that when a scientific problem is once clearly stated it is half solved. Thirty years ago our author stated and attacked the problem of spectrum analysis so clearly that nothing remained but to answer the question by continuing his experiments. "Can any connection be traced between the chemical nature of a substance, or the conditions under which it burns, and the nature of the light it emits?" "It is," he adds, "to the discussion of that problem that this memoir is devoted." We question whether any one had ever before stated the problem so fully and attacked it so directly. Unfortunately, his attack was not carried so far as to lead to any new generalization in the line of spectrum

analysis. He examined the spectra of various flames, and thought they enabled him to divide flames into two classes, according as they did or did not contain incombustible matter. In those flames which were very faint he saw bright Fraunhoferian lines of different colors, but he failed to notice that these lines were characteristic of gases, and, by their endless variety, capable of being used to distinguish the special gases of which the flame was composed. How he could in this way have missed the capital discovery when he had it before his eyes is an interesting question. The principal reason is probably to be found in the lack of attrition with other minds engaged in like courses of thought. This lack is the greatest drawback to the continuous prosecution and persistent following up of scientific investigation in a country such as ours was a few years ago. Had Dr. Draper had fellow-laborers and rivals to discuss his methods and results, and suggest fresh ideas, it is hardly conceivable that he would have failed to follow out the investigation in which he made so good a start. With a greater familiarity with the literature of the subject we can hardly doubt that he would have devised some better theory of the cause of the dark lines in the solar spectrum than those he advanced. Sir John Herschel had already suggested that they were due to a selective absorption in a solar atmosphere, and Draper himself had long before shown that some of them were due to absorption by the earth's atmosphere. Combining Herschel's theoretical view with his own experimental results, he could hardly have failed to conclude that they might be entirely due to gaseous absorption. But the historical fact seems to be that no such generalization suggested itself to his mind ; on the contrary, the idea he repeatedly expresses is that the existence of the dark lines depends in some way upon the nature or qualities of the luminous source itself rather than on an external cause.

Describing things simply as they are, without enquiring whether they ought to be different, we find it a general fact in the history of inventions and scientific discovery that the largest portion of the advantage and credit of a result is divided among a very small fraction of those who contribute to it. The general rule is that the one who, by ever so small a modification, makes the invention work in practice, or who, by generalizing the results of his predecessors, distinctly enunciates a law of nature, reaps the lion's share of the credit. It will be readily seen that under the action of this rule our author might be passed over, as one who had not carried his researches to such a point that they would bear fruit without farther generalization. It is, however, worth while to note a growing feeling on the part of his countrymen that full justice has not been done him in the past, and a disposition to render him that credit now which he ought to have received a quarter of a century ago.

We have taken Dr. Draper's researches in spectrum analysis as the text of our remarks. These, however, fill but a small portion of the volume, less than one-fifth, and by no means exhaust the scientific claims of the author. The various memoirs cover the field of radiant energy, and especially of the chemical action of light, to so wide an extent that it is impossible to enter into details. It will suffice to cite, as an example, that we here have the first, if not the only, American contributions to the theory of the daguerreotype, and that a daguerreotype of the moon taken nearly forty years ago by Dr. Draper was the first "photograph" of a celestial object ever known to have been taken.

The First Violin. A novel. By Jessie Fothergill. [Leisure-Hour Series, No. 101.] (New York : Henry Holt & Co. 1878.)—We have read this story with a good deal of entertainment and interest, though it would have been better had it been a third shorter. It reveals at frequent intervals an unpractised hand, and is, presumably, a first or second effort at fiction. A young English country girl, May Wedderburn, gifted with a fine voice, is the heroine ; the "First Violin" is the hero of the romance. The story is told alternately by May herself and the hero's friend, Friedhelm Helfen, not in letters, but in the first person, as separate narrators. May has two sisters, and at Skernford, the quiet English town where her father the Vicar lives, attracts the attention of a rich but bad Englishman, Sir Peter Le Marchant, who proposes marriage to her. She rejects him, whereupon her sister Adelaide, worldly and proud, and with a profound confidence in her own ability to manage any husband she may marry, secures him. But meantime May has been taken out of England by Miss Hallam, an aged spinster, of eccentric but benevolent character, to whom she has confessed her horror and detestation of Sir Peter. To Germany they repair, Miss Wedderburn as a sort of companion. At Cologne she misses her way and loses herself in the railway station, when she meets a stranger of romantic and impressive aspect, one who has seen much of life but has not been spoiled by it; he gives her a good deal of valuable information about the trains for Elberthal, the place to which she is going, departing somewhat from the strict truth (and who could blame him ?) for the sake of prolonging the interview, and finally persuades her to lunch with him and go to the Cathedral, where she hears for the first time Bach's Passion music, and altogether the two have what would be called in some parts of our country "a mutually agreeable time." As she has no money, she is obliged to let him foot the bills, and, when she finds that he too is going to Elberthal, makes him promise that he will allow her to liquidate the debt there. Arrived at Elberthal, it is speedily discovered that she has a very fine voice, and Herr Von Francius, the musical head of the place, decides that she must cultivate it. At Elberthal, too, she again sees Herr Courvoisier, the stranger of the Cologne depot, who turns out to be the first violin of the Elberthal orchestra. Not being accustomed to meeting gentlemen in such positions, she is overcome with a conflict of emotions and cuts him. Consequently he cuts her on the next opportunity, and for some reason refuses to make up the misunderstanding ; so that the first violin and Miss Wedderburn go on living side by side in the little German town of Elberthal (she still owing him three odd thalers) without even a speaking acquaintance.

About the first violin there is always something mysterious, and his way of life is a source of considerable curiosity to his neighbors. He lives with his child, the little Sigmund, and his friend Helfen, but without mingling with other young men, or sharing their sports or conversation, devoted to his violin and wrapped up in his child. Helfen is attached to him because one fine day he was rescued from a fit of the blues, which would soon have made a suicide of him, by the sudden appearance of Herr Courvoisier, and their friendship has ever since been of the closest kind. But even to Helfen Courvoisier does not talk of his past, but darkly hints that at some not distant time his child, Sigmund, must leave him, not to return—why, he cannot or will not explain. Meantime, there is at Elberthal, as at so many other places, a prying, inquisitive woman who, for reasons of her own, does not wish this mystery to continue. Therefore she suggests to one Karl Linders, a common friend of Courvoisier and Helfen, that there are disagreeable stories afloat about the former which he ought to be given an opportunity to contradict. Karl Linders accordingly asks him, in a bluff, off-hand way, to authorize him to say that it is a lie that on a certain occasion he forged and raised money upon a negotiable security. To the amazement of all, Courvoisier neither denies nor confesses, and public opinion in Elberthal settles down to the conviction that the mystery about him is that he is a forger. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that neither May Wedderburn nor Friedhelm Helfen believes a word of the story. Courvoisier goes off, serves in the German army through the Franco-Prussian war, and finally meets Miss Wedderburn again on a sort of a raft borne down the Rhine by a sudden freshet, which has carried them both off unawares. On this raft their troth is plighted, but at the same time she learns that he is under a horrible ban, his fate being such that he must ever be supposed guilty of a forgery which neither he nor she will, under any circumstances, be able to explain. This does not daunt Miss Wedderburn, however, and they get off the raft, as we have said, betrothed. After the raft adventure the reader feels that he must be approaching the end, and so it is. It should have been said before that Sigmund and his father (one of the best things in the book is the description of this strange musical child and his relations with his father) had now been for a long time separated. The child is growing up in the castle of his uncle, the Graf Bruno von Rothenfels, who is, in fact, the brother of the pretended Courvoisier. He still pines for his father, and finally has a stroke of fever, which, happening about the same time that May Wedderburn visits the castle, leads to the outcast being sent for, when the whole forgery business is satisfactorily cleared up. The forgery had really been committed by his wife, the mother of Sigmund, and to conceal her shame he had submitted to ignominy, social degradation, a life of exile, and separation from his son. In this fantastic sense of honor we seem to detect the hand of the female writer of fiction. There could have been no earthly reason for the Count's allowing the mistake to continue after his wife's death, even supposing that it was worth while to allow it to be made originally, inasmuch as the sum total of disgrace must necessarily have been greater for the family to bear, if it were popularly supposed that a member of it were a forger, and for the son to bear, if he were to grow up under the stigma, than if the fact had been confessed that the crime had been committed by a frivolous woman, who might be supposed to have hardly known what she was about. As moralists, we respectfully advise those who are about

to confess forgery to screen their wives, to think twice about it. To writers of fiction who are in search of the highest pitch of self-devotion and sacrifice we commend some other sort of self-obliteration. 'The First Violin' will be found interesting as a picture of German musical life.

The Story of the Christians and Moors of Spain. By Charlotte M. Yonge, author of 'The Heir of Redclyffe,' etc. (London : Macmillan & Co. 1878. 16mo, pp. 299.)—Miss Yonge has perhaps done more than any other person to make the stories of the Middle Ages accessible and familiar to young people of the present generation, and a new book of this class from her is always welcome. The present publication is of a more ambitious character than her earlier works, inasmuch as it is not merely a collection of stories, but to all intents and purposes a history of the Spanish peninsula down to the close of the Middle Ages. On the whole it must be admitted that she is not so successful in the field of consecutive history as in that of historical sketches. The narrative chapters are excellent, and display her best qualities as a writer ; for example, the chapters upon Al Mansour the Invincible, the Cid, Peter the Cruel, and the Fall of Granada. But the general historical chapters, summing up briefly the annals of the Moorish and Spanish kingdoms at various epochs, are not so good. There is far too much detail, and there is no skill in grouping the events and showing their connection with one another ; the result is a lack of clearness and coherence. So it comes that it is not very easy to get a clear notion of the succession of dynasties, and the relations of the petty kingdoms to one another. The kingdom of Portugal—perhaps the most important, and certainly the best governed, of the Christian kingdoms during the fourteenth century—receives very scanty notice ; and the great fact of the dynastic history of Spain during the Middle Ages—the growth of the kingdom of Castile and Leon—is quite inadequately treated. The central fact in this growth, indeed, the union of Castile and Leon, is not correctly stated—the error arising from a confusion between Alfonso VIII. of Castile and Alfonso IX. of Leon. The former is always called Alfonso IX. (p. 179, etc.), and his grandfather, the "Emperor," Alfonso VII., is called Alfonso VIII. ; while the true Alfonso IX. is called simply Alfonso of Leon (p. 180), and no Alfonso VII. is given at all. Hence the list of the "Kings of Asturias (!) and Leon" (p. x.) mixes strangely the kings of the two countries. Ferdinand III. (the Saint), who united the two kingdoms in 1229, was son of Alfonso IX. by a daughter of Alphonso VIII., and was himself father of Alfonso X., the Wise. On the same page the two Alfonsos of Aragon are wrongly numbered. On page 169 the date 1148 should be 1158 ; on page 240, 1362 should be 1369.

It is a mistake to speak, as is constantly done, of the *Moors* before the Almoravid conquest in 1091. The correct statement is made on p. 154, where the earlier conquerors are called Saracens, as they should be. This is more than an error in name, inasmuch as the Moorish conquest was a veritable epoch in the history of the Moslems in Spain ; the wilful use of the wrong term, therefore, when it was known to be wrong, is inexcusable. We have on page 52, in relation to the establishment of the Kingdom of Aragon, a statement which is, to say the least, ambiguous : that the people met in the *Cortes* "and had laws, named *fueros*, which gave them rights," etc. The *fueros*, which form so important a feature of the constitutional history of all these kingdoms, were not ordinary laws, but came nearer to what we should call *charters*, being the organic law for the institutions of local self-government—as well rural as municipal—in which, as is well known, the Spanish kingdoms were in advance of all the other nations of Europe. Probably few persons would agree with the author when (p. 2) she calls Theodosius the best of the Roman emperors. It is, no doubt, a slip of memory when, on p. 238, she speaks of "the Schismatical Pope" of Avignon in 1366. At this date the Avignonese pope was all the pope there was ; the Schism did not begin until 1378.

The best feature of the book is where passages from ballads are introduced in illustration of the stories. Indeed, if the author had carried out this plan more generally—had made a book like her 'Cameos,' just a succession of stories, and illustrated them liberally with ballads—she would have made a book at once characteristic and unique.

The Colored Cadet at West Point. Autobiography of Lieut. Henry Ossian Flipper, U.S.A., first graduate of color from the U. S. Military Academy. (New York : Homer Lee & Co. 1878.)—The disposition of individuals to submit to a certain intellectual dependence on the majority is well known in colleges under different names, and at the United States Military Academy by the expression to "bone popularity." To this was due the social isolation of the colored cadet Flipper. Numerous instances occurred in which cadets assured him privately of their respect and good will, but avoided or abused him in public in order to keep in the fashion. It became "the thing" to cut Flipper before his talents and amiable qualities were known, and the feeling against him established itself so firmly that it was not until graduation that his fellow-cadets ignored the differences between the colored man and themselves. Except this continued isolation young Flipper had few trials to bear, and these were lightened by the remarkably sensible view which he took of his own position. Knowing the strong prejudice which exists against his race, and understanding the embarrassment of those obliged to associate with him while still, as the result of early training, regarding him as their inferior, and contemplating the possibility of some day being commanded by him, he generously found excuses for those who injured him, and fully appreciated any conduct which tended to improve his position. Flipper's success at the Academy did not so much depend upon the willingness of his brother-cadets to receive a negro among them as it did on the manner in which he himself behaved, and this, happily, was unexceptionable. With Smith, the former colored cadet, the case was very different. His attitude was constantly belligerent ; he made no allowance for natural prejudice nor took any pains to overcome it, and his mental outfit was too slender to redeem his want of tact. Flipper's manly bearing and great good-nature at last disarmed his opponents. After alluding to a few cadets who ill-treated him purely from an excessive dread of being "cut" under suspicion of a partiality for "nigger" society, Flipper says : "From the day I entered till the day I graduated I had not cause to utter so much as an angry word." There were gloomy moments when the young man felt his isolation severely, and in some of these his feelings found relief in writing bad verses, of which he has unfortunately given us a specimen.

The *raison d'être* of this book is no doubt a supposed desire on the part of the public to know how the first colored cadet was treated, but that this had already been amply gratified by the press is implied in Lieut. Flipper's remark, on his being given the wrong name in a newspaper : "Of course everybody knows that my name is not William." An interesting account of customs, slang terms, and cadet life generally may save the book from being considered superfluous. Lieut. Flipper describes his Academic experiences with much spirit and attention to detail, telling everything there was to tell, and that in an ingenuous way. He discloses among other military qualities the regulation tenderness for the fair sex, and mentions occasions when he yielded himself "to pure enjoyment such as is found in woman's presence only." He looks back upon his Academy life with true pleasure, and writes of it with enthusiasm, which is as creditable to the Academy as it is to himself. The book is awkwardly put together, and contains newspaper clippings *ad nauseam ;* its literary faults may be overlooked in consideration of the author's profession.

Selections from the Poetical Works of Heinrich Heine. Translated into English. (London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1878.)—"The first duty of any translator of Heine's verse is to admit the impossibility of doing justice to the incomparable grace and charm of his style. Of all poets he is perhaps the most untranslatable, and yet, by a strange perversity of fate, which he himself would have been the first to appreciate, the experiment is found to have a peculiar fascination not easy to resist." So runs the preface of this pretty, anonymous volume, and the truth of the remarks quoted prepares one for the more than ordinary success of the translations which follow. To begin with, what takes them out of the common is the absence of stiffness and of unidiomatic expressions which are the invariable penalty of strict adhesion to the form and letter of Heine's verse, especially in the case of the shorter metres. One other liberty was necessary before the English product could become poetry and not mere rhyming, and that was to alter the stress and proportion of the original as the genius of our language not less than the translator's exigencies required ; to omit lines deliberately, or to expand where fidelity to the pattern would have squeezed the poetry out ; and, above all, to maintain elevation of style whenever the expression drops, as it so often does with Heine, to the colloquial or even vulgar. The failure to apply this correction, however pardonable as the result of conscientiousness or reverence, nevertheless accounts for the small progress that has been made towards naturalizing Heine in our English anthology. The translator with whom we are dealing has been saved by his artistic sense.

We do not, however, assert for him a more than relative superiority. Sometimes he appears without good reason to have preferred a paraphrase

to literalness, and perhaps if challenged he could not always defend his larger license. But in any comparison of him with his predecessors the excellence of his method will certainly be confessed. Such a comparison may be instructively made with Mr. Charles G. Leland's complete version, which always suggests more truly the German text, and almost never blinds the reader to the fact of its being a translation, and in which the style is recklessly faithful. From the volume before us we have room only for a short specimen ('Lyrisches Intermezzo,' xxv.):

"Two friends, when they are parting, say
'Farewell,' with many a sigh;
They wring each other's hands and fall
To weeping bitterly.

"But we, what time our parting was,
Shed not a single tear;
Our sobbing and our sighing came
In after days, my dear."

It may not be superfluous to remark the traces of Heine observable in certain poems of Longfellow's and of Lowell's. The latter's "Ember-Picture" is quite in the manner of the elder poet.

**** *Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Almanach de Gotha, 1879	(B. Westermann & Co.)
American Newspaper Directory	(Geo. P. Rowell & Co.)
American Winter Resorts, new ed	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Amyot (J.), Daphnis et Chloé, swd	(Louys Glady)
Art, l', Vol. XV., swd	(J. W. Bouton)
As It May Happen: a Tale	(Porter & Coates) $1 50
Brinkley (Mrs. H. L.), A Woman's Thoughts about Men, swd	(Derby Bros.)
Cambridge (Ada), My Guardian: a Tale, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.) 60
Cheever (H. T.), Autobiography of Ichabod Washburn	(D. Lothrop & Co.)
Curtis (G. W.), Life, Character, and Writings of W. C. Bryant	(Charles Scribner's Sons) 75
Davenport-Hill (Rosamond and Florence), Memoir of Matthew Davenport-Hill	(Macmillan & Co.)
Divine Breathings of a Pious Soul	(Dodd, Mead & Co.)
Eigene Wege: Poetry, swd	(Edward Trewendt)
English History in Short Studies, revised ed	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 1 00
Gegenbaur (Prof. C.), Elements of Comparative Anatomy	(Macmillan & Co.) 7 00
Greenfield (Dr. W. S.), Alcohol: Its Use and Abuse	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Gréville (H.), Pretty Little Countess Zina, swd	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.) 75
Grove (G.), Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Part V., swd	(Macmillan & Co.)
Hall (Dr. F. de H.), Differential Diagnosis	(D. G. Brinton)
Heine (H.), Select Poetical Translations	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 75
Heyse (P.), Tales	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Hodgson (Rev. J. T.), Memoir of Rev. Francis Hodgson, 2 vols	(Scribner & Welford) 9 00
Houghton (G.), Drift from York-Harbor, Me.: Poetry, swd	(A. Williams & Co.) 35
Hylton (J. D.), The Bride of Gettysburg: Poetry	(Palmyra, N. J.)
Inglis (J.), Sport and Work on the Nepaul Frontier	(Macmillan & Co.) 3 50
Klemm (L. R.), Geschichte der deutschen Literatur	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 50
Lawrence (Mrs. C. W.), Do They Love Us Yet?	(James Miller) 1 50
Littell's Living Age, Vol. 139	(Littell & Gay)
Loftie (Mrs.), Social Twitters	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 00
McDonnell (Dr. J.), The Ulster Civil War of 1641	(M. H. Gill & Son)
Magazine of Art	(Cassell, Petter & Galpin)
Newman (Rev. J. H.), Selection from Parochial and Plain Sermons	(Rivingtons)
Osgood (Rev. S.), Bryant among his Countrymen, swd	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 40
Prescott (G. B.), The Speaking Telephone, etc	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Prévost (L'Abbé), Manon Lescaut, swd	(Louys Glady)
Rawlinson (W. G.), Turner's Liber Studiorum: Description & Catalogue	(Macmillan & Co.) 4 50
Richardson (Dr. B. W.), Total Abstinence, swd	(Macmillan & Co.) 50
Rolfe (Dr. C. H.), Exercise and Training	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Sayre (L. E.), Conspectus of Organic Materia Medica	(D. G. Brinton)
Soubron (W. O.), Souvenir: Poetry, swd	(Milwaukee)
Tafel (L.), Latin Manual	(Boericke & Tafel)
Thorpe (Prof.), Coal: Its History and Uses	(Macmillan & Co.) 4 00
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 23, 1879.

The Week.

NOBODY, we suppose, really believes that the Senate passed the Arrears of Pensions Bill (House Bill No. 4234) from pure motives of national gratitude. There was a long debate over a simple interpretative amendment designed to prevent fraud and abuse (for which Mr. Ferry, of Michigan, deserves great credit), and not a single respectable excuse was offered for refusing to adopt it. Yet, though it mustered 20 votes against 27, and the bill will take at least $20,000,000 out of the Treasury, only four Senators had the courage to vote against it finally, and these all Democrats and not one a President *in petto*. The other great achievement of the Senate was a warm debate in executive session over the New York Custom-house appointments, Senator Conkling's voice of course being heard denouncing Secretary Sherman's charges against Collector Arthur as frivolous and worse. The matter was referred to the Committee on Commerce for investigation. The Democratic Senators, after putting their heads together, introduced resolutions to offset Mr. Edmunds's on the Amendments. They match his glittering generalities, and end by denying that the United States have any voters of their own creation in the States, or that they have any jurisdiction over a denial or abridgment of the right to vote unless effected "by the authority of and in obedience to the laws of a State." The House passed on Wednesday week, 117 to 72, Mr. Wood's bill providing for the issue of three per cent. Treasury certificates of deposit, of the denomination of ten dollars, convertible at any time, with accrued interest, into four per cents. This, according to the majority, strenuously backed by Gen. Garfield, would be a boon to the poor man by giving him a national savings-bank and rescuing him from communistic designs on the Government. According to Mr. Hewitt, the only gainers by the measure would be the bloated banks, which are now accepting two per cent. interest from the trust companies, and would gladly take three from the Government. To this no answer was made, nor, we believe, can there be any. The House also passed a bill authorizing the receipt of greenbacks for customs, and one providing for the exchange of four per cents at par for five per cents, allowing three months' interest from the time of surrender. On Tuesday the Potter Committee was on request allowed $10,000 to investigate the cipher despatches. The chief opponent of the appropriation, on the ground of the despatches being a private concern, was the Essex statesman who overhauled the barrel of impeachment telegrams, and had to be fenced off from the click of the telegraphic instrument at the Capitol.

On Saturday the House of Representatives came to a vote on the Geneva Award Bill, and after adopting Mr. Frye's amendment to the majority bill, excluding the insurance companies, and rejecting the majority bill, with the amendment, it passed Mr. McMahon's substitute bill. This revives the Court of Commissioners of *Alabama* Claims, and sends all the claimants to it, except the underwriters. Under it the "war-premium" and "exculpated-cruiser" claimants would make a rich haul, but the insurers will now of course do their best to defeat it in the Senate, so that if the session ends without the passage of any bill on the subject at all, leaving the money still in the Treasury of the United States, it will not be very surprising. The *Tribune* speaks of the passage of the bill as a proof of the honesty of Congress, and at the same time holds it up as a sort of warning to "British moralists," who we hope will now stop, as they must see their casuistry and hypocrisy do no good. In fact, we think the moralists of every nation had better let the subject alone. It may be worth while, morality apart, to mention one or two facts connected with the subject which the *Tribune* seems to have overlooked. First, that the United States collected the Geneva fund for individual claimants; second, that the war-premium claims were decided by the Geneva tribunal to have no validity; third, that the "exculpated-cruiser" claims are claims on account of the acts of vessels for which the tribunal expressly decided under the Treaty that England should not pay any money. To any one who will disprove any of these statements we will pay the sum of $1,000, to be added to the Geneva Fund now in the hands of the Government, and to be applied, as that has already been applied by a prudent secretary, to the reduction of the national debt. We trust that in the Senate the international bearing of the proposed scheme of distribution may be brought out. As our international position will, in the future as in the past, be, in all probability, that of a neutral nation, a recognition of claims upon a neutral for damages through "enhanced payment of insurance" may prove to have unpleasant consequences for us, as may also the payment of claims made in direct violation of a treaty and of an arbitration under it.

If the Army Bill reported by the Joint Commission does not pass, the Committee on Appropriations will present a bill of Mr. Hewitt's in order that some reduction in the expense of the Army may take place immediately. This bill distributes through all branches of the service a reduction of about 20 per centum. About four hundred officers will thus be rendered supernumerary, but they will not be retired unless they choose to resign with the usual advance of three years' salary. The elimination is therefore left to accident or voluntary action, but until it has taken place no new appointments will be made. After January 1, 1880, officers will be retired after forty years' service, or at the age of sixty-two years, and the next two graduating classes of the Military Academy will receive $750 and mileage to their regiments, but they will be ineligible to appointment in the Army until two years after graduation. There is no change made with regard to the Engineer Corps and some special officers. No promotions or new appointments will be made until all the reductions provided for in the bill have taken place. The Government would save by this means from $1,000,000 to $1,500,000 per annum.

The desire of inhabitants of the Pacific slope for the restriction of Chinese immigration has been brought to the notice of every Congress since the negotiation of the Burlingame Treaty in 1868. It has now taken the form of a bill to limit the number of Chinese passengers to be brought to this country to fifteen on any one vessel, and to attach severe penalties to a violation of the law. A report of the House Committee on Education and Labor accompanies the bill, recommending its passage. By a clause in the Burlingame Treaty the privilege of unlimited immigration is accorded to all subjects of the Chinese Empire, and acts of the California Legislature in opposition to this clause are void. The Committee, after citing precedents, declare that an Act of Congress is sufficient to overrule this provision of the Treaty, and recommend that such an act be now passed. If it be considered expedient to abrogate the Treaty, however, this is not the way to do it. A treaty made with a friendly Power on our own motion ought not to be set aside without notice to the other party through the ordinary diplomatic channels. Moreover, it is not open to us to reject some provisions of the Treaty and keep the others in force. The Chinese will not submit to this, and if we repudiate whatever we do not like, they will do the same thing.

It must be borne in mind, too, that in legislating against the Chinese the Republican party, at least, would be getting into more serious trouble than that into which the Southern question has already plunged it. The party has adopted and is maintaining with

great vehemence, at the South, the doctrine that neither race nor ignorance in any way disqualifies a man for citizenship; that, in fact, nothing disqualifies a man for it but foreign birth, a defect which is cured by naturalization, and that objections on the part of anybody to carrying on a government with a man, or being governed by him, or working with him in any way, on account of the absence of American ideas or American training, are futile, and ought, if possible, to be put down by law. The party is upholding these doctrines too with regard to a race which is, judging by the past, far inferior to the Chinese in constructive power, and far below them in culture. One has only to mention these things to show that the Chinese question is one which calls for a good deal of patient investigation, and is as yet by no means ripe for action, and least of all for such action as the House Committee proposes.

The Utah polygamists have been, as we expected, much stirred up by the Reynolds conviction. A deputation of Mormon ladies of polygamous opinions has waited on the Senate Judiciary Committee to obtain a repeal of the Act of 1862, as entailing great hardship on polygamous women and children. The anti-polygamists at Utah, on the other hand, have held a meeting, in which they called for still more stringent measures, such as the exclusion of polygamists from jury-lists, and permission to prove polygamous marriages in criminal trials by the same evidence as in civil cases. This, they say, is "all they ask." They then accuse the Mormons of dram-drinking, and declare that at the meetings of the Mormon priesthood, presided over by Brigham Young, it was the custom of these ecclesiastics to confess that they committed adultery freely "outside of their polygamous relations." This, although produced as a "well-known fact," one cannot help doubting, however. Senator Christiancy has brought in a bill making further provision for the suppression of polygamy, but giving the President extensive amnesty powers, and allowing till November next for the birth of polygamous children without prejudice to their legitimacy—probably the oddest provision ever laid before a legislative body.

A remarkable diversity of opinion is exhibited among the silver-men on the question of taking the trade-dollar and the Mexican dollar into the list of legal-tender coins. The silver-men pure and simple, of whom Senators Voorhees and Beck are acknowledged types, hold that if silver dollars are good things we cannot have too many of them, and that the bullion of which they are composed is just as well adapted to the manufacture of standard dollars as any other bullion. They propose, therefore, to make them receivable for Government taxes and duties, and to direct the Treasury to recoin them into dollars of 412½ grains each. These measures are received with such disfavor by another section of the party—to wit, the owners of silver-mines—that, according to one of their organs, if they are passed by Congress "Messrs. Voorhees and Beck will be hanged in effigy in every mining camp in the country." "It is regarded," continues the same organ, "as a villanous job from beginning to end, and the utmost astonishment is expressed at the conduct of the so-called silver Senators in fathering so outrageous a measure." What is wanted of the Government is not the multiplication of silver dollars generally but the steady and continuous purchase of *our* silver. The doctrine of protection has taken many queer guises in this country, but none so ridiculous as that of disbursing two millions per month from the public Treasury to steady the market of a declining product. This species of folly may last a year longer. Meanwhile, we trust that Senators Voorhees and Beck will not be frightened by the prospect of hanging in effigy in every mining camp in the country.

The election of Mr. Conkling for his third term in the United States Senate followed naturally on his unanimous nomination in the Republican caucus, after a speech by Mr. Husted, one of the most active and wiry of the State politicians, in which the candidate was eulogized in a highly poetic vein in company with General Grant. The two, indeed, were represented as having jointly, if not severally, saved the Union, and then governed it with unparalleled wisdom and success. The excitement then increased, the orators trying to outvie each other in laudation, until Speaker Alvord made Conkling the peer of Webster, Calhoun, and Clay. If the performance had lasted much longer, "strong men" would have "begun to cry like children," as they did at the convention last fall, when Mr. Conkling restored "harmony in the party." The affair leaves the friends of the Administration in a somewhat ludicrous position, as they can hardly have supposed that it was for this they "harmonized" last summer. The wretched Democrats made an attempt to mar the beauty of the occasion by proposing to refuse Mr. Conkling a certificate, on the ground that the present Legislature is only a legislature *de facto*. The origin of this impudent suggestion is this: the State constitution directs the Legislature to take a State census every ten years, and in the next session after such census to redistrict the State on the basis of population, so that each district shall have as nearly as possible an equal population. This reapportionment, it is believed, would, if made in 1876, as prescribed, have given the Democrats a larger representation than they now have, but the Republicans, in view of this fact, and having the power in their own hands, resolutely refused to make it. The result is that the Democrats grumble and growl, and would like to make trouble, but happily, besides being wicked and ill-conditioned, they cannot help themselves.

Committees of the House and Senate of the Virginia Legislature, acting jointly, have passed a series of resolutions called forth by the action of Judge Rives, of the Federal District Court, in taking a colored criminal out of the hands of the State court on the ground that he had not enjoyed his rights under the Constitutional Amendments in having been convicted by a jury composed exclusively of white men. The resolutions, after laying down several elementary propositions touching the relations of the States to the Federal Government, pronounce the Civil Rights Bill and the Force Bill unconstitutional, and place in the same category all other bills which "provide, or attempt or profess to provide, for the performance by the United States of duties and obligations belonging to the States." The resolutions are very proper in tone and temper, and end by asking for legal provision for the prompt and effective supervision "by the United States Supreme Court of the judges of the inferior courts of the United States," and instructing the Governor to take proceedings in the name of the Commonwealth before the United States Supreme Court to secure protection and redress in the present instance.

Dun, Barlow & Co. have issued their annual circular for the year 1878, giving the number of failures in that year, as compared with the five preceding years. Their report shows what a slow process "touching bottom" is, for the number of failures in 1878 exceeded that in 1877 by 1,571, with liabilities exceeding those of 1877 by $40,000,000 In fact, there have not been so many failures since 1873 as last year. The increase over 1877 has been slight in the Eastern States, slight in the Middle States, slight in the Southern States, but very heavy in the Western States. In fact, of the 1,571 increase in number, 680 come from the Western States. On the other hand, the Western contribution to the amount of liabilities is smaller than that of any of the other divisions, showing that the trouble there has of late been mainly among the minor dealers and speculators. These comparisons are, however, very rough, as the Western division greatly exceeds the others in population. The only fact that can be deduced with certainty from the table is that the process of recovery had not begun in 1878, that the "dead wood" was still being cleared away, and that the President's opinion that we had been "walking on the bottom for some time" was not strictly correct when uttered in December. There seems to be little doubt that the present year will show a much better result, owing to the number of people who were expecting to fall fifty feet when resumption began, and have found out that their toes were only an inch from the ground. Most of them, having now

let go, are walking off to their business, looking a little sheepish, it is true, but still, more cheerful and hopeful than they have been for a long time.

The refunding of the public debt goes on with surprising rapidity, and during the week enough 4 per cent. bonds have been subscribed for to raise the total since the last week in December to $100,000,000. On Saturday and on Tuesday last the holders of $40,000,000 more 5.20s of 1867 (6 per cent. bonds) were notified that their bonds will be redeemed ninety days hence. This makes $110,000,000 of '67s notified for redemption since December 31 last. It is not a subject for rejoicing that the rate for money is kept so low as to breed wild speculation, such as has been seen at the Stock Exchange during the week (the prices of speculative stocks there having advanced ½ to 8 per cent.); nor is it a good thing that refunding is going on at a rate that brings back from Europe enough 5-20s of '67 to advance sterling exchange to the point that draws gold coin from here to London. The rates for money have been depressed, as the result of the operations of the banks in 4 per cent. bonds, to 1 to 2 per cent. for ninety-day loans where the collateral is made up of U. S. bonds, and to 2 to 3 per cent. where it consists of other securities. These rates are enough below even the reduced rates in London to furnish an incentive, entirely aside from the importation of securities from Europe, to transfer money hence to London. Accordingly, the rate for demand sterling bills has advanced to 4.89½, or the point which draws gold from here. It is proper to say that only the nominal rate is now 4.89½, the actual rate being 4.89; but even the latter is unpleasantly near to the point of danger. This danger has not been overlooked by the Treasury, and arrangements were made on Tuesday with a new syndicate to place not less than $5,000,000 4 per cents per month in Europe. The Bank of England discount rate has been reduced to 4 per cent. Silver in London advanced during the week to 50½*d.* per ounce, and the bullion value of the 412½-grain dollar here advanced to $0.8546. Silver in London fluctuated more widely during the year 1878 than during 1877. The lowest price in 1878 was 55¼*d.* per ounce about the time of the passage of the Bland Bill, and the highest price was 49½*d.* at the close of the year; the average price for the year was 52$\frac{9}{16}$*d.* per ounce.

The German budget has been issued, and although unfavorable, proves to be less so than was expected. The immense surplus derived from the French indemnity, which has been announced every year from 1872 to 1876 has been wholly expended, and there has been besides an actual deficit of eleven million marks. The Government being the principal proprietor of arable lands, forests, mines, and railways, its revenue has naturally been largely decreased by the prolonged commercial depression. The losses thus incurred have been supplied by a continual increase of direct taxation, notwithstanding which there is still the above-mentioned deficit. While thirteen per cent. of the British revenue, and twenty-five per cent. of the French, is derived from direct taxation, forty-five per cent. of the German revenue is so raised. Therefore it was with good reason that the Finance Minister stated in his budget speech that he dared not attempt an increase of direct taxes. It is not too much to say that during the last twelve years the taxes paid in the large towns have been tripled, while the resources of the people have sensibly decreased. It would be well if the exhaustion of the French indemnity left the treasury undamaged, but such is not the case. The surplus wealth of the late prosperous years has not simply disappeared, it has been spent on public works, many of which are still unfinished, and their completion will be a drain for years to come. The revenue for the coming financial year not only cannot supply the funds required to complete them, but it lacks ten million marks for the ordinary cost of carrying on the Government.

Switzerland is following in the lead of Germany by proposing a new tariff, which seems designed at once to place its budget on a firm footing and to revenge itself on other nations whose protective laws interfere with manufacturers of the Federation. The duties on English goods are so much increased that it is doubtful whether the new measure will be ratified, as there is a strong free-trade feeling in the French-speaking cantons, and the whole people depend much on England for articles in common use. One part of the new tariff, and the only one which especially concerns us, has already become a law, in accordance with which the "Federal Council is authorized, subject to the approval of the National Assembly, to impose on the products of states that do not treat Switzerland on the footing of the most favored nation, and whose tariff submits Swiss products to exceptionally heavy duties, such proportionate additional taxes [additional to those set forth in the new tariff] as they may deem necessary." This clause is evidently directed against the United States, whose high duties on watches, silks, and embroideries are severely felt by Swiss manufacturers. The wisdom of the new measure is another matter. A small land-locked country like Switzerland would be worsted in a war of tariffs; its extensive trade with Savoy would be greatly injured, while endless opportunities for smuggling would be afforded by the open French frontier. An increase of the taxes on spirits and tobacco, at present extremely low, would be a better way out of the difficulty.

The expected collision between the victorious majority in the French Assembly and the Dufaure Ministry occurred on Monday, after much preliminary intriguing and negotiation. The attack on the Cabinet was made by M. Senard, to whom the duty had been assigned by his party, and the main point of it was that the Ministry had not given satisfaction in its dealings with the administrative functionaries whom it found in power when it took office, meaning thereby that it had kept too many Monarchists in the service. But he admitted that a distinction ought to be made between those whose duties were purely ministerial and those who acted as the exponents of the policy of the Government towards the country, such as the prefects and certain classes of judges. On this head M. Dufaure was able to make a pretty good defence as to the past, and he admitted that the vote of the 5th of January made still more thorough purging of the service necessary, and, in fact, adopted M. Senard's views. The subsequent onslaughts of the Extreme Left seem to have been feeble, and, in the recess which followed, the Government and the Left came to terms, and a vote of confidence was passed.

Gambetta took no part in the debate, and there is much dispute among the Paris correspondents of the foreign press as to the precise part he played in the crisis—that is, whether he instigated the attack on the Ministry and failed, or privately stood by them. The language of his paper, the *République Française*, supports the former view. But the bulk of the Republican press stood by M. Dufaure, and he probably could not have been overthrown without causing a serious revulsion of feeling in the country against the Left. The whole proceeding curiously illustrates the anomalous nature of M. Gambetta's position, on which we commented last week. The Ministry properly speaking is the Ministry of the majority. Nevertheless in the debate the majority overhauled and criticised it in the attitude of an opposition, although, as was well known, it had nobody whom it dared put in its place, or whom the country would accept with confidence and tranquillity. It will probably take two or three years more to fit Gambetta for the position to which, according to the rules of parliamentary government, he is really entitled—that of President of the Council or President of the Republic. A good deal will now depend on his skill in keeping the revolutionary programme of the Extreme Left out of sight and out of mind, as to the part he will play in 1880, when Marshal MacMahon's term expires, and when the Republic will pass through its next great crisis. It is worth remembering that it is already half the age of the Second Empire. To have an air of real stability, however, it must last at least twenty-five years; twenty years having been the usual duration of French governments since the downfall of the old monarchy.

THE FUTURE OF GREENBACKS.

THE experiment of specie resumption is far enough advanced to afford some indications of the probable future of the greenback currency, whose fate was left undefined in the Resumption Act of 1875. That Act merely provides that on and after January 1, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury "shall redeem in coin the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding, on their presentation," etc. No attempt to fix their status after redemption was made until May 31, 1878, when an act was passed by Congress prohibiting the cancellation or retirement of any more United States legal-tender notes under any pretence whatever, and providing that when any of said notes shall be received into the Treasury, by redemption or otherwise, "they shall be reissued and paid out again and kept in circulation." Since no method has been provided for paying any more money out of the Treasury than the annual appropriations call for, and since these appropriations are equalled by the annual income from taxation, the Act of 1878 would be inoperative if any considerable number of greenbacks should be presented for redemption. The Secretary would have no lawful means of paying them out and keeping them in circulation, although required by law to do so.

But no greenbacks have been presented for redemption; or, to speak precisely, more gold has been sent to the Treasury to be exchanged for greenbacks than greenbacks to be redeemed in gold, since the first day of January; which proves that the public do not want gold unless they have a specific use for it which greenbacks will not answer as well. This is the same rule or principle which sends to the Bank of England each day "on balance" all the gold in Great Britain not wanted for export, or to meet the exigencies of local circulation for transactions smaller than five pounds. Inasmuch as we use notes of as small denomination as any existing gold coin, there are no exigencies of local circulation here to be provided for out of the Treasury balance. Consequently the only draft of a commercial nature upon this reserve to be looked for is for export; that is, to meet balances of international trade. Any other demand for gold must be the result of apprehensions in the public mind that the Treasury supply will prove inadequate, or that silver may be eventually tendered in the redemption of greenbacks instead of gold. Up to the present time, however, not even the banks of New York have called for any gold, notwithstanding they can get it without expense to themselves. The banks of the interior, being at a disadvantage of one-quarter of one per cent. in the way of express charges for the transportation of gold, have drawn nothing, and will draw nothing hereafter, except as the result of apprehensions regarding silver. It may well be doubted whether the sluggishness of the New York banks in this particular is grounded in wisdom. They have declared that all their deposits are to be considered and treated as gold—not as coin, but as gold coin. The Treasury has asked and obtained admission to the Clearing-House as one of its members, for the purpose of settling its balances with the banks expeditiously and cheaply. One of its daily balances, and perhaps the most important of all, is the balance over for its legal-tender notes. There ought to be one place in the United States where promises-to-pay end, and where performance begins. The New York Clearing-House, which performs two-thirds of all the clearings of the country, is the most suitable place for such daily settlement; yet the Clearing-House has not asked its new member, the Government, to redeem a single greenback. All balances continue to be paid in legal-tender notes as before. It may well be doubted, we say, whether this policy is wise, for although it is something easier to make these settlements with notes than with coin, resumption ought to be put to a practical test from day to day, and all parties ought to become habituated to it. The drain upon the Treasury for this purpose would be trifling, amounting probably to not more than one-fifteenth of the Treasury reserve, and not more than three months' production of our own mines.

The fact remains, however, that no gold has been called for and that none seems to be wanted for domestic purposes. This indifference on the part of the public is likely to continue until something occurs to alarm the holders of greenbacks—to create a doubt in their minds whether the gold value which they now bear can be permanently maintained. Such doubts may be raised (1) by a large demand for gold for exportation, (2) by the prospect of silver instead of gold payments at the Treasury, (3) by an agitation in Congress or in the country for the disbursement of the Treasury gold for some other purpose than the redemption of greenbacks. It is inevitable that a time will come when more or less gold will be required for export, since it is one of our principal products, the output being about forty millions per annum. We cannot pile up and hoard all that we produce for ever, nor is it desirable that we should. The exportation of the surplus over and above our own needs is as healthy as any other commercial movement, and it is not likely to be large enough to put resumption in peril for many years to come. The recent funding operations of the Treasury have called several millions of 5-20 bonds from Europe, whose place has not been filled by foreign subscriptions to the 4 per cent. loan. It is possible that these bonds may come home faster than they can be paid for by our exports of merchandise, in which case there will be a temporary balance against us, to be discharged with gold. But this will not of itself occasion alarm, since the future payment of gold interest to Europe will be lessened *pro tanto*.

The continued coinage of silver on Government account is the most threatening element of the problem, for, although only a driblet of the stream gets into circulation, the reservoir grows from day to day, and is becoming an enormous bulk. Before the 1st of July there will be one thousand tons of this metal stored in the public warehouses, and ere Congress assembles in December there will be a raging controversy how to dispose of it. The silver-men will insist that it shall be forced upon the public creditors. This policy could never be put in force without precipitating a run upon the Treasury for all the gold in it. Secretary Sherman's policy of allowing the public creditors of every sort to take gold, silver, or greenbacks at their option is the only one compatible with safety to the gold reserve. Any agitation to reverse that policy approaching in fierceness that which ushered in the Silver Bill would deplete the Treasury of its last gold-piece before Congress could act upon the measure.

The spectacle of one hundred and forty millions of gold lying in the Treasury subject to the call of any holder of greenbacks, and yet uncalled for, has arrested the attention of discerning inflationists at the West, who now demand that the entire gold reserve be expended in redeeming interest-bearing bonds. "Why," they ask, "should the Government lose the interest on this vast sum of money? It is plain that it is not wanted for purposes of resumption; let it be used, therefore, to pay off the 5.20s." It is needless to say that long before any bill could be passed to carry these views into effect the whole amount would be wanted and would be taken by the holders of greenbacks, who are satisfied to keep legal-tender notes only so long as there is a visible stock of gold on hand pledged for their redemption.

Between the slow, inexorable movement of the Mint under the Silver Bill, and the erratic course of political opinion on this range of subjects, the future of the greenback currency is, to say the least, extremely precarious. A cataclysm wholly distinct from ordinary financial panics is liable to overtake it at any time and on very short notice. If a run upon the Government's gold reserve were started through either of these causes—if one-half of the outstanding greenbacks were lodged in the Treasury, and a corresponding amount of gold drawn out—the effect upon trade and industry would not be necessarily harmful, but more probably beneficial. It would, however, bring up for discussion and final settlement the question whether Government notes shall form a part of the permanent currency of the country. The objections to such a currency have been set forth in these columns so frequently that they need not be here repeated. Until the cataclysm comes it is

safe to assume that business will move in its customary channels, employing the same implements, tools, and methods that it has used since 1862, and that the gold reserve of the Treasury will not be disturbed.

THE NEW YORK SENATORSHIP.

THE election of Mr. Roscoe Conkling by the Republicans, without any opposition, for a third term to the United States Senate is a very interesting phenomenon. Most of what are called "thoughtful Republicans" disapprove of him, or only approve of him apologetically, or interrogatively, by asking you, "Who else is there?" The leading Republican papers do the same thing. The most that those who are friendliest to him say for him is that the absence of opposition shows what a "strong man" (*i. e.*, skilful politician) he is, and shows how completely he has beaten the Administration. A not uncommon way of supporting him in the press is what may be called the paternal method—pointing out that during his two terms in the Senate he has grossly neglected all the serious business of his office and has devoted himself to the promotion of his personal fortunes, which in the case of a man of his remarkable talents is very unfortunate, not to say reprehensible; but that it is to be hoped, now that he sees that this makes no difference whatever with his constituents, he will change his ways in his third term, and become what nature intended him to be—a statesman of the first order. There was in the New York *Times* of last Saturday a letter from a dissatisfied Republican on Mr. Conkling which, taken in connection with the editor's comments on it and its appearing in a paper which is by no means friendly to the Administration, is a useful contribution to the solution of the Conkling problem. The writer points out that Mr. Conkling shrank from the performance of his duty on that most important occasion, the last electoral count, in failing to vote on the counting of the Louisiana vote; that he kept dead silence in the Senate during the most critical period of the currency discussion; that in the canvasses immediately preceding the expiration of his own term in the Senate in 1872 and 1878 he displayed an abounding enthusiasm and prolific eloquence, while in the off years, when his seat was in no danger, he fell into delicate health; that in the canvass of 1876 he did not in his speeches make a single mention of the candidate of his party for the Presidency who had been preferred to himself, and in 1877 poured forth in full convention, on the heads of Republicans as old and faithful and upright as himself, a stream of coarse vituperation, simply because they happened to be friends of the Administration and its ideas. The writer further adds that if Mr. Conkling's career were to terminate to-morrow, "there is no conspicuous act of his—no original conception, no advocacy of any great public measure—to rescue his name from speedy oblivion."

All this is literally true. We have never seen any attempt to deny these charges or explain them away, and being generally accepted as true, they ought, combined with Mr. Conkling's obtrusive vanity and quarrelsomeness—usually serious defects in a politician—have brought his political career to an end, or a pause, six years ago. Now why have they not done so? How is it that shortcomings apparently so fatal as these do him no damage? He is not a great orator; he is not a great legislator; he is not a man of great or striking ideas; he has been tricky and inconstant in his support of his party; he has no reputation outside his own State; he has no hold on the mind of the country; he is associated with no great cause. If he retired from the political arena to-morrow, he would be forgotten as rapidly as "Tom" Murphy or Silas B. Dutcher. How is it, then, that he is re-elected to the Senate without opposition, or more than a slight murmur of opposition?

The usual malcontent Republican way of answering these questions is by repeating that Mr. Conkling is a bad fellow—or, in other words, that the very qualities which unfit him for high office enable him by some sort of hocus-pocus to seize and keep it. This reminds one of the explanation of Beaconsfield's success offered recently by an English peer, after much reflection—"That he had sold himself to the devil." It reminds one also of the account given by the New York *Times* recently of the political career of Moses, of South Carolina, who was promoted from the place of "Speaker and Thief" to that of "Governor and Wholesale Robber," apparently by the operation of some occult force within himself. The fact is, however, that to find out how so unprofitable a statesman as Mr. Conkling comes to be so easily retained in public life, we must study not Mr. Conkling himself but the party to which he owes his place. He does not, any more than Moses, live and move *in vacuo*. He is not a United States Senator by the grace of God or the force of his own genius. He goes back to the Senate because his party sends him back. Nor has he taken the party by surprise, as we see. It knows him thoroughly now, and is apparently content with him, just as in South Carolina it knew Moses when it made him "Governor and Wholesale Robber." Nor is the election of Mr. Conkling for a third term the sign of a special affection for him. He has shown no qualities to excite affection. He has not earned the favor of the public. There is, to do him justice, but little of the demagogue about him. His attitude towards his constituents is one of, on the whole, silent arrogance. He is not, in other words, although a "favorite son," in any sense a pet of the State. He is, we believe, a pet of the city of Utica, but not of any larger community, and no New-Yorker ever speaks of him to strangers with any pride.

What his success proves is the enormous power which "the machine" still possesses over the party, and the skill with which Mr. Conkling uses it. He was General Grant's favorite Senator, and the machine, as we now see it, may be said to have been built up under General Grant, and no one had more to do with building it up than Mr. Conkling. It was under General Grant that the party came into full control of the enormous number of offices created by the war, and into the full benefit of the prestige and influence which the possession of offices creates and diffuses, and nobody represents that influence and prestige so completely as Mr. Conkling. There were strong signs of revolt against him and his system in 1876, under the impression made by the great scandals of the previous four years, and a more vigorous reformer than Mr. Hayes might have overthrown him and taught the party that it might safely seek nobler instruments. But Mr. Hayes's timidity and failure satisfied the working politicians at a very early day that he was after all only an interrex, that Mr. Conkling represented what was most powerful and permanent in the party organization, and that the safest course was to adhere to him until the Hayes disturbance was over, and they have done so.

To make their adhesion effective Mr. Conkling needed two things more—viz., that the party should be sufficiently afraid of the Democrats to shrink from anything like internal dissension, and that it should be sufficiently wrought up about the condition of the South to make it indifferent about other questions. These have also been accorded to him. It is these things which account for the extraordinary fact that the senior Senator of the leading commercial State in the Union, and of one of the great financial centres of the world, has been able with impunity to manifest complete indifference to legislation affecting the currency and public credit at a most critical period. As long as these conditions last, too, we must expect to find the Republican party in the Senate largely represented either by men of Mr. Conkling's kind, or by passionate partisans filled with the memories of the war and eager to prolong them. A Senate so composed is not apt to be a very august or very useful body, but it would be unfair to blame the Senators for its composition, just as it will be unfair to blame Mr. Conkling for not having spoken on the Silver Bill, and for throwing his whole mind into the great Arthur-Cornell question. He has plainly done all that his constituency called for; it would have been very noble if he had done more, but he lays no claim to nobleness—he is satisfied if men think him skilful. The tendency of the party mind, to which he owes his success, is revealed also in the growing yearning for General Grant for a third term. A party which so openly acknowledges the scantiness of its resources both in men and in ideas cannot be said to have a very brilliant future before it; but it is hard to see how any widening of the horizon

can come until a larger body of Republicans than now shows itself is prepared to sacrifice "harmony" for other things.

THE FIRST INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

II.

SIR ROBERT SALE'S brigade was sent out from Cabul early in October, 1841, to put down an outbreak of Ghilzais, one of the most fanatical and warlike of the Afghan tribes, in the neighborhood of the Khoord-Cabul Pass, and finding the restoration of tranquillity more difficult than had been expected settled down at Gundamuck, on the road to Jalalabad. It was here when the rising took place at Cabul, and when matters began to look serious in the latter place was called upon by MacNaghten in the most urgent terms to return. Sale refused to do so, and the justifiability of his refusal formed for twenty years afterwards the subject of burning controversy in English military circles. It was said by the garrison at Cabul that had he done so he would have extricated them from all their troubles, and have restored peace and order. It was said further that had he even remained at Gundamuck he would have kept the Khoord-Cabul and Jugdulluck Passes open, and have thus enabled the Cabul force to retreat in safety. He, however, neither went to Cabul nor remained in Gundamuck, and the reasons he gave were that he had neither ammunition nor provisions to enable him to reach Cabul or be of any use after he got there, as he would have had to fight his way; and if he remained at Gundamuck the enemy would seize Jalalabad, and thus bar the road to Peshawar, which, in that case, he would reach, if at all, after a disastrous retreat. He decided, therefore, and he was a man who shrunk from all responsibility and preferred, when he could, to confine himself to obeying orders, to retreat on Jalalabad and hold it, and thus help to keep the road to India open to the Cabul force in case it found itself obliged to retire. He only came to this decision after full consultation with his officers, two of whom—Dennie and Broadfoot—were already famous Indian soldiers, and on his staff was Havelock, then a plain captain, afterwards the illustrious general who relieved Lucknow in the Mutiny, but whose counsels even in those early days had a weight with his seniors to which neither his age nor experience entitled them, so clear was his head and so bold his heart. Over Sale his influence was supreme.

On the 12th of November, 1841, ten days after the rising at Cabul, Sale accordingly evacuated Gundamuck and marched for Jalalabad, leaving behind him most of his baggage, feeling satisfied that he would have enough to do in taking care of his three hundred sick and wounded. He had no sooner left the place than his stores were plundered and his cantonments burnt, and the country rose behind him. The mountain tribes thought he would be an easy prey, and that he was making the best of his way back to India, which they determined he should never reach. They accordingly swarmed on the hill-sides on the line of march, keeping up a galling fire from their jezails, or long guns, which carried full two hundred yards further than the old smooth-bore musket of the English service, which was still the same, barring the flint-lock, with which the battles of the Peninsula war had been fought. But in the first few miles they found that they were not dealing with fugitives, but with soldiers who were more than their match even in their own style of warfare. Flanking parties drove them with slaughter from their rocky heights, and their charges on the train were repelled with a fire which at close quarters was always murderous. Finally, all stomach for fighting was taken out of them by a manœuvre of Dennie's, who, by a feigned retreat of the infantry, drew them down on an open plain in a disorderly and exultant mass, in supposed pursuit of a flying enemy, and then launched his cavalry on them in a furious charge, in which they were sabred until the troopers were weary of striking. On the following morning the force reached Jalalabad, the inhabitants of which looked on it as making all haste for Peshawar, and did not in the least expect it to occupy the town, and fled in a panic when it entered. By noon it was in full possession of the place.

The prospect, however, was a sorry one. There was a circuit of what had once been a rampart, but it was a mile and a half long, and was at no single point in a defensible condition. In many places it was barely traceable, in others so low that carts passed over it; in some it was high on the inside and presented an easy slope on the other. Houses and gardens abutted on it all round, and outside it was commanded in every direction by ruined mosques and forts and buildings of every description, from which fire could be opened at a distance of thirty yards. To put it in even decent repair seemed work enough for two months for ten thousand men, and it would apparently have needed twenty thousand men to man it effectually. Sale had not more than two thousand five hundred men all told; few or no tools; only two days' provisions, and a scanty supply of ammunition. After a few hours' debate as to whether he should attempt to hold the town or retire into the citadel, for which he had force enough, it was resolved to stay in the town at all hazards, if for no other reason, for the sake of the moral effect. The houses and gardens outside were so strongly occupied by the enemy that during the first night the troops were unable to stay at their posts. The next day everybody went to work. Wood and iron were obtained by pulling down old houses; spades and pickaxes were collected, and the process of clearing out the ditch began. Within three days, however, a large force of the enemy, estimated at five thousand, had collected outside, hurling threats and defiance, and keeping up a desultory fire, which compelled the garrison on the 16th to take decided measures with them. Eleven hundred men of all arms suddenly dashed out and fell upon them, and they fled panic-stricken, suffering heavily from the cavalry in the pursuit. After this there were two weeks of quiet, during which provisions were collected in considerable quantities and good progress made with the fortifications. By the 1st of December the enemy had collected again, and another sortie was made on them, this time by Dennie, who defeated them again with great slaughter without the loss of a single man. By the middle of December the place was in a reasonable state of defence, and the garrison were in good health and high spirits. But rumors began to come that things were not going well down in Cabul, though neither officers nor men could bring themselves to believe that such a force as Elphinstone had would find real difficulty in dealing with the undisciplined hordes whom they scattered so easily at Jalalabad. Sale and Havelock knew the whole dismal truth, but they kept it to themselves. At last, however, the news got out that the British had capitulated; then in quick succession came the startling report that MacNaghten had been murdered and that the whole force was going to try to retreat on Jalalabad, with the expectation of being attacked on the way. Then came an order to evacuate Jalalabad signed by MacNaghten's successor, Pottinger, and by General Elphinstone, which Sale submitted in consternation to a council of the officers and decided to disobey. Dennie now predicted that the garrison of Cabul would be destroyed, and that only one man would survive to bring the news. The work on the fortifications was continued under the most sickening suspense, and by the middle of January the place was fairly enclosed. On the morning of the 15th the garrison were still toiling away with axe and shovel, their arms piled close by, when the sentinel reported a solitary white-faced horseman as coming slowly across the plain from the entrance of the pass on the Cabul side. A great fear fell on all. Tools were laid down, glasses produced, and the rampart crowded with anxious spectators of his tottering progress. For it was soon seen that he was wounded by the way he leaned on his pony's neck, and it was soon seen, too, that the pony itself was on its last legs, and it seemed doubtful whether it could carry him to the gate. The silence was broken by Colonel Dennie's calling out: "Did I not say so; here comes the messenger!" A party of cavalry were sent out to help in the fugitive. It was Dr. Brydon, and he told the horror-stricken crowd in a faint voice that he believed he was the sole survivor of the Cabul force. The first shock of surprise over, patrols were sent out to scour the neighborhood in the hope of picking up other fugitives, and all through the night the bugles were loudly blown on the ramparts as a signal that refuge was near; but no more came in. The few who had escaped massacre were prisoners.

Having done what they could for their unhappy comrades, the Jalalabad garrison returned anxiously to the work of providing for their own safety, for it was plain that the enemy would soon be down on them in great force and flushed with victory. When they would be relieved they did not know. One attempt to rescue them by a small force under General Wild had failed in the Khybar Pass, and Akhbar Khan, they heard, was organizing an army thirty miles away to assail them. Foraging for provisions was carried on in the neighborhood more actively than ever. Two hundred Afghans who formed part of the garrison were dismissed through fear of treachery. An order from old Shah Soojah, who was still nominally reigning at Cabul, though in the hands of the Afghan chiefs, to evacuate the place was disregarded, and the finishing touches were given to the fortifications. On the 18th of February Akhbar Khan was reported to be near at hand, but the town was surrounded by a ditch ten feet deep and twelve feet wide, and by a parapet seven feet high. The forts and old walls and gardens had been cleared away on the out-

side, the ravines filled and the groves cut down, and the gates covered by outworks. On the 19th there was a sound as of thunder; the earth shook, the houses rocked, and in a few seconds a third of the town was in ruins; the parapet and several of the bastions were destroyed, and the Cabul gate was a mass of débris. An earthquake had destroyed a large part of the labor of three months. The shocks had hardly ceased when the working parties began again, and by the end of ten days had repaired the worst of the damage.

Akhbar Khan was all this time but a few miles away; but he had resolved not to besiege, but to blockade. So he gradually drew his circle closer about the place, drove in the foraging parties, and prevented the entrance of supplies from the country around. Some of the officers had thought of the horrid possibility that he might, barbarian as he was, try to terrify Sale into surrender by bringing up Lady Sale and her daughters, and threatening them under his eyes; and some one finally ventured to prepare him for it by mentioning it. The old man's frame, it is said, shook with emotion, and he muttered that if he did "he would open on them with every gun in the place." On the 11th of March Sale made a sortie, but could not bring on an engagement, and the remainder of the month passed quietly, but with increasing scarcity of provisions, ammunition, and forage. Matters were rapidly reaching a crisis, and there was no positive news about the relieving force which was being organized at Peshawar under General Pollock. On the 1st of April Sale made another sortie and captured 500 sheep and goats, which assured him of meat for ten days. On the 5th came a rumor that Pollock had been defeated with great slaughter in an attempt to force the Khybar, and Akhbar Khan's guns fired a salute in honor of the alleged victory. Sale felt that, whether the news were true or false, the time had come to strike a decisive blow. Accordingly, on the 6th of April, he marched out with 860 men of his infantry in three little columns, one commanded by Havelock, one light field battery, and a small force of cavalry. The sortie was made at daybreak, and Akhbar Khan was found ready for them, his force of 6,000 strong being drawn up with his right on the river and his left on a fort. The plan of attack was Havelock's, and a slight departure from it at the outset came near entailing disastrous results; but the mistake was perceived and retrieved in time, though at the cost of Dennie's life. It was very simple and proved completely effective. The artillery advanced at a gallop on the Afghan centre and opened on it at close range, two columns of the infantry marching straight for the same point, while the other forced his left into the river. In an hour the enemy was driven from his position in wild confusion, leaving his guns, camp, and stores in the hands of the British, whose loss was only eight men killed and fifty-three wounded. Two or three days later General Pollock's army, which had forced the Khybar Pass without serious difficulty, came marching in. The band of one of the regiments of the garrison went out some miles to meet them, and played them in to the tune, "Oh! but ye've been lang o' comin'."

There was some further fighting in the advance on the Candahar line under General Nott, but Pollock marched on in a leisurely way to Cabul without further resistance, to find the city half deserted by the inhabitants. He hoisted the British flag on the Bala Hissar and saluted it with imposing ceremonies, and by way of leaving behind an ineffaceable mark of British vengeance blew up the great stone bazaar. The old king, Shah Soojah, had by this time been assassinated by the Afghans, and his son, Futteh Jung, was afraid to reign in his stead, and begged to be taken back to India. Akhbar Khan sent in to sue for peace; the English ladies and children who had been wandering about in the Hindoo Koosh, suffering indescribable hardships and anxiety, were carried into camp by the commander of their guard, whom they had succeeded in bribing. Poor old General Elphinstone had died while with them, broken-hearted by his misfortunes, and lies buried side by side with Dennie by one of the bastions which Sale built and so well defended at Jalalabad. Then the country was evacuated by the troops in easy marches, and Dost Mohamed allowed to resume the throne without molestation. Everything seemed to go back to the *status quo*, but the war had cost thirty thousand dead and $75,000,000. The story long continued to be told with horror, not in English homes only, but all over Europe. Several journals were published by surviving officers, one most interesting one by Lady Sale, which had an immense circulation. Brave old Sale was killed at Moodkee, in the Sikh war, four years later. Havelock lived to fulfil the promise of his splendid prime, in the mutiny of 1857, when, after forty years of brilliant service, he first obtained the command of an army in the field. General Pollock died full of years and honor in 1872, and Dr. Brydon, the survivor of the retreat, only last year.

THE NEW YEAR IN ENGLAND.

London, January 7, 1879.

IT will hardly be pretended this year that the English Christmas has been a merry one, or that the New Year has the promise of being particularly happy. The winter is proving very cold and vicious—as if Nature herself were loath to be left out of the general conspiracy against the comfort and self-complacency of man. The country at large has a sense of embarrassment and depression, which is brought home more or less to every class in the closely-graduated social hierarchy, and the light of Christmas firesides has by no means dispelled the gloom. Not that I mean to overdo the gloom. It is difficult to imagine any combination of adverse circumstances powerful enough to infringe very sensibly upon the appearance of activity and prosperity, social stability and luxury, which English life must always present to a stranger. Nevertheless, the times are distinctly hard—there is plenty of evidence of it—and the public spirits are not high. The depression of business is extreme and universal; I am ignorant whether it has reached so calamitous a point as that almost hopeless prostration of every industry which you have lately witnessed in America, and I believe things are by no means so bad as they have been on two or three occasions within the present century. The possibility of distress among the lower classes has been minimized by the gigantic poor-relief system which is so characteristic a feature of English civilization, and which on particular occasions is supplemented (as is the case at present) by private charity proportionately huge. I notice, too, that in some parts of the country discriminating groups of work-people have selected these dismal days as a happy time for striking. When the laboring classes are able to indulge in the luxury of a strike I suppose the situation may be said to have its cheerful side. There is, however, great distress in the North, and there is a general feeling of impecuniosity throughout the country. The *Daily News* has sent a correspondent to the great industrial regions, and almost every morning for the last three weeks a very cleverly-executed picture of the misery of certain parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire has been served up with the matutinal tea and toast. The work is a good one and, I take it, eminently worth doing, as it appears to have had a visible effect upon the purse-strings of the well-to-do. There is nothing more striking in England than the success with which an "appeal" is always made. Whatever the season or whatever the cause, there always appears to be enough money and enough benevolence in the country to respond to it in sufficient measure—a remarkable fact when one remembers that there is never a moment of the year when the custom of "appealing" intermits. Equally striking, perhaps, is the perfection to which the science of distributing charity has been raised—the way it has been studied and elaborated and made indeed a science. One perceives that it has occupied for a long time a foremost place among administrative questions, and has received all the light which immense experience and practice could throw upon it. The journal I quoted just now may perhaps, without reproach, be credited with a political *arrière-pensée*. It would obviously like its readers to supply in this matter of the stagnation of trade the missing link between effect and cause—or the link which, if not absolutely missing, is at any rate difficult to lay one's hand upon. The majority in Parliament were not apparently of the opinion that the disorganization of business is the fault of Lord Beaconsfield; but there is no doubt that it is a misfortune for the Conservative party that this bad state of things coincides very much with its tenure of office. When an Administration may be invidiously described as "restless," "reckless," and "adventurous," and when at the same time business is very bad and distress increasing, it requires no great ingenuity to represent the former fact as responsible for the latter.

I have spoken of the rigor of the time in the lower walks of English life; and it is not out of place to say that among those happier people who stand above the reach of material incommodity, the Christmas season has been overshadowed, sentimentally—or, at least, conventionally—by the death of Princess Alice. If I had written to you at the moment this event occurred I should have been tempted to make some general reflections upon it, and it is even now perhaps not too late to say that there was, to an observer, something very interesting and characteristic in the manner in which the news was received. Roughly speaking, it produced much more commotion than I should have expected: the papers overflowed with articles on the subject, the virtues of the deceased lady and the grief of the Queen were elaborately commemorated; many shops, on the day of the Princess's funeral, were partially closed, and the whole nation, it may be said—or the whole of what professes in any degree

whatever to be "society"—went into mourning. There was enough in all this to make a stranger consider and interrogate; and the result of his reflections would, I think, have been, that, after all statements are made, the monarchy has still a great hold upon the affections of the people. The people takes great comfort in its royal family. The love of social greatness is extraordinarily strong in England, and the royal family appeals very conveniently to this sentiment. People in the immense obscurity of that middle-class which constitutes the bulk of the English world like to feel that they are related in some degree to something that is socially great. They cannot pretend that they are related to dukes and earls and people of that sort; but they are able to cultivate a certain sense of being related to the royal family. They may talk of "our" princes and princesses—and the most exalted members of the peerage may do no more than that; they may possess photographs of the Queen's children, and read of their daily comings and goings, with an agreeable sense of property, and without incurring that reproach of snobbishness which sometimes attaches to too eager an interest in the doings of the great nobility. There is no reason to suppose that the Queen takes the humorous view of this situation; her Majesty is indeed credited with a comfortable, motherly confidence in the salutary effect of the court-circles upon the mind of the middle-class; and there is a kind of general feeling that, socially speaking, the Queen and the middle-class understand each other. There was something natural, therefore, in the great impression made by the death of a princess who was personally known but to an incalculably small proportion of the people who mourned for her, and on whose behalf propriety would have resented the idea that she could be personally missed. It is nevertheless true that Lord Beaconsfield is felt to have overdone his part very egregiously, in announcing the event to the House of Lords in language in which he might have proclaimed some great national catastrophe. I was told by a person who was present that the House felt itself to be completely at the mercy of his bad taste—that men looked at each other with a blush and a kind of shudder, and asked each other what was coming next. He remarked, among other things, that the manner in which the Princess Alice had contracted her fatal illness (her tender imprudence in kissing her sick children) was an act worthy to be commemorated in art—"in painting, in sculpture, and *in gems*." I have heard these two last words wittily quoted in illustration of his Semitic origin. An ordinarily florid speaker would have contented himself with saying "in painting and in sculpture." The addition "in gems" betrays the genius of the race which supplies the world with pawnbrokers.

I left town a short time before Christmas and went to spend the festive season in the North, in a part of the country with which I was unacquainted. It was quite possible to absent one's self from London without a sense of sacrifice, for the charms of the metropolis during the last several weeks have been obscured by peculiarly atrocious weather. It is, of course, a very old story that London is foggy, and this simple statement is not of necessity alarming. But there are fogs and fogs, and these murky visitations, during the present winter, have been of the least tolerable sort. The fog that draws down and absorbs the smoke of the housetops, causes it to hang about the streets in impenetrable density, forces it into one's eyes and down one's throat, so that one is half-blinded and quite sickened—this atmospheric abomination has been much more frequent than usual. Just before Christmas, too, there was a heavy snow-storm, and even a tolerably light fall of snow has London quite at its mercy. The emblem of purity is almost immediately converted into a sticky, lead-colored mush, the cabs skulk out of sight or take up their stations before the lurid windows of a public-house, which glares through the sleety darkness at the desperate wayfarer with an air of vulgar bravado. This state of things in the London streets made a rather sorry Christmas, though I believe the Christmas hearth is supposed to burn the more brightly in proportion as the outer world is less attractive. The wonderful London shops were, of course, duly transfigured, but they seemed to me, for the most part, to have an aspect of vain expectation, and I hear that their proprietors give a melancholy account of the profits of the season. It was only at a certain charming little French establishment in Bond Street that I observed any great activity—a little chocolate shop where light-fingered young women from Paris dispense the most wonderful bonbonnières.

To keep one's self in good humor with English civilization, however, one must do what I alluded to just now—one must go into the country; one must limit one's horizon, for the time, to the spacious walls of one of those admirable homes which at this season overflow with hospitality and good cheer. By this means the result is triumphantly attained—these are conditions that you cordially appreciate. Of all the great things that the English have invented and made a part of the glory of the national character, the most perfect, the most characteristic, the one they have mastered most completely in all its details, so that it has become a compendious illustration of their social genius and their manners, is the well-appointed, well-administered, well-filled country-house. The grateful stranger makes these reflections—and others besides—as he wanders about in the beautiful library of such a dwelling of an inclement winter afternoon just at the hour when five-o'clock tea is impending. Such a place and such a time abound in agreeable episodes; but I suspect that the episode from which, a fortnight ago, I received the most ineffaceable impression was but indirectly connected with the charms of a luxurious fireside. The country I speak of was a populous manufacturing region, full of tall chimneys and afflicted with a carboniferous atmosphere. A lady had made a present of a Christmas-tree to the children of a workhouse, and she invited me to go with her and assist at the distribution of the toys. There was a drive through the early dusk of a very cold Christmas Eve, followed by the drawing-up of a lamp-lit brougham in the snowy quadrangle of a grim-looking charitable institution. I had never been in an English workhouse before, and this one transported me, with the aid of memory, to the early pages of 'Oliver Twist.' We passed through certain cold, bleak passages, to which an odor of suet-pudding, the aroma of Christmas cheer, failed to impart an air of hospitality; and then, after waiting a while in a little parlor appertaining to the superintendent, where the remainder of a dinner of by no means eleemosynary simplicity and the attitude of a gentleman asleep with a flushed face on the sofa seemed to effect a tacit exchange of references, we were ushered into a large, frigid refectory, chiefly illumined by the twinkling tapers of the Christmas-tree. Here there entered to us some hundred and fifty little children of charity, who had been making a copious dinner, and who brought with them an atmosphere of hunger memorably satisfied—together with other traces of the occasion upon their pinafores and their small red faces. I have said that the place reminded me of 'Oliver Twist,' and I glanced through this little herd for an infant figure that should look as if it were cut out for romantic adventures. But they were all very prosaic little mortals. They were made of very common clay indeed, and a certain number of them were idiotic. They filed up and received their little offerings, and then they compressed themselves into a tight infantine bunch, and, lifting up their small, hoarse voices, directed a melancholy hymn toward their benefactress. The scene was a picture I shall not forget, with its curious mixture of poetry and sordid prose—the dying wintry light in the big, bare, stale room; the beautiful Lady Bountiful, standing in the twinkling glory of the Christmas-tree; the little multitude of staring and wondering, yet perfectly expressionless, faces.

'LES MIRABEAU.'—II.

PARIS, December 22, 1878.

I HAVE always felt, I must confess, a great partiality for the father of Mirabeau, the Marquis, commonly called "L'Ami des hommes." It was founded merely upon the study of his book, which I found many years ago in a box on the Quai Voltaire. This work, now so well forgotten, seemed to me written in a strange, often pathetic, always vigorous style. The author appeared to me to be a sort of rural Saint-Simon, an aristocrat of the farm, not of the court—one of those types of country gentlemen which are common even now in England, men who are really of the people, among the people, and for the people, and imbued at the same time with the most delicate traditions of honor and of ancestral pride. I cannot imagine anything more eloquent than some passages of the treatise on 'Population,' which made the reputation of the Marquis, nor a more pungent, original style, especially when you remember that the book was written in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the literary world was under the mild, commonplace, conventional influence of the literary school of Dorat, of St.-Lambert, of Crébillon (the son). Society was in a sort of fool's paradise. Philosophy itself, in order to spread its new creed, was obliged to conceal its teaching in licentious verses, in novels, in epigrams. Mirabeau was the eloquent advocate of agriculture at a time when the nobility abandoned its estates and lived at court. He is considered as the disciple of the famous Doctor Quesnay, the chief of the school of economists who called themselves *physiocrats*. But he was not only his disciple. He published his famous work on 'Population' in 1756, many years before Quesnay (who was Madame de Pompadour's physician) had become widely known. As soon, however,

as the Marquis de Mirabeau knew Quesnay, and had become acquainted with his ideas, he renounced voluntarily all claims to originality and gave himself out as the apostle of his friend. Mirabeau's notoriety is anterior to that of Quesnay, and Quesnay owed much to Mirabeau, who was the first to proclaim the merits of the author of the 'Tableau Économique.'

Victor Riqueti, Marquis de Mirabeau, called "L'Ami des hommes," was born the 4th of October, 1715, at Pertuis, not far from the ancestral seat of his family. He was educated in the most rigid manner by his father, who was convinced (like the father of Chateaubriand) that all demonstration of sensibility or familiarity ought to be banished between parents and children. Chateaubriand tells us in the most graphic manner, in his 'Mémoires d'outre Tombe,' what his youth was in the Château de Combourg. Such was the youth of the young Mirabeau. He was sent to the Jesuits for a short time, and then to the army.

"My father sent me away very suddenly," he says, "at the end of 1729 [he was consequently only fourteen years old]. Until the carriage arrived he made me read a book; when he heard the carriage he stopped me. 'There,' said he, 'is your carriage; good-by, my son; be wise, if you wish to be happy.' And I went out as I should have done any other day."

In 1731 the young soldier was placed in a military academy in Paris. He was of a brutal disposition, like all the Mirabeaus, and himself tells how, after "astonishing excesses" and a grave malady, he "threw himself out of this train of debauchery into which his vanity more than his taste had thrown him." He continued, however, to spend his evenings at the theatre, where he made much noise, after the fashion of the time; so much so that he was known as "le chevalier tapageur." He fell in love with a young actress, who became famous under the name of Dangeville. His father sent him to a regiment in Besançon to cure him of his folly. At the age of eighteen he took part in the campaign of 1734, which gave Lorraine to France. After the war he returned to Paris, where he made the acquaintance of Vauvenargues, who was not yet known. Vauvenargues was an officer, like himself, who had renounced at the age of twenty-eight the military career, on account of his bad health. He tried, without success, to enter into the diplomatic career, and only published in 1746, a year before his death, the book which made his name immortal, and will always give him a place close by our glorious moralists, Montaigne, Larochefoucauld, Labruyère, and Pascal. Mirabeau loved Vauvenargues and understood his genius. The correspondence of these two men is one of the most interesting chapters of the work of M. de Loménie.

When Mirabeau's father died he was left with a fortune of 27,500 francs, out of which he had to pay 11,500 francs to his mother and his two brothers. With the difference, 16,000 francs, he was at that time considered rich. He had a good name; he married Mlle. de Vassan, the daughter of a president at the Cour des Comptes of Paris. He did not know her; he had never seen her when he made his offer; he did not know his mother-in-law; the dower was not a capital, but an annuity hardly sufficient for the expenses of his wife. M. de Vassan was rich, and the young Mirabeau married his fortune in imagination. He was ambitious of fortune, and desired to make of "a house of Provence" a "house of France." Mirabeau wrote afterwards in one of his letters to his brother, the Bailiff: "The twenty years during which I lived with my wife were twenty years of nephritic colic." The expression is rather strong. The two characters were quite incompatible; still, they lived together during twenty years. Mirabeau was possessed with a feverish activity. His domestic quarrels were not enough for him, nor his continuous speculations in land, in houses (he contrived to ruin himself completely in the end); he was utopian in the management of his personal affairs; he became utopian in state matters. "I was," he declared, "no more an economist than a cat when the strength of my temper made me write 'L'Ami des hommes.'"

I will give here the summary of the chapters of this book as I find it in the original edition, vol. i.:

"Society and wealth—The measure of subsistence is the measure of population—Agriculture, which alone multiplies the means of subsistence, is the first of arts—Advantages of France with regard to agriculture—What makes agriculture languish—Of the necessity and the means of encouraging agriculture—The uses of the land depend on the usages of men—Work and money."

In the second volume the chapters run thus:

"What foreign commerce is; its necessity; on what plan it ought to be conducted—Communications and ports—The military navy, how it can become flourishing; how it ought to be limited—Prohibitions—Colonies—Peace and war—Résumé of the whole work."

The résumé itself concludes with these short sentences:

"True wealth consists *only* in population; population depends upon subsistence; subsistence is only drawn from the earth; the product of the soil depends on agriculture; therefore all other means—commerce, gold, the arts and sciences—serve to establish a decided and independent prosperity only on condition that they vivify, encourage, and enlighten agriculture, the first, the most useful, the most innocent, and the most precious of arts."

You see at once how much these ideas are at variance with the present school of political economy, which is founded upon the notion of credit, of exchange, of circulation, of ideal values. The style of the 'Ami des hommes' is at times very striking. The friend of humanity attacks with violence the great landlords who live in Paris and have abandoned their impoverished estates. He has passages against those who prefer money, wealth, municipal luxury to land, worthy of the greatest writers. He is in favor of a strong social hierarchy; he considers religion as the greatest force of a well-organized state; he does not approve of debts—of the debts of the state any more than of others; he goes for absolute liberty of trade within and without the frontiers; he is a free-trader before free-trade is invented. His political code is embodied in five maxims: 1st, love and honor agriculture; 2d, throw back from the centre to the extremities what you draw now from the extremities to the centre; 3d, despise luxury and exaggeration of expense; 4th, honor virtue and talent, and don't pay them; 5th, lower the rate of interest and pay the debts of the state. When he says curtly that virtue and talent ought not to be paid, he means that money ought not to be a standard of consideration: "As soon as a profession is valued only by its salary, the soldier who receives five sous a day will be less than a lackey, and the officer less than a groom."

I must cite here what I consider one of the finest passages of Mirabeau, in favor of the poor gentry:

"The style of life of our old gentry, who drank too much, slept on old chairs or mattresses, rode and hunted early—that sort of life made few musicians, fewer geometers, poets and court-actors; but there was no need of the nobility for that. This nobility, leading a gay and hard life, cost the state very little, and produced more by its residence and its manure on the nourishing mother earth than we can give it now by our taste, our fancies, our colics, and our vapors. They knew nothing in comparison with us; for we know the rules of the theatre, the differences between the French and the Italian music; we judge the geometers; we make lectures on anatomy and botany; we understand carriages, varnish, snuff-boxes, porcelain; we are not ignorant of the art of lying, nor of intrigue, nor of business, nor of the art of begging, nor of red heels, nor what is the worth of our neighbor's money. They put all their wisdom in seven or eight articles: to respect religion, never to lie, to keep a word given, to do nothing mean, to suffer no insult, to keep a horse to the right foot (*mettre un cheval sur le bon pied*), to know the scent, to fear neither hunger nor thirst, neither heat nor cold. These people, however, were not incapable at times of helping the state; they had even rather fine ideas on true glory, prejudices which our philosophy has replaced by calculations more useful for the individual than for the public. Take, for instance, Henri IV., who was brought up and lived, till he became grey, as a true country gentleman; well, Henri IV. did his work of king about as well as another."

Is not this very savory and refreshing? How many passages like this I might cite! The theories of "land against money" or "money against land" will be forgotten when such pages will still be read with much pleasure.

I will not enter into the laborious account of the quarrels of Mirabeau, the father, with all his family, with his wife, with his terrible son. His life was a titanic life, full of effort, of struggles without glory, of miserable and deplorable mistakes. He fell like a Titan; he was overworked, overstrained; his only consolation was the affection of his good brother. He died having hardly witnessed the glory of his son, who had never been to him but an enemy. The relations of these two men, who had something monstrous in their natures, is a very curious study for the moralist; but it is so painful that I must refer my readers to the work of De Loménie.

Correspondence.

"COURT CIRCLES" AND GOOD NEIGHBORHOOD.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your paragraph on my letter to the Manchester *Examiner* you somewhat mistake my meaning. Perhaps I did not express it clearly.

I do not imagine that the mere establishment of a court at Ottawa is likely to embroil Canada with the United States. But I think that if, by

the influence of that court and other influences of the same kind, Canada is made the seat of a social sentiment strongly antagonistic to the democracy of the United States, trouble to the inhabitants of this continent may ultimately be the result, just as trouble resulted from the social antagonism created by slavery between the Northern and the Southern States.

The existence of anti-republican or non-republican elements among your people is the very thing that constitutes the danger. It is in the hope that your account of the state of sentiment among Americans is true that British Toryism, now flushed with victory, makes this first attempt to propagate monarchy and aristocracy in the New World. I suppose, however, in spite of your somewhat ominous words—ominous because political institutions do not long survive social sentiments—that a large portion of your people are still true to democracy; and if so, with them an embroilment and a struggle may eventually take place.

Yours faithfully, GOLDWIN SMITH.

TORONTO, Jan. 13, 1879.

ENCROACHING ON THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your article on the "Federal Judiciary" of the 2d inst. you have erroneously confounded the nature and purpose of a bill introduced in the House by myself with one which Senator Garland, of Arkansas, has presented in the Senate. By examination it will be seen that the purpose of my bill is to repeal the law authorizing *removal of causes from State courts into Federal courts*, and does not in any degree whatever prevent or interfere with the right to sue in the Federal courts, or with the privilege of bringing suits in the United States by any parties now entitled by law to do so, against cities, towns, counties, or individuals. Without expressing any opinion here of Senator Garland's bill or of your criticism upon it, I desire to call your attention to the distinction between the two bills, and to the fact that your observations are inapplicable to the bill I have introduced.

My high opinion of the usual fairness with which questions are discussed in your very ably-conducted journal, convinces me that you have not intended to improperly characterize this measure. I beg leave to present you with the enclosed copy of my remarks in the House, embracing the bill to which I refer. Should you feel further interest in this subject, you may from these remarks understand the reasons which have influenced my action.

Very respectfully, etc.,

R. W. TOWNSHEND.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 6, 1879.

[Our language of which complaint is made was, "And here it is well enough to observe that Congressman Townshend, of Illinois, has introduced a bill in the House *quite similar* to that of Senator Garland."

A careful examination of the bills of Messrs. Garland and Townshend shows that, while the former seeks to divest the United States courts of their primary jurisdiction over cities, towns, villages, counties, and other municipal or public corporations, at the suits of non-residents; and also over one important class of cases (to which foreign insurance companies are parties defendant) now removable from the State courts, the latter, as stated by its author, aims to deprive them of all business now transferable from State courts. There is a difference, but it is a difference of degree rather than of principle or policy. In their general tendency the two measures would seem to be not only "quite similar," but identical. Indeed, so accordant are they in spirit and motive that lawyers would say they "run together on all fours." Both seek to diminish in material and, in part, identical points the jurisdiction and authority of the Federal courts.

The right to transfer from State to Federal courts causes to which citizens of different States are parties was conferred by Congress as far back as 1789, and has existed ever since. It was legislatively bestowed almost immediately on the adoption of the Constitution, because it was understood to be one of those contemplated in that instrument, which expressly provides, in defining the authority of the Federal judiciary (section ii., article iii.), that "the judicial power shall extend," among other cases mentioned, to controversies "between citizens of different States." The reason for the provision is clear enough. Realizing that State tribunals were liable to be largely under the control of local influences and interests, as has often proved to be the case, especially when municipal and other corporations were parties to suits, the Constitution aimed to give parties litigant, no matter where residing, an opportunity for impartial justice, by opening to them the doors of courts to which they were equally related. But if Mr. Townshend's bill were to become a law, a citizen of New York who might come under the jurisdiction of a local court of Illinois, either by being temporarily there in person or by having property within it, would be compelled to abide by that court's decision at the suit of an Illinois citizen, the Constitution of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding.

But what gives the bills of Messrs. Garland and Townshend their principal interest is, not the shades of difference between them, whether more or less distinct, but the fact that both represent a movement to cripple, if not degrade, the Federal courts, at a time when its success would involve the loss of many millions of money, as well as important principles of inter-sectional policy. It so happens that at this time the financial interests of leading portions of the country—many of them already subjects of legal controversy, or likely to become such—are not in accord. The East, having measurably completed its local public improvements, has had a surplus of capital to invest. The West, having its railroads to build and its lands to open up and improve, with comparatively little wealth of its own, has been under the necessity of borrowing largely. The result is that the West now finds itself heavily indebted to the East, its liabilities being represented to a very considerable extent by mortgages upon its farms, and by municipal securities that are liens upon the taxable resources of its cities, counties, and towns. To enforce these liabilities it has in many instances, in consequence of attempted repudiation, been necessary to have recourse to the courts. In the proceedings thus instituted the local opposition has often been so strong and bitter that the local courts have been unable to withstand it. Under such circumstances the Federal courts, in consequence of occupying a more independent position, have been called upon to assume jurisdiction. To take from them the powers they now exercise in this regard, as is to a greater or less degree the purpose of both the bills referred to, it is not too much to say would amount to a practical cancellation of a very large portion—possibly the larger portion—of the indebtedness of the West to the East, because, while the legal liability might remain, it would be non-enforcible. That is the whole story.—ED. NATION.]

"THE BANKER'S DAUGHTER."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just had my attention drawn to what seems to me a gratuitous insult, in a recent number of your paper. Your dramatic critic has thrown out a wanton insinuation that I have been guilty of literary theft, without offering the slightest evidence of the fact, or naming the French play from which, as he intimates, my own play, "The Banker's Daughter," has been drawn. In 1874 the London *Times* made a similarly vague suggestion concerning the play of "Saratoga." I wrote to the editor denying the implied charge, and saying that so serious an accusation should, in common justice, leaving courtesy out of the question, be accompanied by the name of the play from which mine had been stolen, with a specific account of the resemblances; and until that could be done the slightest insinuation of such an offence should be withheld. The *Times* published my letter accompanied by an editorial apology. I wish to enter a formal and absolute denial of your critic's charge; and I am confident of receiving as ample justice from an American publication as I did from an English journal. The crime of dramatic robbery has become a very common one, in both England and America; but I do not think our familiarity with it justifies any one in treating it as a trifling matter, by accusing another of it lightly and without definite proof.

Very respectfully yours, BRONSON HOWARD.

DETROIT, January 11, 1879.

[We did not accuse Mr. Howard of "literary theft," because we expressly stated that a controversy was raging between him and

several unknown writers as to the authorship of the play in question. This fact being notorious, we simply remarked: "The 'Banker's Daughter' is a trifle more American than most plays of its class, yet if it does not turn out, *at some remove*, to have a French origin, we shall be greatly surprised."—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

We regret to record the sudden death on Monday of Mr. J. Blair Scribner, head of the house of Charles Scribner's Sons and the allied firms. Mr. Scribner was the oldest son of the late Charles Scribner, and only twenty-eight years of age. We are sure that we do but echo the sentiment of the community when we express the hope that this sad event will not seriously affect the great publishing house which had descended to the second generation under such favorable auspices. ——Lee & Shepard are about to issue 'Midnight Marches through Persia,' by Henry Ballantine; and 'Spiritual Manifestations,' by the Rev. Charles Beecher.——Houghton, Osgood & Co. send us volumes three and four of the *American Architect*, bound in one, and presenting a very handsome appearance. This excellent periodical leaves nothing to be desired on the part of its conductors, but one might wish the profession to take a more lively interest in it, at least as contributors.——The Messrs. Rivington, London, send us the volume for 1878 of their illustrated quarterly called the *Church Builder*, devoted to church extension in England and Wales, in connection with the Church Building Society. Besides the accounts of new churches built in whole or in part by the Society, it contains interesting papers on kindred subjects. One reads with interest the remarks of Mr. Armitage on Mural Painting, delivered before a general conference of architects held by the British Institute of Architects, together with the substance of a debate which followed. There are essays on the Palestine Survey Expedition and on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and a long discussion of church restoration, all of which are good reading. The *Church Builder* may, therefore, be looked upon as a journal, in little, of art and archæology, not without its value for the student and the general reader.——Apropos of church-building, we observe in the London *Times* a protest by Mr. T. Wemyss Reid against the proposed destruction of Haworth Church, in which Charlotte and Emily Brontë lie buried, in order to make way for a more commodious and convenient structure, to suit the present rector's ideas.——The issue of the *Art Interchange* for January 8 has been made the beginning of a new volume. The journal has been enlarged in size, and its departments reduced in number—a double advantage. Its special correspondence of art news, and its notes and queries, are perhaps its most valuable features. Announcement is made of the condition of the select Lending Library of the Society of Decorative Art, and of the very liberal terms on which books may be borrowed and returned by mail. The more costly and bulky works can naturally only be consulted at the Society's rooms, No. 34 East Nineteenth Street.——Macmillan & Co. have issued Part V. of Dr. Grove's 'Dictionary of Music and Musicians.' It includes among composers Fétis, John Field, Flotow, Robert Franz, Gade, Gluck, Gounod, Grétry, and even Franklin (on account of the "musical glasses") and Frederic the Great, "a distinguished amateur"; among singers and performers, J. B. Faure, Karl Formes, the Garcias, Arabella Goddard, and Grisi; among instruments, the flageolet, flute, French horn, grand piano, guitar; among famous songs and operas, "Charmante Gabrielle," "Greensleeves," "God Save the King," "Fidelio," and "Götterdämmerung." The most elaborate technical article is on Form. Under *Grand Prix de Rome* there is a complete list of the grand prizes awarded for music by the Académie des Beaux-Arts, 1803–77.——We are satisfied, on re-examination, that we exaggerated the number of errors in Mr. Sewall's 'Latin Speaker' (*Nation*, No. 703). When we said it contained "hundreds" we used a reprehensibly loose expression for a great number. There are, in fact, far too many—enough to justify our censure. ——The republication, by Paul Gaffarel, of André Thevet's 'Les singularitez de la France antarctique' is worthy the notice of collectors of Americana. Although the original, published in 1558, is very rare, the present reprint makes no pretence to be an *édition de luxe*. The editor frankly admits that Thevet was often incorrect when he went beyond his own personal observation, that he was far from profound, that his style is poor; yet he asserts "that without 'Les singularitez de la France antarctique' a number of valuable particulars in regard to America would never have been rescued from oblivion." It is singular that Harrisse, an undoubted authority in American bibliography, has omitted to mention it in his 'Notes pour servir à l'histoire de la Nouvelle France,' though it contains much material relating to Canada as well as to Brazil. Some of the quaint engravings found in De Bry's famous compilation appear in this volume as woodcuts and reduced in size.——The German papers announce the approaching publication of a work on the Philosophy of Universal History by the venerable Leopold von Ranke, and the first volume of Treitschke's 'German History in the Nineteenth Century,' in which the period embracing the Peace of Vienna is treated.——A valuable diary, 'Unter der Pariser Commune,' has been published by Wilhelm Lauser, of the staff of the Vienna *Presse* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot). It forcibly portrays the chief Communistic leaders——The Smith Female College, at Northampton, Mass., has lately been spending a part of its income in collecting American pictures. The selections are making by the President, Mr. Seelye, and the newly appointed Art-Professor, Mr. Champney, who will perhaps henceforth drop his well-known diminutive of "Champ." Pictures already bought are Coleman's "The Desert," lately seen in the Decorative Art Society's exhibition; a cattle-piece by J. M. Hart, exhibited last season at the Academy; Swain Gifford's "Old Orchard near the Sea"; with Sartain's "Narcissus," and possibly his "Arab Coffee-house in Algiers."

—We have received from Mr. B. F. Stevens, London, three recent specimens of the admirable work of the Chiswick Press, of which he is manager. One, to begin with the smallest, is a 32mo reprint of 'Divine Breathings; or, A Pious Soul Thirsting after Christ in a Hundred Pathetical Meditations,' of which a fifteenth and the only known original edition was published in London in 1775. In respect of size and of the title-page, at least, this may be called a fac-simile, but the little volume is less remarkable for its typography than for the novel binding; the covers, inside and out, being stamped with gilt or printed with colored ink in a pretty vine pattern, of which endless variations suggest themselves. Dodd, Mead & Co. are the American publishers of this pious vade-mecum, in violent contrast with which, both as to contents and garb, are M. Louys Glady's two temptations to the bibliophile, namely, the Abbé Prévost's 'Manon Lescaut,' and Amyot's old version of 'Daphnis et Chloé,' to each of which M. Alexandre Dumas, fils, furnishes a preface. These volumes are genuine trophies of the Press. Their form is well chosen for the hand (4×6 in.), and 250 of the 333 copies printed are upon Turkey-Mill paper of beautiful quality. Each edition has its peculiarity of imprint, making it unique. The 'Manon Lescaut' has a delicate red line between the running-title and the text, both of which are in black ink. Red is used elsewhere, on the title-page, for the initial letters, and for certain quoted passages in the preface; but the red line was, M. Glady declares, never thought of before since books began to be made and adorned. It certainly lends great elegance to the page. The distinctive peculiarity of 'Daphnis et Chloé' is one much more trying to the pressman, for it involves the separate printing in color of the stops, even to hyphens, and apostrophes. This is true only of a limited portion of the volume—in fact, of the title-page, *avis*, and preface, and of the running-titles. But the entire text is in blue for the body color, plentifully interspersed with passages or even sentences and words in red. The blue by itself we have found not disagreeable to the eye; the combination not very restful. However, the *édition Glady* is not meant so much for readers as for collectors, and it is just as well that it should be so and that the edition should be limited. M. Alexandre Dumas expressly warns off a large class of readers, the young of both sexes, leaving their elders to judge if he be not right in praising the pagan 'Daphnis et Chloé' for its Christian graces, and declaring its God to be preferable to the God of 'Paul et Virginie'; so that mankind would fare better (supposing the race to spring up anew after another Deluge) with the former than with the latter, had these two works alone escaped destruction. This is fantastic enough, but in his introduction to 'Manon Lescaut' his morality is even queerer; and he actually contrives to make the comment more objectionable to a pure mind than the text. In short, if the bibliophiles only knew it, they have in Dumas's prefaces something more curious than the publisher's *filet rouge* or *tirage à part*. M. Glady's next venture in the same series is to be La Rochefoucauld's 'Maximes,' limited to twenty-two copies at fourteen dollars each! And Dumas's 'L'Homme-femme' will follow, in red and blue.

—The Annual Report of the President of Harvard College is unquestionably the most important and instructive periodical contribution to educational literature in this country. That for 1877–78, now before us, is as remarkable for its facts and its suggestions as any of its predecessors. To what other college report should we look for a discussion

of the scholarship system as judged by its practical results for twenty years; for statistics of the working of the elective experiment and the experiment of voluntary attendance at recitations; for a challenge to boarding-housekeepers in the shape of a table showing the local retail prices of provisions in 1858–9–60 and 1878; for the latest account of the progress of the examinations for women? Nor is this all that is interesting between these covers, for the heads of the several schools and departments, the Observatory, the Library, the Museum, etc., all have something to contribute to the impressive picture of the vitality of the University, and the hold which it has upon a vast and generous circle of alumni and friends. Mr. Winsor's proposal to place electric lights in the roof of the reading-room, in order to keep it open in the evening, is a type of the spirit of improvement which has of late years so transformed the institution.

—Apart from the prices of board at Memorial Hall, what will most engage the attention of parents of slender means is President Eliot's vindication of endowments in aid of poor scholars. We shall be greatly surprised if it do not also have the effect of multiplying the endowments themselves, rapidly as they have increased in the past ten years. The whole number of scholarships is now 112, and of these 32 have been added within the decade. The money paid on them during 1852–78 has been $275,634 20, and the present annual payments amount to about $25,000. The recipients for the twenty years 1853–72 numbered 280, of whom all graduated but seven, and all but twenty-eight survive, though eight have been "utterly lost sight of, nothing having been heard of them for years, either by the college authorities or their classmates." To the remaining 237 a circular letter was addressed by President Eliot, calling for an account of their occupation since leaving college, of their opportunities of usefulness, of their health, and of the influence of the scholarship upon their subsequent career. The answers to these questions have proved extremely interesting, and have confirmed President Eliot's belief in the public utility of this kind of endowment. He gives a number of extracts from them in illustration of the several ways in which the scholarships afford support and encouragement to those whose education depends sometimes wholly upon them. He also attenuates "the fact that very little of the scholarship money paid out since 1852 has been repaid," by referring it to a natural lack of means rather than of a sense of obligation, and by arguing that repayment may be made "in services to the college, to learning, to young men in need of like help, or to education in general." That this sort of payment has been made is evident from the table of ascertained employments, as follows: teachers for life, of all grades, 63; ministers and missionaries, 32; lawyers, 87; physicians, 19; business men, of all grades, 26; librarians, 3; journalists, 6; civil engineer, 1. Law, physic, and divinity have a notable proportion of votaries; science a notable deficiency—a fact explainable, we suppose, by the comparative ease with which a start in medicine or in legal practice or in preaching can (or could) be made, the beginner maintaining himself, while studying, by teaching or otherwise. It would have been at least curious to enquire whether men who rely upon scholarships in coming to college have already a more definite choice of profession than the majority of students.

—Among the articles in the current number of the *Princeton Review* which discuss questions of the hour, that of Professor Draper on the political effect of the decline of faith in Continental Europe will be read with especial interest. His views are presented with a vigor of expression, a philosophical depth of insight, and a judicial impartiality which are decidedly impressive. At the same time we cannot but notice a fault sometimes remarked in others of his philosophic-historic writings—a dropping of the subject before the reader feels that he has quite reached the conclusion. Not only does the author draw no moral, but the reader is in doubt what moral he is expected to draw, or whether, indeed, any moral is intended or any general conclusion aimed at. In the opening pages we are led to believe that it is designed to show that Nihilism, Communism, and Socialism are all due to the decline of faith, which we naturally understand to refer to the wave of unbelief which is now sweeping over the Continent. We are then rapidly carried back to the Middle Ages, for the purpose, as the reader will suppose, of establishing this proposition. We are next shown how well the old religious system was adapted to prevent any such sentiments as those which give rise to the forms of Socialism now prevalent—a view which chimes in very well with the line of argument—and are informed categorically that it is the total extinction of religious belief which has given birth to the Nihilist, the Communist, and the Socialist. The reader now naturally expects to see the gulf of those centuries between the Reformation and the present era of infidelity bridged over, and to be shown whether it is to the latter or to the downfall of priestly control that the evil is due. But he is entirely disappointed. He is treated first to a most striking and picturesque view of religious society and ideas in the Middle Ages, in which its cruelty and absurdity are shown in the strongest light. Then, with a few remarks of a general nature, he is abruptly left hanging in mid-air, without any definite idea of the lesson he has been taught. We are sure that every reader of the *Review* would be glad to have Dr. Draper return to the subject, and be a little more specific as to the particular decline of faith referred to. We should also hope to see him consider the apparent deduction from his premises that humanity has no choice between a barbarous suppression of free thought—a return, in fact, to the policy of the Middle Ages—and the steady growth of anarchical principles among the uneducated classes. Other articles which will attract attention are a review of the Monetary Congress and coinage legislation from the double-standard point of view, by Professor Walker, and an article by Judge Cooley on the inter-State surrender of fugitives from justice.

—The last number of the *American Law Review* contains an elaborate article on inter-State extradition which shows how the notion of executive "discretion," such as that claimed in the Kimpton case by Governor Rice, of Massachusetts, has grown up. As the writer of the article, Mr. I. T. Hoague, points out, there is no evidence that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, or for half a century later, anybody dreamt of the existence of such a right. As to the judicial view of the subject, he says: "A review of the judicial opinion upon the character of the obligation imposed upon the State and the executive shows that the courts have almost uniformly held that the duty is imperative, and that the executive has no legal right definitively to withhold a warrant when the papers are regular." The process by which State governors have gradually inflated their jurisdiction in extradition cases from the mere ministerial duty of identifying and surrendering the fugitive into the judicial function of trying and pardoning them, the trial involving an enquiry into the *motives* of the State in demanding the extradition, is a curious illustration of the dangers which are inherent in the exercise of any one's irresponsible power. Mr. Hoague seems to think that there is no remedy for the present chaotic condition of things savethrough the action of the States themselves; that Congress cannot interfere. He says: "There appears to be no possible way by which the question of executive discretion can come before the courts in a manner to secure a direct judicial opinion upon it." We cannot see, however, any reason why the general Government should not provide for a judicial determination of such questions as arise in extradition cases.

—The *Law Review's* article does not touch upon extradition between sovereign governments, nor on the question of the trial of fugitives for offences other than those for which they have been surrendered. We see that the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, in a case recently reported, has decided in favor of the view that such trials are contrary to the spirit and letter of our treaty with Great Britain. This view we have always maintained in these columns, and the opinion of the Kentucky court, in which the arguments pro and con. are thoroughly examined, puts the matter on the ground that we have always urged, viz., that inasmuch as the whole practice of extradition rests on treaty stipulations, each country must be strictly governed by these, and, as in the Treaty of 1842 with England, there is an enumeration of extraditable crimes, to secure the surrender of a fugitive for one of these, and then to try him for a crime not extraditable, is practically a violation of the Treaty. Mr. Fish's theory that the omission of any reference in the Treaty to religious and political offences was due to the fact that a surrender for such offences was on both sides regarded as "inherently impossible," and his curious comparison of this omission to the absence in the "laws of Solon" of a punishment for the crime of parricide, is not treated with much consideration by the Kentucky court. The case in which the decision was rendered was that of a man named Hawes, indicted in Kentucky for forgery and embezzlement. He fled to Canada, and, having been extradited on the charge of forgery under the Treaty of 1842, the Kentucky prosecuting attorney undertook to try him on the indictment for embezzlement. The judges decided not only that he could not be tried for this offence but that he must be discharged from custody. This case is referred to with approval by Judge Cooley, of Michigan, in the interesting article in the *Princeton Review* referred to above, in which he discusses the subject of executive "discretion," and reaches the conclusion that the claim of State governors of a "discretionary authority

to obey or refuse to obey requisitions" is one of the chief difficulties in the process of extradition between the States. His article also contains a remark (made in reference to the Kentucky decision), which we may commend to the attention of Mr. George Bliss. "To obtain the surrender of a man on one charge, and then put him upon trial on another, is a gross abuse of the constitutional compact. We believe it to be a violation also of legal principles."

—There seems to be trouble brewing between the *Tribune* and the *World*, two newspapers which, though not always taking the same view of political questions, endeavor to treat each other, as a rule, even when engaged in what is popularly known as "controversy," with forbearance, if not deference. The *World*, for instance, has studiously refrained from touching upon the vexed question of the cipher despatches, and the same motives of delicacy which have governed its action in this case have prevented the *Tribune* from expressing any opinion upon the struggle on behalf of free municipal institutions which the *World* has been engaged in against the "Council of Four," or, in other words, the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. The *World* has recently made a great journalistic hit in its Christmas "prize-questions," a device for increasing its circulation and the interest of its subscribers, which, though we believe not original with it (the idea having been taken from an English paper), has proved a remarkable success. It is a well-established fact that there is no exertion which will not be made for a competitive prize, even though the amount of labor and time involved is out of all proportion to the object in view; and taking advantage of this fact the *World* has developed and brought to perfection a new branch of journalism, and, better still, of Sunday journalism. The Sunday newspaper, as those who are familiar with the journalistic world know, differs from the ordinary secular issue in containing even more food for study than the latter. Whether because it is felt that the profession ought to take a higher stand on Sunday than on other days, or because many contributions which are "crowded out" on secular days for "want of space" are found at the end of the week to be well fitted for the contemplative mood of the Sunday-reading public, the paper is certainly made on the first day of the week a very different thing from what it is on any other day. The subscriber generally finds that not only has the editor provided him with the usual amount of news, but has given him in addition an exciting tale, several poems, a number of extracts from magazines and reviews, and even information and advice on various subjects, such as the proper method of cooking particular dishes, the means of economical housekeeping, the proper behavior of persons contemplating the formation or rupture of matrimonial engagements, and so on. There is nothing more indicative of the trusted position which those who follow the profession of journalism are gradually acquiring in the community than the assumption of this advisory character by the Sunday newspaper. It is clear that it could not be successfully assumed without great mutual confidence. The *World's* "prize-questions" show how far this will go, for with the exception of the mutual trust inspired by long experience there was absolutely no guarantee of judicial fairness or impartiality in the distribution of the prizes, inasmuch as it was impossible for those who took part in the competition to tell whether they had answered such a question as "Who invented milk-punch?" or "Who wrote 'Rattle his Bones over the Stones'?" either better or worse than other unknown competitors. Yet such was the trust which the management of the Sunday *World* justly inspired that several hundred persons are understood to have entered the lists, and the distribution of the Christmas prizes is to be followed by another at Easter, the questions for which are harder and more ingenious than the first list. In fact, it may be said to be quite as remarkable that any one should be able to ask the questions as that anybody should be able to answer them. Why this well-earned professional success should have aroused the jealousy of the *Tribune* we cannot understand.

—The company which Mr. Wallack has got together for this winter at his theatre is certainly far superior to any stock company in the city, unless it be that of the Union Square; but the production of Mr. Paul Merritt's "At Last" seems almost like a wilful attempt to try the effect upon the public of a thoroughly second-rate play thoroughly well acted. The plot of "At Last" is not absolutely new: we have the familiar character of the trusted clerk in a mercantile house who is wrongly accused of a forgery which has really been committed by one of the junior members of the firm; his wife, who suspects him of infidelity to her; the forger himself, who is in love with the wife; and the two comic characters, who marry each other in the end. *Richard Roxby*, the clerk (Mr. C. F. Coghlan), disappears and is supposed to be dead; *Annie Roxby*, the wife (Miss Coghlan), thinking him dead, agrees to marry *Austin Granby*, the forger; when, of course, her husband returns under an assumed name, while at the same time *John Garland* (Mr. Wallack), who is looking for *Roxby* (as the latter supposes to hand him over to the police, but really to make clear his innocence), appears on the scene. In the end there is a reunion between husband and wife, the forger is discovered, *John Garland* marries *Mrs. Sparkleigh* (Miss Effie Germon), and all ends happily. The low comedy was furnished by Miss Germon and Mr. Floyd, who has great skill in taking the part of the imbecile lover. Mr. Wallack, as the bluff, honest, self-sacrificing *John Garland*, acted particularly well, and Miss Coghlan did as well with her part as its peculiar nature admitted. The author seems to have made the mistake which dramatists of the present day so often fall into, of imagining that a psychological study apart from action can be interesting on the stage. In a novel, where the reader has time to follow the delicate play of motives on character, and the *growth* of character itself, analysis may be pushed very far, as every one who is familiar with George Eliot's novels well knows. On the stage, where everything must be striking and where there is little or no possibility of the author's playing the part of chorus, the vacillation of a woman's emotions, except so far as they are closely connected with the action of the play, are of little interest. We can easily imagine *Mrs. Roxby* in a novel a very interesting character; on the stage she is chiefly enigmatical. But taking the play for granted, we have not seen better acting for some time. Mr. Wallack, whose defect is exaggeration, showed no tendency to overdoing the part of *John Garland*, and Mr. Coghlan acted that of *Roxby* with all his usual delicacy and refinement. Miss Effie Germon, too, was very strong as *Mrs. Sparkleigh*.

—To the lover of the stage the fortunes of a theatre like Wallack's are necessarily more than ordinarily interesting, because its management is generally marked by a desire, not too often apparent elsewhere, to keep up the standard of legitimate comedy. The difficulty of doing this may, in a certain sense, be gauged by the performances of such a theatre. The prevailing taste of to-day is distinctly opposed to what is commonly known as legitimate, or what used to be called "genteel," comedy, having been completely vitiated (a lover of the old drama would say) by sensation melodrama and burlesque. One great difficulty, too, in keeping up a stage devoted to it is, that there is so little in existence. For a revival the "School for Scandal" or the "Rivals," or even the "Road to Ruin," will do very well; but the attempt to keep these plays permanently alive anywhere has always of recent years failed. There are not more than a dozen modern English plays to take their place, Byron, Robertson, and Gilbert being almost the only dramatists of the last twenty-five years who have succeeded in producing dramas which have a distinct character and interest. The discovery that it is much easier to pirate or import French plays than it is to get good ones written in English has flooded the stage with the dramas of Sardou, Dumas, and other Parisian dramatists, the success of whose plays in this country is a striking proof of the non-national character of the modern theatre in English-speaking countries. If we were not perfectly familiar with the fact, it would seem incredible that one theatre (and that one of the best in the city, the Union Square) should be almost exclusively devoted to the production of new French plays. This, however, is not "legitimate" comedy; and Mr. Wallack, we believe, rigidly excludes French plays, as such, from his theatre. But the straits to which he is driven are shown by his bringing out a play like "Forbidden Fruit," which, as produced by him, was English only so far as the names of the places and people were concerned. Wallack's is, in fact, after a gallant resistance for many years, obliged to yield to a certain extent to the current, though it still does what it can to make the public taste conform to its traditions—a task which, when undertaken with a genuine modern comedy like "Ours," is generally more successful than in the case of revivals.

—The recently published report of the hearing before the City Council of the City of Cambridge on a late petition for the protection of the purity of the water-supply of that city, suggests some interesting points. The water comes from a pond on the borders of the city; and a large slaughter-house is being erected on the further side, in the adjoining town of Belmont, near enough to threaten very serious injury, and arouse great alarm. The city has no jurisdiction there, and the town of Belmont cannot see any harm in a plan that adds so much to its taxable property. The State Board of Health cannot act under the statutes creating it until damage is actually done, and the city cannot wait until the soil around the pond is poisoned. Proceedings against the nuisance by information

of the State-Attorney were not proposed. The only plan advocated was to purchase the land around the pond, and then to obtain from the legislature jurisdiction over it, with power to extinguish the ice-rights which make the spot especially suited for slaughter-houses. This indirect remedy would involve unknown but certainly very great expense, and its success would be extremely uncertain ; but it was alleged to be the only way of protecting the purity of the water upon which the health of the city depends—a position full of interest to other cities whose water may be similarly endangered. Perhaps the most curious thing about the matter was that it was shown that the city had for a long time been itself doing, on a large scale, the very thing complained of in Belmont—no less than three city sewers emptying on the swampy tract immediately adjoining the pond ; and that this swamp with almost no outlet, and separated from the pond only by embankments and an imperfect wooden bulkhead, had already been complained of as an intolerable nuisance by another adjoining city. The matter has been put over by the City Council to another year, and it has not apparently as yet occurred to any of the city fathers that a sewer to carry all this filth off to salt-water would have its strong points.

HODGSON'S MEMOIR.*

THE Rev. Francis Hodgson is known as the translator of Juvenal, the provost of Eton who, among other reforms which made his administration illustrious, abolished Montem, and the friend to whom Byron addressed some familar poems. This memoir of him is written "on the principle that a man may more accurately be known by his friendships than in any other way," and since among Hodgson's friends were cultivated men like Scrope Davies, Harry Drury, and J. H. Merivale, besides Lord Denman the Chief-Justice, Lord Byron and his sister, we have here two volumes of entertaining correspondence. The new matter relating to Lord Byron, to whose affairs mainly we shall confine this notice, is especially interesting because it shows how he revealed himself to Christian friends, and the estimate they placed upon his character and conduct. Byron came to Cambridge early in 1808 to obtain his M.A. degree, and there first met Hodgson, who was a Fellow and Tutor at King's. Both were ardent disciples of Dryden and Pope, and followed similar pursuits ; a closer bond existed in the fact that Hodgson had lately printed a satire upon the *Edinburgh Review*, in reply to its severe criticism of his Juvenal, and Byron was then meditating the "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." A warm attachment was formed, and during Byron's absence from England on his first voyage to the East, Hodgson was his only English correspondent except his relatives, as is more than once somewhat bitterly remarked by the poet in a series of characteristic letters. Few new facts are contained in these, but they afford fresh illustration of his moods and habits while abroad. Here is a compliment to his fellow-traveller, Hobhouse : "I am for Greece, Hobhouse for England ; a year together on the 2d of July since we sailed from Falmouth ; I am confident that twelve months of any given individual is perfect ipecacuanha." And here is a glimpse of his Athenian life : "My domestic affairs being, moreover, considerably deranged, my appetite for travelling pretty well satiated with my late peregrinations, my various hopes in this world almost extinct and not very brilliant in the next, I trust I shall go through the process with a creditable *sang froid* and not disgrace a line of cutthroat ancestors. . . . Talking of marriage puts me in mind of Drury. . . . I will never forgive matrimony for having spoiled such an excellent bachelor. . . . My Attic feast went off with great *éclat*. I have had a present of a stallion from the Pasha of the Morea. I caught a fever going to Olympia. I was blown ashore on the island of Salamis, on my way to Corinth through the Gulf of Ægina. I have kicked an Athenian postmaster. I have a friendship with the French Consul and an Italian painter, and am on good terms with five Teutones and Cimbri, Danes and Germans, who are travelling for an academy." Again : "I am returning *home* without a hope and almost without a desire." Hodgson met him in London, and shortly after Byron enclosed to his friend the following lines, which by some strange chance have hitherto escaped publication :

"NEWSTEAD ABBEY, Aug. 26, 1811.

I.

" In the dome of my sires, as the clear moonbeam falls
Through silence and shade o'er its desolate walls,
It shines from afar like the glories of old ;
It gilds, but it warms not—'tis dazzling, but cold.

II.

" Let the sunbeam be bright for the younger of days ;
'Tis the light that should shine on a race that decays,
When the stars are on high and the dews on the ground,
And the long shadow lingers the ruin around.

III.

" And the step that o'erechoes the grey floor of stone
Falls sullenly now, for 'tis only my own ;
And sunk are the voices that sounded in mirth,
And empty the goblet, and dreary the hearth.

IV.

" And vain was each effort to raise and recall
The brightness of old to illumine the hall ;
And vain was the hope to avert our decline,
And the fate of my fathers has faded to mine.

V.

" And theirs was the wealth and the fulness of fame,
And mine to inherit too haughty a name ;
And theirs were the times and the triumphs of yore,
And mine to regret, but renew them no more.

VI.

" And ruin is fixed on my tower and my wall,
Too hoary to fade and too massy to fall ;
It tells not of time's or the tempest's decay,
But the wreck of the line that have held it in sway."

The habitual moodiness of Byron was at this time deepened by the successive deaths of several dear friends, among them the brilliant Charles Skinner Matthews, to whose influence Byron's friends attributed much of his scepticism, and Hodgson chose this moment to press upon him the consolations of religion. The letters of Byron in reply are flippant and boyish, and contain no original statements or thought, but they form the most explicit account of his scepticism. He dwells on the fate of the heathen, and contrasts the morality of the Mussulmans he has seen with that of worldly Christianity, and says he "will have nothing to do with your immortality," being miserable enough already. He objects to the Atonement as unjust and inadequate, and continues (to quote a characteristic passage) : "You degrade the Creator, in the first place, by making him a begetter of children ; and in the next you convert him into a tyrant over an immaculate and injured Being who is sent into existence to suffer death for some millions of scoundrels, who after all seem as likely to be damned as ever. . . . I trust that God is not a Jew. . . . And our carcasses which are to rise again, are they worth raising ? I hope, if mine is, I shall have a better *pair of legs* than I have moved on these two-and-twenty years, or I shall be sadly behind in the squeeze into Paradise. . . . *I deny nothing*, but doubt everything." Doubtless the last sentence sums up the whole matter as it then lay in his mind. It is clear that Hodgson's effort at conversion was more the act of a friend than of a clergyman, and was made with great kindness and tenderness. William Harness, who was present at Newstead with Hodgson and Byron at this period, writes : "I cannot even now, at a distance of more than fifty years, recall those conversations without a deep feeling of admiration for the judicious zeal and affectionate earnestness (often speaking with tears in his eyes) which Dr. Hodgson evinced in his advocacy of the truth." Byron says he was sincere in these letters, and there is no reason to suppose he was not ; but those who believe he was insincere in his poems will find an amusing confirmation of their opinion in a note which Hodgson affixed to the "Epistle to a Friend," written to him at this time in reply to a poetical epistle of his own. When he gave the lines to Moore for publication he marked for omission the following lines, which Moore nevertheless published :

" But if in some succeeding year,
When Britain's 'May is in the sere,'
Thou hear'st of one whose deepening crimes
Suit with the sablest of the times ;
Of one whom love nor pity sways,
Nor hope of fame, nor good men's praise ;
One who, in stern ambition's pride,
Perchance not blood shall turn aside ;
One ranked in some recording page
With the worst anarchs of the age :
Him wilt thou *know*, and, *knowing*, pause,
Nor with the *effect* forget the *cause*."

In the margin we read, "N. B. The poor dear soul meant nothing of this. F. H.," and we are reminded of Scrope Davies telling Byron a year or two before that his actions were "much more like silliness than madness." Not long after this Byron did one of the few generous acts of his life and gave Hodgson a thousand pounds to extricate him from debt, and, from Bland's account of Byron's talk over it, it appears to have been done in a spirit which it is very pleasant to know of.

Passing on to the days of the marriage of Byron, it is nearly impossible to believe, in view of this correspondence between Hodgson and Byron's sister, Augusta Leigh, that any great crime was the cause of the separation of Lord and Lady Byron. At first, as we know, all was rose-color. Hodgson writes to his future bride, "He is likely to be *as happy as*

* 'Memoir of the Rev. Francis Hodgson, B.D., Scholar, Poet, and Divine. With numerous letters from Lord Byron and others. By his son, the Rev. James T. Hodgson, M.A. In two volumes.' London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1878.

I am." Immediately after the marriage Mrs. Leigh writes to Hodgson, "I think I never saw, or heard, or read of a more perfect being in mortal mould than she (Lady B.) appears to be, and scarcely dared flatter myself that such an one would fall to the lot of my dear B. He seems quite sensible of her value." These expressions of Mrs. Leigh's sense of Lady Byron's worth continue long after the separation. When the separation took place, unexpectedly to all, Mrs. Leigh summoned Hodgson to London ; and he, seeing no better course, appealed to Lady Byron in two letters, of which only one remains, but both Lady Byron's replies are preserved. In his own letter he says :

"After a long and most confidential conversation with my friend (whom I have known thoroughly, I believe, for many trying years), I am convinced that the deep and rooted feeling of his heart is regret and sorrow for the occurrences which have so deeply wounded you ; and the most unmixed admiration of your conduct in all its particulars, and the warmest affection. But may I be allowed to state to Lady Byron that Lord B., after his general acknowledgment of having frequently been very wrong, and, from various causes, in a painful state of irritation, yet declares himself ignorant of the specific things which have given the principal offence, and that he wishes to hear them, that he may, if extenuation or atonement be possible, endeavor to make some reply ; or, at all events, may understand the fulness of these reasons which have now, and as unexpectedly as afflictingly, driven your ladyship to the step you have taken."

To this Lady Byron replies, "I married Lord Byron determined to endure everything whilst there was *any* chance of my contributing to his welfare. [So, too, Mrs. Leigh to Hodgson, "Lady B. *sets about* making him happy in quite the right way."] . . . My security depended on the total abandonment of every moral and religious principle. . . . The circumstances shall not be generally known while Lord B. allows me to spare him. . . . You will continue Lord Byron's friend." In her second letter she writes : "I believe the nature of Lord B.'s mind to be most benevolent. . . . In regard to any change which the future state of Lord B.'s mind might justify in my intentions, an amicable arrangement would not destroy the opening for reconciliation." Reconciliation was still possible, then, and her missionary work might begin anew. No one can read the correspondence through without deepening the impression that the separation resulted from the natural interference of two so diverse natures, that Lady Byron may have harbored some fancied wrong of which she had no certain evidence, and that Lord Byron never knew, except indirectly, what was charged upon him. As he himself said, the causes were too simple to be easily discovered. Lady Byron's character is satirically but accurately, as we believe, described in the irony of her gardener, who, "seeing a beautiful flower in full bloom on a neglected pathway, observed 'Lady Byron would have called that a weed.'" Afterward Hodgson seems to have modified his high opinion of Lady Byron. "My God ! how cruel, how utterly revengeful is the letter of his *widow*," he writes to Drury. Not long after Hodgson's failure to effect a reconciliation Byron left England, and but few letters passed between the friends. Hodgson's career was brilliant and useful, but Byron's estimate of him, in a letter to Moore, is substantially just, and with it we must close this notice : "I hear that Hodgson is your neighbor, having a living in Derbyshire. You will find him an excellent-hearted fellow, as well as one of the cleverest ; a little, perhaps, too much japanned by preferment in the Church and the tuition of youth, as well as inoculated with the disease of domestic felicity, but a very worthy man." We were surprised to see the author of the memoir attributing the lines written in his Bible to Byron's own pen, and regretting their omission from his complete works. Byron appears to have quoted from memory, at least incorrectly, the lines,

"Within that awful volume lies, etc.,"

which Sir Walter Scott puts into the mouth of the White Lady of Avenel ('The Monastery,' p. 213, vol i. ; Scott's Complete Works, Riverside Poets, vol iv., p. 215).

KING'S SYSTEMATIC GEOLOGY.*

AMONG innumerable geological surveys in this country and elsewhere the exploration on the line of the fortieth parallel has, for various reasons, excited high hopes of considerable results, and particularly because it undertook to make one continuous section of the earth's crust through the broadest expansion of the American mountain system, at right angles to the great line of mountain elevation. Such an effort, properly directed, could hardly fail to make the rocks yield their secrets, and perhaps tell the story of their birth with a clearness never yet attained. The task is now done. After more than ten years' labor, Mr. King sums up the results of his own and his associates' work in this volume on the systematic geology of the region they have surveyed. Four similar publications by his associates have already appeared, together with a series of superb maps. The present volume, last in order of time, but numbered as first in the series, is devoted to a general view of the scientific results and conclusions of the survey, all the more interesting because of Mr. King's very high reputation, in regard to which, strangely enough, the popular impression seems for once to be in accord with scientific opinion.

The book contains eight chapters, the first and sixth being respectively the introduction and the résumé of the stratigraphical geology. Between these come four chapters which form the bulk of the volume, and may be almost said to contain a practical treatise on the systematic geology of the four great periods of geological time—the Archæan or Azoic, the Palæozoic, Mesozoic, and Cenozoic ; so complete is the picture which is offered by the region surveyed. Each of these chapters is accompanied by an exquisitely finished map, with supplementary maps of the glaciers and lakes of the glacial period. The seventh chapter deals with the subject of tertiary volcanic rocks, with a section embracing volcanic rocks in general and another map. Finally, an eighth chapter with four maps deals with the orography of the district, or the nature of its mountain elevations. Here, then, is a systematic section, covering sixteen degrees of longitude, or some eight hundred miles of contiguous mountain ranges, and disclosing all the broader divisions of geological time through not less than 125,000 feet, or more than twenty-two miles' thickness, of visible sedimentary deposits. The briefest possible summary of its results is, of course, all that can be attempted here at present.

Of the Archæan or Azoic period 60,000 feet of eruptive granites or metamorphic crystalline schists are displayed, representing an original sedimentary deposit of at least twice that thickness. The metamorphosis from sedimentary beds into crystalline schists took place before these were folded up in mountain ranges, and under the pressure of a very great thickness of material which disappeared before the Palæozoic age, so that the division between Azoic and Palæozoic is sharp, and even the granites which, together with the metamorphic crystalline rocks, form the Archæan bed-rock, never intrude through fissures or crevices into later deposits. The Archæan age is perfectly distinguishable and distinct from all that followed. Subjected to immense changes even in Archæan times, one single fracture or fault presenting a face of 30,000 feet, far exceeding any known recent example, the Archæan bed-rock offers nevertheless so clear a boundary line as to give great simplicity to the whole geology of the region, while its features have controlled subsequent topographical features and acted as the local cause of modern mountain ranges.

Mr. King gives a conjectural section of the Archæan topography. At his eastern limit in Colorado and Wyoming the Medicine Bow and Park ranges were then, as they still are, the highest elevations. To the westward of these masses a series of depressions, broken at intervals by local elevations, extended some 600 miles to longitude 117° 30′, where continuous highlands began, of unknown altitude and area, but extensive enough to be considered as a continent, and called for convenience' sake the western continent Pacifis. In this long stretch of 600 miles the most remarkable single feature was the sudden fault which threw up the Wahsatch range 30,000 feet above the region to the westward, making of the Wahsatch the great line of topographical and geological demarcation between the country east to the Mississippi and west to the Sierra Nevada.

What passed between the Archæan and the Palæozoic age is unknown, but when next the record becomes intelligible a huge ocean stretched from the Pacific continent eastward, in which the summits of the Wahsatch and Medicine Bow, where they appeared at all, appeared as islands. During another indeterminable era of rest, deposits which, amounting only to about 1,000 feet in Colorado, deepened to 40,000 feet on the more rapidly subsiding coast of Pacifis, were laid down by the Palæozoic ocean. Then followed the most extraordinary of all orographical phenomena. The Archæan continent Pacifis, which during countless ages had poured vast masses of detritus in layers ten and fifteen thousand feet thick on the Palæozoic ocean floor, which bent and sank under the weight, now, instead of rising lighter on account of the lost material, suddenly and with a vast catastrophe sank and became the floor of a Mesozoic ocean, while at the same time the whole region to the eastward, as far as the Wahsatch,

* 'Systematic Geology. By Clarence King, U. S. Geologist.' Illustrated by twenty-eight plates and twelve analytical geological maps, and accompanied by a geological and topographical atlas. Washington : Government Printing-Office. 1878. Pp. 803.

rose above the water and became a Mesozoic continent, sending down in its turn vast masses of detritus to the westward, thus restoring the lost material to its ancient place, until, at the close of the Jurassic age, 20,000 feet of conformable sediment had accumulated upon the Archæan ocean-bed.

East of the Wahsatch this great change was not felt. A shallow sea still washed the few Archæan islands, and the Mesozoic sediment was deposited conformably on the east carboniferous strata, from the Wahsatch as far as Kansas. But while this long period of undisturbed ocean deposit continued on the eastern side to the close of the Mesozoic, another profound disturbance at the end of the Jurassic age had again elevated the region of the submerged Pacifis, and, by a process of shrinkage amounting to ten per cent. of linear compression, had created long ranges of mountain peaks which rose as islands in the cretaceous ocean. This arrangement lasted until a post-cretaceous disturbance uplifted the whole region of the Cordilleras and banished the ocean from it. Since this upheaval no marine waters have ever invaded that portion of our continent. Their place was taken by huge fresh-water lakes, the deposits in which mark the passage of all more recent time. The Pliocene period produced an upheaval along the old line of the Wahsatch fault, tilting the whole district on the eastward and giving it a free drainage to the sea; while on the west it left two deep depressions which, in Quaternary or recent times, received the waters of the glacial age and made the beds of two huge lakes, of which the Great Salt Lake and Carson Lake with the neighboring waters still remain. There was, however, no general glaciation, and the region had no share in the ice-bed which covered the northern part of the Appalachian continent. Its glacial system was comparatively feeble.

In all this series of movements the most remarkable are the startling vertical elevations and depressions, and especially those which occur along two lines of weakness, one at the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada, the other at the western base of the Wahsatch. At this latter point there is proof of an Archæan dislocation of thirty thousand feet, and an Eocene dislocation of forty thousand feet, besides smaller movements. Extreme elevation and extreme depression went together on the same weak line through geological time.

The ordinary and recognized type of depression is that of a loaded area sinking slowly into the solid earth under the gradual accretion of enormous sediments in ocean bottoms, the equilibrium of the earth's crust restoring itself by a similar slow movement of expansion elsewhere. This well-known process of subsidence is frequently seen on the fortieth parallel, but side by side with it appears a very different type—enormous faults which bear every sign of having been violent and catastrophic, indicating in one extreme case not less than eight miles of vertical movement; lines of fault permanent through eras of time such as no one would venture to express in years; continents elevated to an abnormal height, then gradually lightened by denudation of some miles of superincumbent thickness of rock, and finally suffering paroxysmal depression. Mr. King has been the first observer who has given careful study to this phenomenon, which really represents a new geological force and offers a problem so interesting that, if the laws which regulate it could be ascertained, geology might become a science in a new sense, and many of the most serious difficulties in studying past and even future changes in the earth's history might be overcome. Tremendous as the riddle is, Mr. King has undertaken to grapple with it. He suggests a possible solution which, in the want of facts that belong to the region of terrestrial thermodynamics, he does not pretend to work out with a formula. This theory will be found on pp. 700–705 of the volume. It rests on Sir William Thomson's theory of secular refrigeration, but it is far too technical to bear abbreviation, much less criticism, and we leave it to scientific periodicals to discuss.

No such difficulty stands in the way of stating Mr. King's law of the genesis of granite. This is a merely mechanical theory, intelligible even to laymen. Sedimentary beds subjected to direct superimposed pressure powerful enough to sink them to the necessary thermal conditions become crystalline schists and gneisses. If thereupon a sufficiently powerful horizontal or tangential pressure supervenes, the previous arrangement of the strata is broken up and the beds crowded into a structureless mass, the more compact crystalline forms suffering least, the long and slender ones most; while, out of this crushed material, under the necessary conditions of heat and tangential pressure, granite is formed.

The most satisfactory part of Mr. King's work, next to its scientific thoroughness, is the breadth of view which embraces in one field the correlation of such extended forces, and the vigor of grasp with which the author handles so large a subject without allowing himself to be crushed by details. Hitherto every geological report has been a geological itinerary without generalization or arrangement. This volume is much more; it is, indeed, almost a systematic geology in itself, and might be printed in a cheaper form and used as a text-book in the technological schools. Right or wrong in his theories, Mr. King could hardly fail to stimulate his students. Our Government has produced much excellent scientific work, and has gained a high reputation for these publications; but if it has produced anything more creditable than this survey, we have not yet seen it.

Pearls for Young Ladies, from the Later Works of John Ruskin, LL.D. Collected and arranged by Mrs Louisa C. Tuthill. (New York: John Wiley & Sons. 1878.)—Certainly no one would suspect that 'Pearls for Young Ladies,' appropriately tinted blue and gold color, was a collection of extracts, biographical, descriptive, and didactic, from Mr. Ruskin's printed works. Such however it is, and, in spite of a foolish title and a tasteless cover, the book is well worth the perusal of the class for whom it is designed, not because all the sayings are either wise or true, nor because the directions are specially adapted for modern life, but because all of it is illumined, enlightened, irradiated with that rarest of qualities—genuine enthusiasm. There is so much sham enthusiasm, and it is made so profitable to its exhibitor; there is so much fanaticism, and it is so often a powerful and most convenient motor, that those who have a distaste for imitations look dubiously even at the genuine jewel; but so long as Mr. Ruskin lives there will be one person, at least, of English speech who, spite of follies, blunders, and violences such as it is not given to most men to commit, has the divine spark. This book has some biographical sketches of Mr. Ruskin's early youth and his first education, as peculiar as the man himself, and one and another personal experience is dropped in between rules for the choice of books, occupation of time, dress, gardening, and fervent exhortation to high-minded choice and to the reconcilement of obedience and liberty, interspersed with some verses, a few stories, and one or two translations. Any reader who likes the book must get healthful stimulus from it, and we can quite believe that unsympathetic readers might find it highly amusing.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices*
Albert (C. von), Technologisches Wörterbuch, I. Deutsch-englisch-französisch, swd...	(B. Westermann & Co.)
Anderson (Prof. R. B.), Iulegave: Eventyr og Fortaellinger, 3d ed.	(Chicago)
Amerika ikke opdaget af Columbus	"
n norske Maalsag	"
Burnett (Mrs. F. H.), Jo s Daughter: a Tale, swd.	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.) $0 25
Constance: a Tale in V e	(Smith, Elder & Co.)
Fletcher (Rev. J. C.) a Kidder (Rev. D. P.), Brazil and the Brazilians, 9th ed.	(Little, Brown & Co.)
Hosmer (Prof. J. K.), ort History of German Literature	(G. I. Jones & Co.)
House and its Surrou gs	(D. Appleton & Co.)
King (M.), Illustrate and-book of Boston	(Moses King)
Legouvé (E.), Readi s a Fine Art	(Roberts Bros.)
Modern Fishers of M swd.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 50
Pascoe (C. E.), The matic List	(Roberts Bros.)
Premature Death	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Richardson (J.), Ne onography	(Harroun & Bierstadt) 50
Signor Monaldini's ece: a Tale	(Roberts Bros.)
Sherman (J.), Selec Speeches and Reports	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Thomas (L. B.), A eam of Arcadia: Poetry	(Turnbull Bros.) 1 00
Trollope (A.), An for an Eye, swd	(Harper & Bros.)
Véron (E.), Æsthe s	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

E. F. Bickford 20

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1879.

The Week.

ONE of the most wholesome speeches of the session was that delivered in the House on Wednesday week by Mr. Bragg, of Wisconsin. The occasion was a Southern "loyal claim" for supplies furnished the Union Army, and Mr. Bragg improved it to denounce the Southern Claims Commission, on principle, and to express his surprise that these claims should receive the votes of ex-Confederate members. He said he had heard that the South would remain "solid" for the Democratic party only so long as the latter was liberal in making allowances from the National Treasury, and he desired to give notice that the sooner the Southern wing "went over" (on this understanding) the better: its place would be quickly filled from the North, when the Democratic party was seen to be the guardian of the Treasury. The complement of this speech, which caused great excitement among the "brigadiers," was made in the Senate by Senator Hill, of Georgia, who declared his opposition to loyal and disloyal claims alike, and that it was high time the South learned to repair the losses of the war by industry and frugality, and give up dependence on national aid. If they wished to avoid such losses in future, they must avoid war. We probably have not seen the end of these debates, and we need be in no hurry to do so, for they are a good sign. What is meant when a Southern white says he is a Democrat? is a question which has been long calling for an answer.

The Senate has passed the House Refunding Bill without dissent, and the Consular and Diplomatic Bill; and the Naval Appropriation Bill, after Mr. Blaine had wasted a good deal of time in advocating amendments which he saved from defeat by withdrawing, and in dodging Mr. Edmunds's patronizing thrusts at him for his "record" and his great expectations. On Thursday it passed the important bill modifying the existing law of patents; and twice during the week it refused by party votes to take up Mr. Edmunds's uncomfortable resolutions concerning the enforcement of the Amendments. The House has good-naturedly extinguished the bill of Mr. Wright, the Pennsylvania Communist, providing for a Government loan of $500 to every person wishing to avail himself of the Homestead Act; and has debated the bill introduced by Mr. Goode, of Virginia, devoting the proceeds of the sale of public lands to the common schools of the several States in proportion to their illiterate population. It is noticeable that this measure is approved by the "National Educational Association," as one of a series for "strengthening the Bureau of Education"; but it seems a rather costly method compared either with the abolition of the Bureau or the removal of the present incompetent Commissioner. The meeting on Tuesday next, in Washington, of the "Department of Superintendence" of this association looks like an attempt to exercise that sort of "pressure" upon Congress which in its more subtle forms is called lobbying. On Tuesday the House passed peremptorily, by 155 to 72, the unconstitutional bill from the Committee on Labor and Education restricting Chinese immigration to fifteen on any one vessel. Three-fourths of the minority were Republicans, but for a still larger number Presidential considerations outweighed all others, and they voted against "equal rights" with the bulk of the Democrats.

The new Patent Bill, which passed the Senate on Thursday and has gone to the House, is the outgrowth of agitation, originally rather adverse to patents, which was fomented by the Granger interest and by the Western Railroad Association. The Senate Committee gave a great deal of time to the matter, and heard arguments pro and con. from parties interested. While the bill embodies some great improvements in the patent system, it also makes changes about which there will be diversity of opinion. For example, the second section, relating to suits for the infringement of patents, provides that an established license fee, if there be one, shall be the measure of the plaintiff's recovery, and in certain cases gives the court power to fix a license fee, and also gives the court power to award such sum by way of counsel fee and expenses of suit as it shall deem just and reasonable in cases where it is of the opinion that the suit of the plaintiff or the defence of the defendant was vexatious and malicious or the infringement wilful. The same section provides that "no account of savings shall in any case be allowed; and no evidence or account of the defendant's profits shall in any case be admitted, except as to actual profits resulting from making for sale or selling the thing patented or the product thereof." It is held, on the one hand, that this is a fatal blow to the worth of patents, and, on the other, that it ensures the patentee advantages which he has never had before. What the House will do to the measure, except amend it, is of course not to be guessed. A more unfit body to regulate the patent system could hardly be found.

The resolution introduced into the House last week by Mr. Windom, of Minnesota, for enquiry as to the feasibility of securing the emigration of negroes from those parts of the South in which the exercise of their political rights is prevented or hindered to other parts where it is not, overlooked the fact that there has been a great deal of emigration of negroes from one part of the South to another, and that it still goes on, under the influence of economical motives. That is to say, the negroes do move about a great deal in pursuit of cheaper or better land or higher wages, and it is a remarkable fact that to this emigration the States in which there has been most bulldozing—such as Louisiana and Mississippi—have been most attractive, because land can be had in them most readily. The explanation of this is that the great body of the negroes really trouble themselves very little about politics so long as they have fair security for person and property, which they have in as high a degree as the white man all over the South, except about election time. As soon as the election draws near and the candidates and managers appear on the scene, the trouble begins. We have had many enquiries into the political condition of the blacks; but nothing would do so much good just now as an enquiry by a competent commission into their social and economical condition, with the view of ascertaining the progress they are making in acquiring property and education.

The Joint Committee which was appointed to examine the Indian problem, and before which Secretary Schurz appeared, has divided equally, and one-half has made a report recommending the transfer to the War Department. It condemns in the strongest terms the whole of our past management of the Indians; treats President Grant's "peace policy" as a practical acknowledgment that the Indian Bureau was incapable of doing its own business; testifies fully to the zeal and fidelity of the present Secretary of the Interior and Indian Commissioner in trying to reform the Indian Administration, but declares that the accounts given of late of the advance of the Indians in civilization have been grossly exaggerated; denies that any improvement can be looked for, because there is no security for the proper dealing with the Indians at remote posts but the individual fidelity and honor of the agents, which is, under the present system of selecting agents, not sufficient; and prefers military officers on the general ground that they hold office during good behavior and are not appointed or dismissed from partisan motives. The signers give these opinions as the result, in part, of two months spent in the Indian country visiting the posts and tribes.

The flight and massacre of the Cheyenne Indians are a most dis-

creditable as well as deplorable incident. They left their reservation, in the neighborhood of Fort Reno, early in September last, and went northward through Kansas and Nebraska, plundering and burning, and were pursued by the troops, and finally captured. The cause of their flight was enquired into by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and he reported that it was not starvation, as the military men allege, for they were unusually well fed, though their coffee, sugar, and tobacco had been withheld according to law, because they refused to work. The Secretary of the Interior therefore, in his report, ascribed their flight to "pure cussedness," and in support of this view pointed to the fact that, while three hundred Cheyennes broke loose, four thousand seven hundred other Cheyennes and Arapahoes remained quiet on the reservation. Anyhow the "cussedness" seems to have gone very deep, for a portion of those captured, forty-nine in all, after long confinement in Fort Robinson, Nebraska, finding they were going to be sent back to the reservation, broke out of the prison, killed some of the guard with arms they had managed to conceal or procure, and were followed and shot down in great part, both men, women, and children. The remainder made their escape in the darkness, took refuge in a gully, were surrounded by the troops, and, refusing to surrender, were nearly all killed or wounded, fighting to the last with ferocious determination. There is no more miserable episode in the miserable history of our Indian administration, and the atrocity of it is deepened by the fact that it occurred while the Army and the Indian Department were fighting over the responsibility for the various Indian troubles. Anything, however radical, even the separation of the Indian children from their parents for education at the East, would be better than a system which, however managed, exposes the Government to the disgrace of these horrors.

The Supreme Court has decided the series of cases arising under the Pacific Railroad laws known as the "five per cent. cases." During Secretary Boutwell's administration of the Treasury Department the policy of withholding from these railroads the half of their earnings for Government transportation, which the law promised should be paid to them as it accrued (the other half being retained as part payment of their subsidy debt), was commenced. The companies brought suit to recover the money so withheld, and obtained judgment; but by stipulation it was agreed that the settlement of the account should be postponed until the Government could bring suit and prosecute the same to a final hearing for five per cent. of the net earnings of the roads from the date of their completion, which the law requires to be paid into the Treasury in further liquidation of the subsidy debt. The questions involved in the decision were: 1st, What constitutes "net earnings," and, 2d, When were the roads completed? The companies contended that net earnings were to be computed upon the sum remaining after deducting operating expenses and interest on all indebtedness, and that their roads were not completed until 1874, although put in operation from the Missouri River to the Sacramento in 1869. The Court decides that "net earnings" within the meaning of the Pacific Railroad acts are all the moneys earned after deducting operating expenses and interest on the first-mortgage bonds, which constitute a lien prior to the Government mortgage; also, that the roads were completed at the time when the companies accepted the last instalment of subsidy bonds, which the law prescribed should be delivered to them on completion. The "Crédit-Mobilier case" having been decided some weeks ago adversely to the Government, there are now no Pacific Railroad cases on the Supreme Court calendar arising under the acts of 1862 and 1864. Among the recent decisions is one declaring that the Government mortgage does not extend over the Denver Pacific Railway, although that road was originally a part of the subsidized Kansas Pacific, and that it covers the Kansas Pacific itself only so far as the subsidy extended—*i.e.*, from the eastern terminus to the 100th meridian of longitude.

The account we gave some time ago of the way in which the campaign telegrams were dealt with by the Republicans has been proved by the evidence taken this week before the Potter Committee to be substantially correct. Mr. Orton managed dexterously to avoid surrendering them to the House Committee, but handed them over bodily to the Senate Committee, of which the late Senator Morton was chairman. While there they were appropriated, in part, by one Bullock, the clerk of the Committee and a protégé of Senator Morton's, who gave them to Congressman Evans, of Indiana, on the eve of his (Bullock's) departure as Consul to Cologne, an appointment which he received about the time the Potter Committee began to be talked of. Evans, in turn, gave them to Brady, the Second Assistant Postmaster-General, also a protégé of Morton's, who examined them and sent some to the *Tribune*, and gave the rest to Mr. W. E. Chandler, who in turn sent some to the *Tribune* and gave the rest to General Butler. Brady was one of the "workers" during the canvass, and spent a month in Florida absent from his duties, "seeing that there was a fair count," to use his own words. The bundles of telegrams that were passed about in this way were, however, all Democratic apparently, and the desire of the witnesses to have them searched for "latent rascality" does not seem to have covered those of their own side, which have apparently been effectually disposed of. Brady testified that he went to the committee-room and sought out and removed his own telegrams from Florida, of course not because there was anything wrong in them, but simply to keep them "as relics." Bullock, our consul at Cologne, fearing this investigation, wrote home in November last begging Evans that his name might not be mentioned in connection with the matter—a singular request from a good man who has been instrumental in bringing villany to light!

We are glad to learn from the Albany *Evening Journal* that the failure of the Legislature since 1875 to reapportion the representation, in obedience to the Constitution, is to be "charged wholly and exclusively" on the Democrats. We felt sure that somehow the Democrats were at the bottom of this as well as other badness. That the Republicans could delay the performance of such an important duty until they got that eminent reformer, Mr. Conkling, back into the Senate has always seemed to us one of those monstrous suppositions which no right-minded man could entertain without wrenching his mental machinery. How the Democratic minority worked this mischief on the majority we do not as yet know, but we presume it was by the use of drugs. As the *Evening Post* points out, however, this year the Republicans will surely be able to do the work. The majority which has re-elected Mr. Conkling must be able to outwit the rascally Democrats this time. Minorities may be wicked and powerful, but a majority seeking earnestly to do its duty is no mean force.

During the month past two expeditions across the Mexican border have contrasted strongly with the incursions from both sides which several times during late years seemed to make war imminent. The first of these was a visit of Major-General Treviño (commanding the district immediately south of the Rio Grande) with his staff to San Antonio and Galveston, at which places the Mexican officers were entertained by General Ord, commanding the military Department of Texas, and by the local authorities and citizens, with such cordiality as to cause them publicly to express their high gratification. What may be considered in order of time as a return visit was arranged in advance, chiefly by enterprising merchants of Chicago, and was directed beyond Treviño's command. On the 16th inst. the excursion party, amounting to a commercial mission, was formally received at the National Palace, in the city of Mexico, by President Diaz, a spacious building placed at its disposal for the display of goods, and its members welcomed with great enthusiasm. Even Minister Foster, whose discouraging letter had been printed and distributed to the excursionists before their journey was completed, seems to have been carried away by the prevailing excitement so far as to promise "his heartiest co-operation." The present Administration in Mexico, as well as some of its predecessors, has been steadily in favor of railroads to connect with the north, not

only because they will facilitate trade, but for increasing military power over the States where international peace was threatened and where rebellion against the central authority was fomented. The advantage of railroads to any government, in the rapid transportation of troops and efficient superintendence, would be the same as is gained by our transcontinental routes through the Indian country. Accordingly, concessions have been liberally granted by successive Administrations, but unfortunately have generally fallen into the hands of mere speculators without capital, who were unable to start the enterprises. When Diaz, after a reasonable delay, abrogated former concessions, the speculators opposed his recognition, and predicted the failure of the new undertakings on the ground that there was no trade for railroads, in spite of the fact that each had in his own prospectus established the certainty of that trade. After the recent favorable arrangement with its English creditors, it is probable that Mexico will soon enjoy a useful system of railroads to connect with, but independent of, those which will be extended from our territory.

It has been an eventful week in Wall Street. The extreme ease of the money market, which has been fostered by Government deposits in the banks of over $50,000,000, not only stimulated the refunding of the public debt, but created the wildest speculation that has been witnessed at the Stock Exchange since 1865, when the volume of irredeemable paper was at flood-tide. The sales of United States 4 per cents amounted, during the week, to nearly $50,000,000, and $40,000,000 more 5-20s of 1867 were notified for redemption, making the total so notified this month $150,000,000. Railroad bonds and investment shares were eagerly sought, and advanced from 1 to 4 per cent. The speculation in shares was rampant, and the leading "fancies" were advanced from 3 to 12 per cent. Naturally enough, after so great and rapid a rise there was a collapse, and this came on Tuesday, when about one-half of this rise was lost, although subsequently a good share of the loss was recovered. In London money was very easy, but at times there were disquieting rumors of impending failures. About $10,000,000 of United States 4 per cent. bonds were sold there during the week by the syndicate of bankers made up of the European members of the old 4½ per cent. bond syndicate. The market here for sterling was weak and declined to fully 3 points below that at which specie can be exported, although at the close of the week this market was steady. Silver bullion in London advanced to 51*d.* per oz., but at this price encountered large sales by the German Government, after which the price fell to 50⅝*d.* to 50½*d.* The bullion value here of the 412½-grain silver dollar at the close was $0.8507. The enactment of the Pension Bill, which the President has signed, makes an outlet for the $30,557,000 silver dollars, and bullion in process of conversion into dollars, now in the Treasury; as well as for the $10,000,000 legal-tender notes held as a special fund for the redemption of fractional notes which have, without doubt, been lost or worn out, and which will never be presented. Why Congress should have passed, or Mr. Hayes should have signed, such a bill, which is now estimated to involve an outlay of $80,000,000, must seem incomprehensible to those who do not reflect on the inconvenience to parties and politicians and platform-makers which opposition to such a measure would entail.

Eight months have now elapsed since the conclusion of the Anglo-Turkish Convention by which the Sultan agreed to reform Asia Minor, under the superintendence of Great Britain. There have been various reports since then of the progress made, but there has been no authentic information about it until a correspondence between Lord Salisbury and Sir Henry Layard on the subject was published a fortnight ago in London. The correspondence began in August last and closed on the 4th of December. It shows that not only has no reform of any kind been effected, but that the prospect of any is very blue. Lord Salisbury asked Sir H. Layard to procure the organization of a gendarmerie in the Asiatic provinces, commanded by Europeans; the establishment of a court of appeals in each of the five important towns, to contain one European member with a veto power on decisions; the abolition of tithe-farming and tenure during good behavior for judges and revenue collectors. Sir Henry got an answer to all this in October, and in forwarding it says that nobody connected with the Turkish Government, except the Sultan and Safvet Pasha, wanted to entertain the matter at all; but at last the Sultan declared that he would like a gendarmerie such as described, with *some* foreign officers, and he would "draw up a law" about it; that he would also like good courts, and would be glad to have "the experience and knowledge of European legists" in organizing them, but did not see how he was to give Europeans seats in the tribunal; that he would also give the new system of taxation a trial, by establishing it first in one or two districts, so as to see how it worked (the pretence here, that its superiority to the present system would have to be ascertained by experiment, is very diverting); that he would give judges and collectors tenure during good behavior, subject to the condition that they might be dismissed "if their dismissal was recognized by the Imperial Government as indispensable for some great public interest."

This was not very satisfactory, of course, to Lord Salisbury, and some further correspondence followed, but Sir Henry brought it to a close by showing that, as a matter of fact, the Porte had no money either for the gendarmerie or for the courts; that the utmost it could afford to do was to establish tenure of office during good behavior, as this would cost nothing, and try the new system of taxation in some small district, and with this Lord Salisbury has to be content. The acknowledgments that both of them make in the despatches, about the Turkish Government and the governing capacity of the Turks are an amusing commentary on the Conservative view of the Turkish Empire as propounded in Parliament. Since the correspondence closed, however, a change of Ministry has occurred, which makes things look somewhat more hopeful; Khaireddin Pasha, of Circassian origin, who has held important offices under the Bey of Tunis and has shown remarkable capacity and cultivation, having been made Vizier, or Prime Minister, much to the disgust of the palace ring, who detest him as an interloper. It remains to be seen whether they will not oust him eventually. Safvet Pasha, whose place he took, has apparently tried to do so and failed; at all events, this is the construction put on the appointment of Safvet as Minister to Paris. Khaireddin, though a good Mussulman, is what we should call here a loose constructionist of the Koran, and sees no objection to appointing Christians to any office of the state. He has accordingly scandalized the orthodox world by making M. Caratheodori, a Greek, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The rock on which he will probably split is the finances, which grow worse and worse. The Turks are trying to get England to guarantee a loan of £20,000,000, partly to keep up the paper money and partly to restore the administrative machine, which the war has utterly wrecked. The accounts from Asia Minor describe something very like a dissolution of society.

A fresh crisis has arisen in France on account of the decision of Marshal MacMahon not to sign the decree making changes in the great military commands, and to resign if no alternative is left him. Simultaneously, the apparent determination of the Left to proceed to the impeachment of the Ministry of the 16th of May threatens to dissolve the present Ministry, and Gambetta is represented as fully bent on taking his revenge in this way for the late vote of confidence. Gen. Chanzy and Admiral de Pothuau are spoken of as probable successors to the Marshal, with whom, it must be confessed, the chances of compromise seem much poorer than they were when the De Broglie policy was in question. The Republican majority in the two Chambers is a guaranty that the public order will not suffer from the temporary lack of an executive, but the expectations of the future moderation of the Republic are likely to be greatly modified both in the rest of Europe and in France.

REFORM WITHIN THE PARTY.

THERE are probably some among us still who can recall the facts connected with an extensive political revolt in this country, raised ostensibly in behalf of Reform, and having for its object nothing less than the seizure of the highest places in the Government by persons calling themselves Reformers. It was alleged that the party in power, under pretence of looking after the interests of the negro, had become mainly an instrument of private pelf, that it had lost all respect for the Ten Commandments, that its only standard of morality was success, and that the surest avenue of success lay through some unguarded approach to the public treasury. It was contended that these evil practices had become chronic through long neglect, so that ordinary remedial agencies taken internally would have no effect to remove them. In the estimation of the so-called Reformers nothing short of prompt surgical treatment would avail to effect a cure.

The impartial historian is bound to record that the party thus assailed made few and feeble attempts to deny the allegations of the self-styled Reformers. Here and there a particularly brazen politician, who had been caught with cream on his whiskers, was heard to deny that any milk had been stolen at all. For the most part, evils were acknowledged to exist serious enough to engage the most earnest attention, and as an offset and general answer to the cry of Reform there was raised the opposing cry of Reform within the Party. It was held by the advocates of Reform within the Party—that is, by all except the limited number who denied that any Reform was necessary—that it was unphilosophical to resort to extreme measures without first trying more moderate remedies, and that the party contained within itself in a dormant state all the elements of Reform, which needed only to be set to work by familiar chemical agencies, as it were, in order to produce the desired results. How much better would this be than to kill the patient outright by way of restoring him to sound health! The promise of Reform within the Party had an alluring sound. By declaring in the platform of the year that "any system of civil service under which the subordinate positions of the Government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing," the revolt was considerably checked, but it will always remain a matter of doubt whether the opposing faction would not have carried the country, had they not taken for their leader a person so noted for his eccentricities that the majority preferred to postpone Reform a while longer rather than commit it to the hands of so jerky and wayward a practitioner.

Reform was postponed, and Reform within the Party had its own way during the space of four years, at the end of which time it appeared that the people did not like it and were determined to have a change. Reform within the Party was roused to fresh activity by the evidences of this intention, and actually prevailed so far as to choose a leader who, if he did not represent Reform, did not represent the opposite. The people voted by 250,000 majority for a change of an altogether different kind, but they somehow failed to bring it about constitutionally. Reform within the Party again had a chance to show what it could do. The earliest symptoms manifested were those of decided repugnance in the party to reform of any kind, and the impartial historian will be obliged to record the fact that, although President Hayes has done much in a negative way to restore the party to popular favor by abstaining from the bad practices which had previously brought it into disfavor, he has obtained no thanks, but on the contrary every possible mark of ill-will, for his pains. A more striking sign and definition, however, of the progress of Reform within the Party is manifested in recent elections of United States Senators in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The gravamen of the charge brought against the party when the ancient revolt took place was, that certain men occupying the highest places in its councils, and banded together like a college of Jesuits, had not merely got control of "the machine" but were using it for dangerous and corrupt purposes, so that the only way to shake them loose was to break "the machine" itself. Probably the most temperate and cautious Reformer of the remote epoch referred to would have said that his objection to these men and their system was that no act of maladministration and no scandal in public life had ever met with discouragement at their hands if committed by one of their own set (that is, by a component part of "the machine"), if concealment of it were possible, and hence that Reform within the Party was not to be expected through them, but the contrary.

The men most obnoxious to this criticism were undoubtedly Senators Conkling, Cameron, Logan, Carpenter, and Chandler. In one way and another all of them, except Conkling, were retired to private life. Cameron resigned, and Logan, Carpenter, and Chandler were disposed of by political throes such as come only on rare occasions when something particularly offensive has to be sloughed off the body politic. "The machine" made desperate efforts to save them, but to no purpose. They were each and all immolated on the altar of Reform within the Party. In the case of each there was a minority, a fraction, in the councils of the party determined that these men, at all events, should not go back to Washington to represent their respective States in the Senate. Even these fractions have now disappeared.

In the election of Mr. Logan the case is aggravated by the fact that the present incumbent of the seat is a man of a decidedly higher type of character, and of at least equal ability in the handling of subjects which ought to engage a Senator's attention. He is now serving his first term in the Senate, and, according to party usage, ought to have been re-elected if the Republicans were in the majority in the State Legislature. His only deficiency appears to be a lack of activity in the work of distributing the subordinate positions of the Government as rewards for mere party zeal—that is, in contravening the officially promulgated doctrines of Reform within the Party. In Wisconsin Mr. Carpenter's only rivals were the postmaster of Madison and the present incumbent, Senator Howe, each of whom has acquired something like a national reputation as a vigorous and untiring opponent of Reform either in or out of the Party. Mr. Carpenter's success over such antagonists is perhaps not to be attributed to a lower moral tone than anybody else in his State could boast of—the bolters who defeated him four years ago complained that he had boasted publicly of his share in the "back-pay grab"—but rather to his more clever and jocose way of defending practices which commonly excite prejudice in the public mind and lead to demands for Reform within the Party. In the neighboring State of Michigan also it appears that the revolution is moving backward too rapidly to wait for the ordinary course of Senatorial elections, so that Mr. Christiancy, who has proved one of the ablest and most useful members of the body to which he belongs, must needs be retired on a foreign mission or a seat on some judicial bench in order to give place once more to "Zach" Chandler.

All this is logical enough, and even necessary, if the party is making ready for the renomination of General Grant. To bring in another era of Robesons, Belknaps, Delanos, and Shepherds with any *éclat*, the presence of Conkling, Carpenter, Chandler, and Logan in the Senate is of vital importance; for since, by a perverse chain of circumstances, the Democrats have become the more numerous half of that body, the President ought *à fortiori* to be supported by men who have given proofs that they understand his methods and approve his conclusions. The thing most to be deplored, from this point of view, is the absence of a number of strenuous defenders of equal rights in the South. Patterson, Conover, Spencer, and Dorsey have very nearly ended their public careers, having fallen victims to Reform outside of the party, and having arranged to settle in places so far removed from their late constituents that their return to the Senate is not to be looked for. In default of the unflinching support which they brought to the last Administration, it is indispensable that the States of Illinois, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Wisconsin should stand firmly by the next one. As to the present one, it represents nothing but Reform within the Party, and deserves no support from anybody.

MALDEN PUBLIC LIBRARY

CONGRESS AND INTER-STATE COMMERCE.

THE Reagan Anti-Discrimination Bill is now before the Senate. The fact that a measure of this description has been able to make its way through the Lower House of Congress is indicative of a tendency which may effect radical changes in the relations of American railways to each other and to the community. It is one of the most momentous steps ever contemplated by the National Government, and will be found to involve far more than the provisions of the bill itself; for if Congress has the power to legislate on the subject of transportation at all, it may in the future interfere to a much greater degree than is now proposed. There has not been as yet any serious question of its Constitutional right to enact regulations of some sort which shall govern each important public factor concerned in foreign and inter-State commerce; but serious doubts exist as to whether Congressional supervision of railways might not lead to many new evils, worse in their effects than those which it is now sought through this means to cure.

We have not seen any formulated statement of the troubles which the proposed legislation is expected to remove, and probably none has been prepared. It is, however, well understood that a very intense feeling of dissatisfaction with railways pervades nearly all parts of the country. The causes for this bitterness, so far as they have been made public, are not the same everywhere, but the feeling in all localities differs rather in degree than in kind. Its most formidable manifestations until now have been the railway strikes and riots of 1877, and the rash and ill-considered Granger legislation of some years since. These were ugly symptoms, and to any careful observer were sure evidences of social disease, which, if not cured or ameliorated, would certainly again reveal itself in other and perhaps more destructive ways; but it has been and is extremely difficult to define the nature of the sickness, and hence almost impossible to secure any agreement upon suitable remedies.

Before judging whether Congress can be safely looked to for help, it would seem but prudent to have the whole subject laid bare; to expose to public view and to public discussion the railway customs which have irritated such multitudes into a craving for relief so imperative as to override their customary reverence for law. Conservative people deprecate present legislation further than to provide for intelligent investigation by a committee of carefully selected experts, under due national authority. In truth, however, actual legislative regulation, up to a certain point, is an essential preliminary to successful investigation. Congress must go so far as inflexibly to require absolute and continual publicity upon the part of railways, in all matters which concern their relations with the general public, before any certain knowledge can be gained, even through experts, of what is actually done in the way of discriminations. Plausible reasons can be urged against such publicity: It will be a revelation of policy to rivals, which is rarely a wise candor. The time requisite to make and announce tariff changes may and often will drive trade into channels which can act more promptly. But neither these reasons nor any others that can be produced against enforced publicity can, in our judgment, compare in strength or weight with the arguments in its favor. The secrecy which now veils all important railway business may almost be deemed the actual parent of most objectionable railway practices, so powerful are the opportunities for and temptations to folly, and worse than folly, permitted by its virtually impenetrable shelter.

Perhaps as glaring an evil as any which it stimulates is that disastrous exaggeration of wholesome competition known as a "Railroad War." All evils are but variations from a just middle course, wise in itself and good in its effects. Competition, within proper limits, is such a middle course. Monopoly is one evil extreme, and a mad commercial contest (not yet provided with a single distinctive name) is the other. Either extreme is full of harm to any community. As between the railway anarchy which has worked so much commercial injury for many years and the risks of a monopoly through combination, such students of the subject as Adams and Fink unhesitatingly prefer the latter; and they are undoubtedly right. If no better way can be found, we should welcome combination as at least promising a mitigation of some of the worst of our evils.

To persons familiar with railway history there is something monstrous in the daily effects of secrecy. A typical instance will better illustrate this than pages of description. The chief commercial officer of a railway, whatever his title, soon learns that his leading duty is to watch and outwit unscrupulous competitors. Perhaps a million bushels of wheat are to be moved from Chicago to New York. A convention of competitors (just adjourned) has resolved upon new rates, which are to be "firm" by all of their routes; but shipping is slack, empty cars are accumulating in the Chicago yards, and the shipper is wiser in his generation than railway officials. He calls on the agent of one of the roads, announces the magnitude of his proposed shipment, looks at the new rate and returns it with a gentle sneer, which is weighty with unexpressed pity for the innocent faith of his listener. "Your road is my choice, Billy, and on an even keel you shall always have my trade; but the fact is I can do better. Don't ask any questions; I can't answer them. It's not my interest to give away my friends." "Billy" is disturbed. He is not sure whether the shipper is lying or really has been offered a "cut"; but he is quite sure that "Tom," who solicits for the Fort Wayne, or "Joe," who is agent for the Blue Line, will "scoop this big lot" if he does not. At a critical moment like this, "Billy" sees with wonderful clearness how faulty is the organization of his company, which leaves him stranded, as it were, for lack of power to act instantly and on his own judgment alone. What weight have such considerations as conventions, agreements, policies, or even net earnings, on "Billy's" mind at such a crisis? None whatever. He even forgets that his road has just emerged from a six months' desperate struggle, stripped of much profit and staggering toward bankruptcy. It is nothing to him that his president has, through tribulation and unsavory concessions, helped frame, as a peace treaty among the recent foes, this agreement on which the ink of the signatures is not yet dry. He only feels the imminence of that danger which, as soliciting agent, it is his specific function to avert. He begs the shipper for an hour's grace, and telegraphs his general manager (one of the signers of the agreement) that Jones has two thousand car-loads to ship, and has been offered a "cut," but will not say how much or by whom. He testifies earnestly to the veracity of Jones, though he has frequently known him to lie to gain a trifle.

The manager has no trust in the sanctity of the agreement or the good faith of its signers. Previous experience and his own practices have destroyed all such faith. Two thousand cars are a huge lot for dull times. The coveted authority is presently given, with strenuous injunctions to guard against the matter "getting out." "Billy" pledges the shipper to a willing privacy, grants the "cut," and, with a deftness only gained by long practice, arranges all the details of its payment, so that if suspicion and accusations arise, the charge can be denied with literal truth. The regular public rates will be collected, and all the freight records will accord with the agreement; but perhaps twenty per centum of the weight in each car will be omitted from the manifest, or five cents per hundred will be allowed as back charges, or paid for some ostensible service never rendered; or possibly payment may be deferred till the rival railways shall have made their charges, and, after receiving an indignant plea of not guilty, dropped them for lack of proof. But the cheated roads are too clearly aware that the denial is only Pickwickian, and take the earliest chance to "get even" with their neighbor. Within a fortnight from its execution the agreement, obtained with so much difficulty, is as useless as a last year's almanac. The result of one such act, at the instance of a local agent, zealous, according to his light, for the interest of his company, has frequently cost the railways affected a round million of dollars without producing any offsetting good to the community. Enforced publicity in tariffs would go far towards making such calamitous actions impracticable.

It may be asked why under such circumstances the conservative and restraining power of railway directors and shareholders is dormant. Unfortunately, while they have power they lack knowledge. Few shareholders could judge such a case intelligently if spread fully before them; but this class of actions are seldom submitted even to directors. It is not extravagant to say that the chief commercial officer of any large American railway can make in any month a difference of from one to three hundred thousand dollars between the actual earnings and the earnings as they would have been at the rates avowedly charged; and can do this without the knowledge of any one but the chief accounting officer, to whom his order is commonly law. In the main it is probable that secret concessions are honestly made, and solely with a view to the best interests of the railway. It may also be fairly granted that so long as any carrier retains the power to and does give them, it will be frequently essential that rival carriers should meet such action by imitation. But the uncontrolled power to make concessions is a fearful possession, even when resting in honest and capable hands, and full of dangerous temptations to any venal or weak-principled custodian. If a shipper can induce such an officer to let his real car-load of lumber be thirty thousand pounds, and the weight charged for but twenty thousand, he can afford to share his illicit gains with the obliging official. If trade is heavy, such perquisites to the latter would soon exceed his moderate salary. Should his conscience balk at a direct division of the spoils, some speculation in lumber is easily devised, the fortunate issue of which the prudent shipper takes good care shall be well assured to his thrifty patron.

To the shareholders in railways full publicity is the only basis for sure protection against such designed or blundering spoliation. To directors who conscientiously haggle over a few dollars uselessly spent on the equipment of an office, and who honestly strive to guard faithfully the interests entrusted to them, publicity is the only potential check to these vast flows from the bunghole which they helplessly and, in the main, ignorantly permit. To the community, who feel the oppression of favoritism and discrimination, absolute publicity is essential, in order that from a knowledge of what discriminations are actually made a reasonable judgment may be formed of what can safely be permitted. If the bill now pending should result in a law which, through effective provisions and penalties, ensured the destruction of every form of secrecy in relation to railway compensation for every kind of service, it would confer benefits upon the country far beyond the power of any one now to estimate.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY'S EXHIBITION.

PARIS, January 10, 1879.

THERE is something very natural in our tendency to hide our treasures; it requires an effort to bring them to the light. During the last great Exposition of 1878 the National Library—the largest library in the world with the exception of the British Museum—made this effort. For weeks, I might say months, when I was on my way to the reserved Manuscripts Department, I saw workmen in the great and magnificent gallery still called after Mazarin, that leads to the secluded corners where lie so many thousands of undisturbed manuscripts. I asked them what they were doing; they told me that the Library was preparing its Exhibition. Day after day I saw the work done; it was hardly achieved before the Exposition was close to its end, and as there was no advertising in the newspapers nor any mention of the Exhibition in the press, I suppose very few foreigners had the opportunity of seeing what may be called the gems of our finest library. Fortunately the Exhibition of the Rue Richelieu will survive its object; it has produced such an effect on the chosen public of the bibliophiles that it will become permanent; and I have no doubt that it will soon be as well known as the Musée de Cluny or the Galerie d'Apollon at the Louvre. Every lover of books, of manuscripts, of fine bindings, will make a pilgrimage to the place which has been so admirably arranged by M. Delisle, the eminent Director of our National Library.

I think that this Exhibition will be of great utility to many countries. Take America, for instance: I doubt if there is a country in the world where the pleasures of literature are more universally valued than in the United States, and where money would be more cheerfully spent for fine books. I have before me some books edited and printed in America which can support comparison with the finest books made in Europe, for the quality of the paper, the character of the types, and some of them for the beauty of the illustrations. But it always seemed to me that the Americans, who have studied the art of printing so well, have not concerned themselves enough with the art of binding. I have received from America some beautiful books which were very badly bound. The margins were almost cut away, instead of remaining as large as possible; the backs and the sides were covered with the most commonplace and wholesale sort of *fleurons*. I will not and cannot here enter into a study of the technical art of binding. I have often followed all its processes in the rooms of Trautz, of Thibaron, who are now our best binders. I can only say that binding is a most difficult art, and that a good binding is worthy to be called a work of art. I do not think that Trautz ever made the same binding twice; there is in every book coming out of his hands something personal, something original. This man, who could make any amount of money by merely putting his name on books, is so conscientious that he only turns out every year about two hundred volumes; he has only three workmen or workwomen; he does all the drawing of ornaments and gilding himself. For those who have not seen such men as Trautz or Thibaron (the pupil of Trautz) at work, it is almost impossible to imagine how much pains must be taken for one volume. But let them go to our Exhibition in the Rue Richelieu, and before the wonderful books of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, which have been fortunately preserved by our kings or by our great bibliophiles, they will see how a fine book, well bound, can become a sort of monument of the past—how it can be made to express its character, its tendencies, its ideal.

The bindings of the sixteenth century are in perfect harmony with the art of the Renaissance, with the originality and the splendor of the court of the Valois. The bindings of the seventeenth century have all the pomp, the majesty, the solidity of the art of the "grand roi"; they are serious, as well as rich; they belong truly to the time of Bossuet, of Corneille, of Pascal. You can even make categories in the same time. You can put aside in the seventeenth century the books of the Jansenists; they constitute a class which has kept to this time the name of "les Messieurs de Port-Royal," as they used to be called. When I say to my binder, "You will give to this book a Jansenist binding," he knows at once what I mean – a severe binding, without any glittering of gold, without any ornament; a mere piece of very good and solid morocco. We see in the transformation of the art of binding from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century the exact counterpart of the transformation which took place in the furniture, in the decoration of apartments, in the dress: severity gives way to grace; we enter into what the French call the *rococo* style; a binding is a sort of jewel, adorned with the most lavish amount of gold, and with mosaics of many colors, made out of various morocco. This eminently French art of painting was lost in the Revolution, with so many other things, like the art of engraving, which had been carried to perfection at the time of Moreau le jeune, of Eisen, of Gravelot, of Cochin. I doubt if you could find anything more ugly than the books bound for Napoleon I., for Louis XVIII., for Louis Philippe. The revival of the art has only taken place within twenty years, and it is partly due to the few bibliophiles who kept the tradition of the old times, and partly to our binder Trautz, a German by birth, but who had learned early to appreciate the character of the French bindings. Now we have in Paris quite a school of men who have been walking in the footsteps of Trautz; very able men, and very admirable workmen, but alas! they have not yet created what may be called a style. They merely attempt to reproduce and to combine the features of the old styles of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. But even in this sterility of invention, as well as in this curious capacity for imitation, for adaptation and combination, they prove again that all the forms of art, the humblest as well as the highest, are mere translations of the general thoughts of humanity. The architecture of our new houses and palaces has no style; why should our modest bookbinders be more inventive than our architects?

I have been, perhaps, led away too far from the Exhibition in the Rue Richelieu. In the first room, which precedes the great Mazarin Gallery, are to be seen the choicest specimens of binding which the National Library possesses. Quite by themselves are shown the bindings of Grolier. Jean Grolier was Treasurer of France; he was born in Lyons in 1479, and died in Paris in October, 1565. Most of his books wear the amiable designation, "Grolieri et amicorum"; and it was not a vain

word, as Grolier had generally several copies of each book—a proof that he lent them to his friends to read. It has been remarked that he never had two books bound alike; they are all in the same style, with very beautiful designs of great simplicity and nobility, more remarkable for invention, for curious combinations of lines and forms, than for mere splendor of gold and of color. M. Leroux de Lincy has written on Grolier a volume full of erudition, in which you may find the most complete list of the volumes of his library which have been traced thus far. I have seen, however, in the Exhibition of Art which took place on the Trocadéro a few volumes of Grolier's which are not on M. Leroux de Lincy's list. Grolier often had also on his books the motto, "Portio mea Domine sit in terra viventium," taken from the Psalms of David (Psalm cxli.) The National Library exhibits as many as fifty-two Groliers, and it has a good many more.

To the same period and somewhat to the same style are to be ascribed the books of the famous Constable of Montmorency. These books are exceedingly rare. It is curious to find among the great bibliophiles the rude and hard Constable, of whom people used to say: "Dieu nous garde des patenôtres de Monsieur le Connétable," as he used to mutter a paternoster between his teeth each time he ordered a man to be hung. The great motto of the Montmorency was "Aplanôs" (without varying); his arms bear the famous *alérions*, and his bindings always bear the great sword of the Constable of France. Montmorency was the owner of the Château of Écouen, now the property of the state, and of Chantilly, which fell into the hands of the Condé family after the execution of the last Montmorency under Louis XIII. Our library is rich in books of Maioli. These books often bear "Thomæ Maioli et amicorum" and the motto "Inimici mei mea michi non me michi." You will understand at once that *michi* stands for *mihi*. Sometimes this singularly obscure motto is replaced by "Ingratis servire nefas," which is too easily understood. The bibliophiles have a great regard for the books of Marc Laurin, who was Lord of Watervliet; his motto was "Virtus in arduo."

After these great names, which are, so to speak, the holy names of the worshippers of books, comes our great Jacques Auguste de Thou, who was so fortunate as to have his books bound by the great artist Nicholas Eve. The history of the Eve family has yet to be written; as many as three of them are known with certainty—Nicholas the first, Clovis, and Nicholas the second. They all were binders to the king; the first Nicholas worked for the sons of Henri II., for Henri III.; he followed the curious fancies of his sovereign, who always ordered the marks of the crucifixion to be put on his books—death's heads, the sponge, the lance of Calvary, the cross, with the motto "Spes mea Deus"; no emblems of royalty, no crown, and often no *fleurs de lis*. Nicholas Eve worked also for the famous Margaret of Valois, the daughter of Henri II. and the first wife of Henri IV. She had adopted, naturally, the *marguerite* (daisy) as her flower, and in the admirable bindings of Eve you will see the *marguerite* in every stage of development, together with all sorts of emblematic letters or figures—the sun, with its rays imitating the petals of the *marguerite*, the snail (I could never understand the sense of this emblem), etc. The modest binder for Henri III. and Margaret never signed any of these books with his name, as the meanest binder does now, but they have on them the mark of a real genius. The National Library is naturally very rich in books of our kings. Their beauty is really incredible; nothing can equal the fine books of Francis I., with their emblematic salamander, the bindings in mosaics of Henri II. and of Diane de Poitiers. These volumes can be placed among the greatest works of art of the Renaissance; they excel by far anything of the kind that was ever made in Italy. It is quite true that the impulse came from Italy, from Venice chiefly, through Lyons; but our artists gave to the new art a perfection which could not be surpassed. As the printing of Lyons and Paris soon surpassed in excellence the printing of Italy, the decoration of our books soon threw in the shade what was achieved in Venice or in Rome.

After you have examined all the royal books from the time of Louis XII. to the time of Marie Antoinette, you enter the great Mazarin Gallery, which is full of the most valuable works, of xylographic impressions, of the first books printed by Gutenberg and Fust, by Pfister at Bamberg, by Fust and Schöffer, of the curious books printed first at Strasbourg, of the first books printed in Italy, in Spain, in Bohemia, in Holland, in England, in Switzerland, in Denmark. Of course, the early imprints of Paris are well represented, as well as the earliest books of the various cities of France. In the same gallery are to be found the choicest illuminated manuscripts of the library; but these are so important that they would require a special description.

Correspondence.

KANSAS CITY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your valuable journal (issue of Jan. 19, 1879, p. 39), while justly and severely condemning Jackson County and Kaw Township, inadvertently does injustice to the City of Kansas.

The city covers territorially a part of Kaw Township, and the latter a part of Jackson County. All three are in Missouri, not in Kansas, as your article, by a slip, indicates. The affairs of the county and township, including the raising of money by taxation and the payment of bonds and coupons issued on behalf of each, are managed exclusively by a set of officers for the whole county, called a county court. You charge truly: "Jackson County and Kaw Township are both shameless defaulters." That *court* is, however, alone chargeable for this, and the city should not be censured nor punished for sins it is not guilty of.

The city is a separate corporation, electing its own officers, who are empowered to levy and collect taxes, and charged with the duty of paying its bonds and coupons. This has all been faithfully done, at least for the last four years, during which the present city charter has been in force, and will be hereafter. If the city could dictate the financial policy of the county and township the reproach against them would soon be wiped out. But this it cannot do. It is in bad company and must suffer some. It will do no good to punish it by repealing the $200,000 appropriation made by Congress for a custom-house and post-office for it. Doing so will only weaken the hands of those who in the past have had the city perform its promises to pay, and who propose that in the future it shall preserve its honor by paying its bonds. If the repeal of the appropriation for the reason you suggest, default of the county and township in payment of bonds, would be felt only outside of the city, it might do good—at least would be merited. But the repeal would injure the city very much the most, and maybe give much more satisfaction in parts of the county outside the city than to the unfortunate holders of county and township bonds.

The credit of the city is good. Its renewal bonds, issued during the last four years, have sold well. Capitalists knowing all the facts, and that county and township are both "shameless defaulters," have been glad to get them. One fact on which investors rely is that the present city charter, among other wise things, provides:

"Neither the Common Council nor any officer of the city shall have authority to make any contract or do any act binding the City of Kansas, or imposing upon said city any liability to pay money, until a definite amount of money shall first have been appropriated for the liquidation of all pecuniary liability of said city under said contract, or in consequence of any such act; said contract or action to be *ab initio* null and void as to the city for any other or further liability."

Under this charter the city four years ago began doing, and has since done, an exclusively cash business. It has found in the simple rule, Pay as you go, a specific for much of the evil so often inhering in municipal administration, and which afflicted it before it was governed as now.

Cash.

OUR SOUTH AMERICAN TRADE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: A letter signed "B.," in the *Nation* for January 9, criticises the proposition of Mr. Evarts to subsidize lines of mail steamers between the United States and South America, suggests that this plan would not have the desired effect of building up our trade with that country, and takes the view that our tariff is alone responsible for the smallness of that trade.

It seems to me that your correspondent "B.," like many other persons who entertain decided views upon the tariff question, is partly right and partly wrong; also, that his letter is a striking illustration of the fact that we are very apt to ignore facts in examining a favorite theory, and frequently carry arguments further than the facts will justify. As a merchant who has had some practical experience in endeavoring to do business with South America, both before and since the establishment of steam communication, I know that the principal obstacle to the development of trade with Brazil has heretofore been the lack of *regular* and *frequent* steam communication. The principal product of Brazil—coffee—is free of duty in the United States, and we import very largely of that staple, buying from Brazil four or five hundred per cent. more than she buys from us in return; and the principal reason why the

merchants in Brazil obtain their supplies from Europe is that they have very frequent steam communication and low rates of freight. These steam lines could not have been established had it not been for the liberal compensation for mail service which England and France gave at their inception, and continued until sufficient business had been developed to sustain these lines without such aid, a portion of which is still continued.

In the course of Brazilian trade we have a striking illustration of the correctness of the position taken by Mr. Evarts; but Buenos Ayres and the west coast of South America trade almost as strongly sustains the tariff argument of your correspondent "B." Two of the principal products of these countries are wool and copper, both of which are enormously taxed by our present tariff for the supposed benefit of our wool-growing and copper-mining interests. Hence, these South American products go principally to Europe, and the merchants of those countries would buy the bulk of their supplies there even if they had regular steam communication with the United States.

Still this does not prove that proper compensation should not be given for ocean mail service. If the argument that only postage should be given to carriers of the mails is to prevail, it would break up nine-tenths of the mail routes in our Western States and Territories; and those who argue against subsidies to steamship lines, to be consistent, should also oppose the giving of mail contracts to stage-coach, steamboat, and railroad mail routes in our sparsely-settled States and Territories.

Divesting this question of all tariff, currency, and other sophistries we must come down to the plain, business principle that, if we would compete for the trade of a certain country or locality, we must furnish equal facilities with other nations who are also catering for this trade; and it seems to me that we have got to have both a reduction of the enormous duty imposed upon some articles in our tariff list and lines of American steamers for quick communication; and, to my mind, the latter is decidedly the more important of the two requisites.

I recently had a practical illustration of the important bearing which transportation has upon business. Two retail grocers were competing for the trade of a certain outlying suburb, the people of which had for a long time, without solicitation from either grocer, purchased their supplies at whichever store they chose and taken them home the best way they could. One of the grocers conceived the idea of putting on a wagon, with a smart driver to solicit orders and deliver goods. As a natural consequence he soon absorbed a large part of the trade of the suburb, and his competitor found himself obliged to do the same thing in order to retain his portion of the trade. There is a strong analogy between this case and the present situation of the United States in regard to South American and other foreign markets. England, France, Spain, Italy, Holland, and other countries of minor commercial importance have all been sending out their steam messengers to the four quarters of the globe to solicit orders and deliver goods, while we in the United States have been attributing the paucity of our foreign orders principally to one cause, and, in my opinion, not the chief one.

The liberality with which we gave public lands and other subsidies to railroad enterprises occasioned a reaction in the public mind which was intensified by the revelation of the corrupt practices of the Crédit Mobilier and also of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, under the Stockwell management, until "Anti-subsidy!" became a popular political war-cry and has been echoed and re-echoed in the conventions of both parties, to the very great detriment of our export trade. A fraudulent insurance company does not prove that insurance, as a system, is all bad, nor an abuse in savings-bank management that there should be no savings-banks. If there have been abuses in granting subsidies, as there undoubtedly have been, let us guard against them in the future; if certain articles in our tariff are unduly protected, let us reduce the duties, but do not let us proceed in either case to an opposite extreme, which would be unwise and unprofitable. F. B. Thurber.

New York, January 20, 1879.

SHALL WE HAVE A SECRET BALLOT?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: During the recent municipal election in Boston, and to a far greater degree during the late gubernatorial election in Massachusetts, the privacy of the individual ballot was destroyed by the provision of colored ballots or tickets. This practice has been common in Massachusetts elections before, but perhaps never to such an extent as during the present year. During the State election it was a common spectacle to see the zealous committee-men of both sides sitting at the polls, with copies of the registration lists, checking off each voter's name as he voted with a red or black check, according as he voted a Republican or Opposition ticket, the committee-men being able to tell with certainty which way each man voted from the label, portrait, or color which distinguished his ticket. In the manufacturing districts it is reported that mill-owners had clerks stationed at the polls to keep tally of the way the employés voted, in the same way, and informed the employés that the tenure of their employment would depend on the way they voted as shown by the tally.

A few individuals were thus able to control the vote of a large population. To prevent the possibility of mistake, many Republican and other committees printed a certificate on the back of the ticket, of which the following is a sample:

"Cambridge, Nov. 5, 1878.
"This is the only genuine Republican ticket.
"Leander M. Hannum,
"Chairman Republican City Committee.
"Benjamin Dow, Secretary."

It was impossible to fold a bright yellow ticket with a red border, after the fashion of wall-paper, and a heliotype portrait of the "Favorite Son" surmounting the whole, and such a certificate spread at large on the back in the lithographed handwriting of the committee-man, in such a way as to make it a secret ballot. There was no escape for the employé but to write his ticket, and writing it was confession.

While the Senate Committee are investigating the "outrages" at the South, would it not be well also to investigate the "threats" and "intimidations" by which "a few individuals controlled the vote of a large population"? While the "tissue-paper ballots" of South Carolina and the "fan-tail tickets" of the West are calling public attention to the form of the ballot and needed changes therein, would it not be well to consider the question, Shall we have a secret ballot?

As bearing on this question, I cite the existing laws of Massachusetts and California on the form of the ballot.

The first Massachusetts provision now in force is found in the Revised Statutes of Mass., Supplement of 1854, Laws of 1851, chapter 226, entitled "An Act for the better security of the ballot":

"Sec. 1. All votes . . . shall clearly indicate, in writing or print, the office for which each person voted for is designed, and shall be deposited in the ballot-box in one sealed envelope, furnished as hereinafter provided, and no vote deposited in any other manner shall be counted."

Then follow provisions for the keeping and distribution of the envelopes by the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

This, we believe, has never been expressly repealed, but it was virtually repealed by chapter 7 of the General Statutes of Massachusetts, which chapter is entitled, "Of the manner of conducting elections and returning votes":

"Sec. 4. The Secretary of the Commonwealth shall provide and keep constantly in his office a sufficient number of self-sealing envelopes to supply all the voters in the Commonwealth, and shall furnish the same to the clerks of the several towns when applied for. Such envelopes shall be of uniform size and color and bear the arms of the Commonwealth, and no other envelopes shall be used at the polls."

Then follow provisions for distribution of the envelopes:

"Sec. 12. No vote shall be received by the presiding officers at any election provided for in this chapter unless presented for deposit in the ballot-box by the voter in person in a sealed envelope, or open and unfolded, and so that such officers can know but one ballot is presented."

The Act of 1874, chapter 376, which amended some sections of chapter 7 of the General Statutes, left the above sections in full force, and there has been no legislation touching the question since. Practically, the envelopes are unused and the ballots are folded; the opinion of the officers of election that "but one ballot is presented" being considered a satisfaction of the statute.

The California law presents a strong contrast. It is found in the "Political Code of the State of California," at chapter 8, entitled "Election Tickets and Ballots," to wit:

"1185. A ticket is a paper upon which is written or printed the names of the persons for whom the elector intends to vote, with a designation of the office to which each person so named is intended by him to be chosen.
"1186. A ballot is a ticket folded in such a manner that nothing written or printed thereon can be seen."

[The authority cited by the annotators of the code for this definition is Wharton's 'Law Lexicon,' title "Ballot."]

"1187. Every ticket must be of paper uniform in size, color, weight, texture, and appearance.

"1188. The Secretary of State must provide and keep constantly on hand a sufficient quantity of paper uniform in color, weight, texture, and appearance, without marks of any kind thereon, to supply the demand for paper for tickets."

After provisions for the disposal of this paper comes Article 1191:

"No ticket must be used at any election, or circulated on the day of election, unless—

"1. It is written or printed on paper furnished by the Secretary of State, or upon paper in every respect precisely like such paper;

"2. It is four inches in width and twelve inches in length, or within one-eighth of an inch of such size;

"3. If printed, the names of the persons voted for and the office designated are printed in black ink and in long-primer capitals—the name of the office in small capitals, and of the person in large capitals—and both without spaces, except between the different words or initials in each line;

"4. If printed, the same margin is left above the printed matter as below it, and the side margins are equal in size;

"5. If printed, the lines are straight and the matter single-leaded;

"6. If written, the matter so written that no sign thereof appears when the paper is folded; and,

"7. It is free from every mark, character, or device, or thing that would enable any person to distinguish it by the back, or when folded, from any other legal ticket or ballot."

Then follow provisions that no folding or unfolding, giving or receiving, exhibition, or request to see any tickets or ballots intended to be voted, shall be permitted within a hundred feet of the polls; that no device of any kind, or any distinguishing mark, shall be placed on the inside or outside of any ballot or ticket used by any person or class of persons; and then:

"1198. Every ticket, when used as a ballot, must be folded crosswise, four times from the centre, so as to make the ballot three-fourths of one inch in size, and must be pressed flat.

"1199. No ticket must be folded in a manner to indicate its contents when used as a ballot."

These are the principal provisions of the Code which relate to the secrecy of the ballot. The law savors of excessive legislation, but the question is, Shall the State enforce secrecy of the ballot by prescribing minutely all conditions necessary to that end?

Other States have similar provisions, but none go so far as California. The election law of the Dominion of Canada might well be cited if there were room.

Under the law in Massachusetts, and many States which have similar laws, the number of votes for each candidate can be accurately known at any hour of election day—the very condition which Tweed labored so hard to bring about—and the right of the voter is liable to subversion by outside pressure, "intimidation," and "outrage." What shall be the remedy? M. S.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Dec. 26, 1878.

[We agree with our correspondent in thinking that the form and color of the ballot are matters of growing importance. The great "onion-skin" frauds at the South, which the Republicans started in Florida in 1876, and the chief perpetrator of which now holds, or very lately held, a Government office in Washington, are signs of the times which need attention. "M. S." forwards us the Republican ticket used at the last election in Massachusetts. It is twelve inches by six, and has a flaming pink border which throws out branches towards the centre of the back, and has a Republican endorsement in letters half an inch in height.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

LITTLE, BROWN & CO. have just published a third edition of President Brown's 'Life of Rufus Choate,' the edition of 1869 being quite out of print. A fresh obituary notice (of Rufus Choate's older brother David) and several new notes increase the matter and the value of the work, a large part of whose public favor is doubtless traceable to the legal profession.——Mr. Sidney S. Rider's "Rhode Island Historical Tracts" have grown to No. 6, commemorative of the battle of Rhode Island, Aug. 29, 1778, of which the centenary was celebrated last year. In addition to the oration of the day, the contemporary English, Hessian, and American accounts of the battle are given, together with a general order of Gen. Sullivan, on the day after the battle, vindicating the good conduct of the colored regiment whose enlistment, with Washington's approval, from slaves thereby made freemen, is one of the most interesting events of this campaign.——The 'Hand-book of Boston' published by Moses King (Cambridge, Mass.) groups under fanciful chapter-headings a good deal of information about the city, and is plentifully illustrated in various ways and with various degrees of artistic excellence. The commercial character of the undertaking is too little concealed.——The American Book Exchange, in this city, has begun the publication of a cheap foreign-eclectic monthly *Library Magazine*, of better shape than print; and has, we know not by what right or arrangement, begun the republication of 'Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature,' in eight volumes of the same form and quality as the magazine.——'The Telegraph in America; and In Memoriam Samuel F. B. Morse and William Orton,' by James D. Read (New York: Derby Bros.), is a bulky collection of what seem to be cuttings from prospectuses and reports of telegraph companies, from newspapers and other publications; and contains, apparently, no important original contributions to either the science or the gossip of the subjects to which it relates.——The less technical contents of the latest Bulletins of Dr. Hayden's Geological Survey (Nos. 2, 3, 4, vol iv.), are Mr. J. A. Allen's discussion of Wallace's theory of the geographical distribution of animals, and Dr. Coues's field-notes on the birds of Dakota and Montana on the forty-ninth parallel. Important to the specialist is the White-Nicholson 'Bibliography of North American Invertebrate Palæontology'; and of wide interest the historical-descriptive catalogue of photographs of North American Indians, by W. H. Jackson, photographer of the Survey. This authentic ethnologic collection "embraces over one thousand negatives, representing no less than twenty-five tribes."——B. Westermann & Co. send us Part 20 of Spruner's Historical 'Hand-Atlas,' containing maps of Europe at the time of the Third Crusade, 1190; of the Slav realms, 1328–1480, and 1480 to 1689, *i.e.*, to the time of Peter the Great; and of Hungary in its ecclesiastical divisions from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the Reformation. Among the numerous side-maps are plans of the cities of Novgorod and Moscow. The same house have received the prospectus of the new edition of Stieler's 'Hand-Atlas,' only three years having elapsed since the last edition was finished. The marked deficiencies of the Central and South American maps will now be repaired by ten wholly new ones, and Stanley has made necessary a new map of Central Africa. The first part will be issued in February, and there will be 32 in all, embracing 95 maps, at 65 cents each. An important supplement, a map of the Mediterranean in eight sheets, begun by Dr. Petermann and completed by Dr. Berghaus, is offered at half price to subscribers to the main atlas.——American literature receives growing attention in France, especially in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in the pages of which Mr. Aldrich's "Reine de Saba" has been followed by Mr. Henry James, jr.'s "Quatre Rencontres," which will be recognized as the recent contribution to *Scribner's Magazine* called "Four Meetings." It is a little surprising that Mr. James's more important studies of American character as affected by European environment, notably "Madame de Mauves" and the "American," have not yet been transferred at length into French. Among the French Christmas books appeared 'Les Bébés d'Hélène, imité de J. Habberton' and illustrated by Bertall.——Provost Stillé, of the University of Pennsylvania, announces that he will admit, on personal application for tickets, fifty ladies to his February course of lectures on the history of the Eighteenth Century.——The publication of the *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* has passed into the hands of Wilhelm Friedrich, at Leipzig, having been heretofore published at Berlin. A change of which we can better appreciate the value is the abandonment of the Gothic letter. This useful periodical is now in its forty-eighth volume.

—An important announcement is made by the Cincinnati Musical Festival Association, of which Mr. Theodore Thomas is the musical director. They offer a prize of a thousand dollars "for the most meritorious work, for chorus and orchestra," to be performed at the Fourth Festival, in May, 1880. The competition for this "is to be open only to native-born citizens of the United States," and the work offered "must not occupy more than sixty minutes" in the performance. Other conditions are that "the full score and a piano score" must be placed in the hands of the president of the board of judges in Cincinnati on or before October 1, 1879, and that the real name of the composer shall be sent in a sealed envelope designated by the title affixed to the work. The successful author will retain his copyright, while the association pays the cost of publication, retaining some privileges. The only one of the five judges already named is Mr. Thomas, the president.

—All the requisites of a popular magazine are well met in the February

Harper's. Mr. James C. Beard's "Treasures of the Deep," discoursing of sea-shells, corals, the nautilus, sponge-fishing, turtle-catching, and other submarine industries, and beautifully illustrated; Mr. Benjamin's unliterary, yet hardly to be called dull, "Rambles in the South of France"; Commander Meade's pregnant sketch of the life of the late Admiral Hiram Paulding; Mrs. Gibbons's rambling but fresh observations on "French Farmers"—these, in one degree or another, will all repay reading, and will not be overlooked either. Mr. Mather's "Winter Sports in Canada" touches the subject somewhat too lightly, whether one's expectations are based on the title or the excellent woodcuts. By far the best traveller's tale in this number is Mr. Mauris's "At the Mouth of the Amazons," a lucid and impressive account of the Isle of Marajó and of the city of Pará; this, too, very prettily illustrated. Mr. Horace E. Scudder's "Education by Hand" (a misnomer for "Education of the Hand") treats of some Boston notions about manual training which deserve study and imitation. The question is whether the Institute of Technology, with its laboratories and Russian workshops, and the Industrial School Association (outgrowth of a very original Whittling School), are making good the apprenticeship system which Franklin supposed would last for ever. Mr. Scudder thinks not, but that we may yet see our way clear to grafting mechanical instruction upon the common-school system, just as drawing and sewing have already been added to it. To many readers the cream of this number will be the long series of Mendelssohn's letters to Madam Moscheles here printed for the first time in English. They are valuable as revelations of the writer's character, but have rather a domestic than musical interest, except for a few judgments here and there, and an unpublished composition on Heine's "Im Kahn." The letters of 1832–3 are full of allusions to the unmusical reputation of the Berlinese. "She [Madam Moscheles's sister] looked at me angrily, and asked what was to be got in Berlin, and who took any interest in music *there*." It is a pretty conceit of Mendelssohn's, when giving a pressing invitation to his correspondent, "I wish I could enclose a starling that could say, Come." The letters are abundantly annotated by Madam Moscheles.

—*Scribner's* for February emphasizes, as it has done before, its "leading article" with a portrait frontispiece. This time the subject is Emerson, the artist Mr. Wyatt Eaton, interpreted by Cole's admirable graver, and Mr. F. B. Sanborn says of the result that it "well presents the aged poet, now passing into silence." The picture perhaps reveals too strongly this transition, at least for those who knew Mr. Emerson in his prime, and who remember his features in all their strength and sharpness, and love to think of his face as the highest Yankee type of character. There are numerous other illustrations, all admirable, to "The Homes and Haunts of Emerson," of which no one is better qualified to speak intimately than Mr. Sanborn. What is noticeable in his point of view is the almost exclusive attention to the poetic side of Mr. Emerson's genius, and in this Mr. Sanborn no doubt anticipates the judgment of posterity, unless that is to be affected by the publication of his literary remains. We are told that—

> "Scarcely any of his numerous sermons have ever been published; most of his speeches on political and social occasions remain uncollected and unedited; many verses exist only in manuscript, or have been withdrawn from publication; and even of his lectures, from which he has printed freely for nearly forty years, a great many still remain in manuscript."

We must pass briefly over the other illustrated articles. The second instalment of "The Tile Club at Play" has more literary style and rather more substance than its predecessor, chiefly owing to the Club's having fallen in with a sweetheart of John Howard Payne. The praise given in the text to Mr. Quartley's luminous sketch, "A Catch of Menhaden," is well justified by the engraving on p. 464. Mr. Stedman's paper on "Aërial Navigation" disappointed us, whose faith, by the way, in the ultimate realization of the art is not inferior to his own. He seems to have set out on the principle that a problem well stated is half solved; but in the end are we not just as wise as we were before? Whether we imitate birds or fishes, the first desideratum is a motor; that once invented, the rest offers no insuperable difficulties. Mr. Russell Sturgis's paper on John Leech is, for obvious reasons, second in point of interest, as well as of time, to his other on Cruikshank. Worth quoting is the following remark:

> "It is not customary to consider Leech as an unfortunate man, an artist who never had a chance; but an essay could be written treating of his art from that point of view, as showing talents never rightly employed, rare gifts unsuspected by his contemporaries, and a tragic force which he hardly suspected himself."

The fac-similes are chosen with the discrimination of a connoisseur, and include examples of Leech's essays in etching and lithography, as well as of his designs for the block.

—The noticeable articles in *Lippincott's* are Mr. Edward King's first paper on "Hungarian Types and Austrian Pictures," Mr. John R. Tait's "A Hungarian Artist," Felix L. Oswald's "A Gate to the Nether World," and Maria P. Woodbridge's "The Latter Days of the Blennerhassetts." One of Mr. King's Hungarian types is the painter Munkácsy, and his admiration for the noble head of this artist will be confirmed for most readers by the portrait which subsequently introduces Mr. Tait's sketch of the romantic career of the same interesting personage. Mr. Tait's studio adjoined Munkácsy's at Düsseldorf some ten years ago, and the intimacy which thus sprang up has enabled the American to give us a very near view of an original and charming character. The article is agreeably written and effectively illustrated. Personal knowledge and the literary sense also distinguish Mr. Oswald's account of the origin of the Mexican volcano, Monte Jorullo, and its mischief-making for more than a century. There is strong probability that many years will not elapse before the Mexican capital will be connected with the railroad system of the United States, and whenever that event occurs there will certainly be tourists resolved to test for themselves the wonders of "the greatest natural curiosity of the American continent south of Niagara Falls"—the sixteen-miles-long volcanic ditch, namely, called the *barranca*, of which a good idea is given in one of the cuts. The latter days of the Blennerhassetts were full of wretchedness caused by poverty and the degrading and even dishonorable shifts of the father to obtain a living, and by the drunkenness and imbecility of the sons. The only bright spots in the gloomy picture here drawn are the constant affection of Mrs. Blennerhassett for her unworthy and unfortunate offspring, and the fast friendship of the Emmets, whose acts of charity to this stricken family would alone have merited the conspicuous monument in St. Paul's churchyard. In the "Monthly Gossip," admirers of Turgeneff will find something to arrest their attention in connection with the genius and personality of the poet Pushkin.

—In 1749 some amateurs acted Otway's "Orphan" at the Coffee-House in State Street, Boston. This, the first public attempt to introduce the drama into Puritan New England, was received with horror and dismay. A stringent law was passed in the next General Court by which all theatrical performances were prohibited, the owner of a building in which such performances should take place being liable to a fine of £20 "for each and every day or time," and the actors and spectators to a fine of £5 each. This law was successful in preventing all public acting for many years, though private theatricals were not uncommon. In 1792 a "New Exhibition Room" was opened with a variety performance, consisting chiefly at first of rope-dancing and gymnastic exercises. This probably proved an insufficient attraction, for on a later play-bill we find announced "A moral lecture in five parts, in which the dreadful effects of conspiracy will be exemplified." Under this guise the unsuspecting citizens were lured to see Otway's "Venice Preserved." Other plays, as "Romeo and Juliet," and "Hamlet," were also given as "moral lectures," or "moral dialogues." It was too flagrant an evasion of the law, however, and the "Exhibition Room" was closed in Dec., 1792, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the playgoers. There was evidently now such a strong public sentiment in favor of the drama that no attempt was made on the part of the authorities to prevent the building of the "New Theatre," on Federal Street. This was opened on Feb. 3, 1794, with a recital of a dedicatory ode by Robert Treat Paine, jr., and the performance of Brooke's tragedy, "Gustavus Vasa," and O'Keefe's farce, "Modern Antiques." Thus at length the drama obtained a permanent foothold in Boston. A new interest has been given to this event from the recent discovery that a number of the plays performed during this first dramatic season were published at the same time by David and John West. These were: "Hamlet," "Twelfth Night," "The Revenge," "Belle's Stratagem," "Natural Son," "West Indian," "Foundling," "Busybody," and "Provoked Husband." An additional value is lent to this discovery from the fact that the hitherto earliest recorded publication of Shakspere in this country is the edition of his works in Philadelphia, in 1795–6. It is, of course, possible that there will be brought to light earlier editions, but at present the "Twelfth Night" and "Hamlet," published in Boston in 1794, are the earliest known American editions of any of Shakspere's plays.

—The Bishop of Gloucester's hopes of advancing the gospel in India by occupying the Afghan passes and acquiring a "scientific frontier"

seem more bizarre than ever to those who apprehend the small effect already produced on the Hindu mind by missionaries and colleges. A recent writer in the *Academy* (for December 28, 1878) has undertaken to make this clear as regards Southern India. Writing of the Presidency of Madras, with a population of about forty millions (thirty-three millions in British territory), he shows that the annual number of graduates of the University and the Medical College falls short of one hundred, and that the only way in which they could work on so large a population would be by books and periodical publications, by which the higher and middle classes are, so far as literacy goes, quite able to profit. But there is not the least sign of such activity among these graduates, though printing-presses abound. Only six of them contributed to the 636 publications which appeared in 1877 in the Madras Presidency, and but ten other persons who had "had an education of the higher kind under Europeans." "So far as these books can be taken as a basis for an opinion, the University and high-schools might as well have never existed." The Hindu and Mohammedan tracts surpass in number those of all the Christian sects, while their medical books "are miserable trash, and there is no sign that European medicine has ever been taught in the country." The same is true of astronomy, for astrological publications are numerous, and the "almanacs are purely astrological and are full of the grossest superstitions," by which the Hindus of South India are completely ruled—a fact which, the writer thinks, explains "the impossibility of understanding the motives of the Hindus." Finally, "the educated Hindus nowadays wear as prominent sectarian marks on their foreheads as the most bigoted fanatics," and their former curiosity about European science and literature has been succeeded by utter indifference. Mr. Burnell asserts that in South India "the result of contact with foreigners has always been a revival of Hinduism," and believes that another such revival has undoubtedly begun.

—A late number of the *Revue Scientifique* compares the French workingmen's club, "Cercle Franklin," with the reactionary "Cercles Catholiques," founded in 1870 by the Comte de Mun. The purpose of the latter is, as might be expected, to bring the working-classes to accept the principles of the Syllabus, and to follow implicity the lead of the directing classes. The object of the *Cercle Franklin*, which now has about two thousand members, is to make the workingman capable of directing himself, and its methods are somewhat similar to those of the better kind of our Young Men's Christian Unions, with the religion carefully left out. Lectures, concerts (the hall seats eighteen hundred persons), a library, and periodical reading-room, classes in geography, history, science, a gymnasium, billiard-tables, fencing-rooms, offer to the members instruction, amusement, and exercise. The laborer brings his wife and children to enjoy and profit with him, with a certainty that neither his political nor his religious independence will be interfered with; he will not be urged to vote for this or that candidate, or offered prizes for good attendence at mass or confessional—a security very grateful to those who have felt the irksomeness of clerical pressure, and the difficulty of resisting those who, in the name of truths which one believes, urge him to practices which one despises. The Mulhausian *Cercle* will be another aid to France in keeping in that path of political sobriety upon which she has lately entered.

—Prof. Angelo de Gubernatis, the well-known author of 'Zoölogical Mythology' (London, 1872), has recently published a companion work devoted to the vegetable kingdom. The first volume, all at present published, bears the title, 'La Mythologie des Plantes, ou les Légendes du Règne Végétal' (Paris: Reinwald & Cie. 1878). The volume is devoted to "general botany," the material being arranged in the form of a glossary. The author in the preface gives a concise idea of the extent and importance of the subject, and the chronological and geographical "displacements" which have taken place in the mythology of plants. Among the most interesting articles are those devoted to the legend of the wood of the Cross, involving a discussion of the whole subject of Adam's fall, the mythical signification of the tree of life, and the fig-leaves that served our first parents for garments. Intimately connected with this article are those on the *arbres anthropogoniques* and the *bâton*. Under the title of *Bernacles* (*arbre aux*) the author examines the myth of the geese supposed to grow out of the barnacle-shell, and arrives at conclusions different from those of Max Müller, who ('Lectures on the Science of Language,' second series, p. 533) explained the myth by a confusion of the word *bernaculæ*, the Barnacle-goose (which he derives from *Hibernia*, *hibernicæ*, *hiberniculæ*) and *bernaculæ*, the Barnacle-shell (from *pernacula*, diminutive of *perna*). De Gubernatis, on the other hand, connects this myth with that of the *barometz* (the plant supposed to produce lambs), which he thinks gave a Latin diminutive *baranicula*. He has collected a large amount of material relating to the flowers and shrubs connected with the various ancient and modern festal days, or devoted to certain saints, or to which are ascribed magical properties. As in his 'Zoölogical Mythology,' he has drawn largely on the popular botany contained in folk-tales and popular customs and usages. The work was composed in French by the author himself, and is written in the same enthusiastic style as his other works. The conclusions he reaches will seem extreme to many, but all students of comparative mythology will be grateful to him for placing at their disposal in such a convenient form a large amount of valuable material. The second volume will contain the "special botany," in the shape of a glossary of individual plants, etc.

—Dr. Hans von Bülow is not so well known in the capacity of a literary man as his great predecessor, Liszt, but once in a while he writes a letter or an article which usually contains some bright ideas and a few positive criticisms well worth having. Two years ago he wrote for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* an article in behalf of the young Russian school of composers, which he thinks is destined to take the place of the modern Italian school, now in its final agonies. The present is an opportune moment for recalling this opinion, in view of the recent sale at Paris for non-musical purposes of the famous Italian Opera, which, in the golden age of the peculiar æsthetic monstrosity known as the lyrical drama, used to be the nightly rendezvous of the wealth and fashion of the French capital, every box being a sort of private reception-room. It is also an open secret that the director of the Italian Opera at Berlin has been brought back from the very brink of ruin by the timely arrival of Patti, whose magic gifts sufficed to make even the Berliners for a moment forget their antipathies. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Italian Opera and Patti will be buried in the same grave. The older Italian music, on the other hand, of the Palestrina epoch, is now becoming better known every year, which is an encouraging sign of the times. There is still room, however, for new musical currents, and it is to be hoped accordingly that Von Bülow's sanguine expectations of the Russians may not be disappointed. In a late number of the Leipzig *Signale* he calls attention to a new *geniale Neuling*, Herr Rimsky Korsakoff, of St. Petersburg, "who stands to Tchaikoffsky in somewhat the same relation as the latter does to Glinka, the father of Russian music." Tchaikoffsky the doctor considers a genuine tone-poet, whose new string quartette in E flat minor, second symphony, and orchestral fantasia, "Francesca da Rimini," have fairly intoxicated his ear by their freshness, vigor, depth, and originality. Outside of Germany, Von Bülow thinks, the best music is nowadays in St. Petersburg and in Paris, by Saint-Saëns, Lalo, Massenet, and Delibes. Rubinstein is nowhere mentioned, but artists, like editors, are not in the habit of alluding to their rivals. And then Rubinstein can scarcely be classed with the Russians, for he is a thoroughly German musician. This tendency in prominent non-German composers to follow the strong current of German music is rather to be regretted than otherwise. The tendency of modern intellectual culture being to wipe out all national differences in the habits of thought and manners of different peoples, it is very much to be desired that in art, at least, may be preserved some traces of that local color which gives life and variety to our æsthetic impressions. Those who are familiar with several languages know what a luxury it is to pass from an English to a French or German book once in a while; and, although the French style is the most polished, nobody could wish that all books should be moulded on the French type. From this point of view Chopin, whose every note is tinted by the national Polish sadness, is of such great importance that his compositions must be regarded as a rich vein of gold amid the general silver ore of German music.

BISMARCK AND DR. BUSCH.*

FEW writers have ever succeeded by a single act in arousing such an immediate and violent thunderstorm of abuse as has Dr. Moritz Busch by the publication of his diary recording the after-dinner talk of Bismarck during the Franco-Prussian war. To understand this it is only necessary to know how frank and unsparing the Chancellor is in his criticisms of men and things, and how he never fails to impress his views on all minds by the vigorous and pointed or sarcastic way of expressing them. A phrenologist, after reading Dr. Busch's two volumes, would confidently declare *à priori* that on Bismarck's skull there must be a deep

* 'Graf Bismarck und seine Leute während des Krieges mit Frankreich. Von Dr. Moritz Busch.' 4th edition. Leipzig: F. W. Grunow; New York: B. Westermann & Co.

concavity at the place where the bump of reverence for mundane officials and institutions ought to be. In his political speeches and other public utterances he is careful, like all other mortals, to take off the sharp edge of his opinions by the choice of a judicious phraseology, but in the familiar conversation at his own table no such pains are taken ; we see his real opinions unembellished, and as it were under a microscope. Hence it is that the German press has been almost unanimous in pronouncing Dr. Busch's publication a monstrous indiscretion, and it must be admitted that in many respects it is an indiscretion. A person of more tact and better judgment would have omitted the most offensive passages altogether, or at least reserved them for a *post-mortem* edition.

Barring this weakness, however, Dr. Busch had all the qualities which are required for carrying out an enterprise such as he had undertaken. He had, in the first place, a proper share of that mental attitude known as hero-worship. Then, he had a ready and practised pen, having for some years been editor of a prominent weekly paper ; a knowledge of languages, acquired during his extensive travels in America and elsewhere; and, finally, a good memory, which enabled him to put on paper the Chancellor's utterances in the spicy words and direct sentences in which they were expressed. Besides reading the newspapers and cutting out, marking, or translating important articles in them for the King or for Bismarck, his chief function was to prepare for the German and English press "inspired" articles. For this purpose he was repeatedly summoned every day by the "Chef," as the Chancellor was called, to get ideas, comments, and statistics for elaboration into articles or telegrams. From the revelations here made it appears that Bismarck is himself one of the most active of journalists, and constantly reads the leading political papers of the European capitals. If he comes across an article which falls in with his aims he takes measures to have it multiplied. "This article," he says on one occasion, "must bring forth young ones." Unfavorable criticisms and slanderous statements, on the other hand, are as carefully refuted. His habit of reading the outrageous lies which the French papers circulated about his character and his policy during the war, to some extent accounts for his low estimate of the French and for his bitter comments on them, which very probably do not express what are his real sentiments in more sober moments. In these pages he figures as a veritable "swallower of Frenchmen," who goes so far as to assert even that "all Englishmen who speak good French are dubious characters." He only excepts Lord Odo Russell, evidently because he "can also express himself well in German."

Dr. Busch appears to have some faith in the maxim that "Der Mensch ist was er isst"—A man is what he eats—and accordingly he devotes a good many pages to an account of the culinary tastes of the Chancellor, who, like Humboldt, Goethe, and other great Germans, always brings a good appetite to his dinner-table, a peculiarity for which, he asserts, all his ancestors distinguished themselves : "If many of such capacity were in the country, the state could not exist ; I should emigrate." "If I am expected to do good work I must be well fed." His friends and admirers in Berlin appear to have been aware of this peculiarity, for they kept him well supplied at Versailles with all the delicacies of the season, so that even the Crown Prince, when dining at his table, expressed astonishment at the luxurious *menu*. The Germans have succeeded in their desire to have "a corpulent Chancellor," for he is known to be one of the most corpulent men in the Empire—a somewhat strange fact in consideration of his very delicate and irritable nervous system, which, after the very exhaustive work of a day, often keeps him awake all night. In his comments on various articles of diet he displays as much knowledge as if he was chief cook instead of chief politician of his country. Yet his remarks on the culinary art are not exclusively from the standpoint of the epicure, but also from that of the anthropologist. Thus, the conversation once turned on the peculiar fact that dog and horse-flesh are never eaten except under compulsion, as in Paris during the siege, although both these kinds of meat have a good flavor. The "Chef" explained this antipathy as grounded on the fact that these animals are so much more our equals in intelligence and sympathies than other animals. "The more a thing is like us the less we relish it. It must be very nauseating to eat monkeys, whose hands resemble those of human beings."

Whether this is the scientific explanation of the peculiarity in question we may leave undecided. Some will feel inclined to class his theory among his superstitions, especially when they find that he harbors various other beliefs which undeniably are superstitions. He objects to eating at a table with a party numbering just thirteen, and he shares the common aversion to beginning anything of importance on a Friday. He firmly believes that the moon exerts an influence on vegetation and on human hair, and thinks he knows the year of his death, although Dr. Busch has wisely suppressed this date. These facts supply evidence that Bismarck is by no means such a radical unbeliever as the clerical press would persuade us ; and we have positive information that he performs certain acts of devotion. Dr. Busch repeatedly found prayer-books lying on his night-table, in which the servant said his master often read at night. Frau Bismarck once forwarded a book of Psalms to her husband, as she was afraid he might not succeed in finding a Bible in France. Still more decisive are pp. 208–211 of vol. i., where he makes the religious confession which has since been so much quoted, and in which the following sentences occur :

"Did I not believe in a divine Providence which has destined this German nation for something good and great, I should give up at once the profession of diplomatist, or else would never have assumed it. . . . Take away from me my faith and you take away my Fatherland. . . . Were I not a strictly orthodox Christian, were my convictions not grounded on the wonderful basis of religion, then would you have never had your present Chancellor. . . . Procure me a successor with that basis and I will go immediately. But I am living among heathens. My desire is not to make any proselytes herewith, but I feel the need of confessing this faith."

His religious orthodoxy, however, does not go so far as to make him approve, among other things, of the English way of observing the Sabbath, which he characterizes as "eine ganz schreckliche Tyrannei." When he made his first trip to England he landed at Hull, and while walking down the street began to whistle an air. A fellow-passenger begged him not to whistle, and, on being asked why not, replied because it was Sunday. This so offended Bismarck that he immediately bought a ticket for the next steamer to Edinburgh—which was, of course, out of the frying-pan into the fire. However, he does not approve of working on Sundays, on hygienic grounds, although he adds that farmers in harvest-time must be exempted from this rule, as well as diplomatists, who are obliged to receive messages and telegrams every day.

How far Bismarck's statements on religious matters are to be taken as sincere and how far as inspired by policy is not easy to say. He also preaches *tolerance* most emphatically, and yet nothing could be more discordant with such a text than his ecclesiastical policy, his treatment of the Socialists, and his suppression of liberty of speech and press. His financial policy excepted, no fault can be found with his aims. His enemies, the Ultramontanes and Socialists, are also the enemies of culture and progress. But he greatly errs in the measures which he takes to secure his ends, and has not yet comprehended the first axiom of political philosophy—that opinions cannot be put down by force. He is now the most influential and independent of living statesmen, but he is also the most unscrupulous and iron-hearted of despots. Of the truth of this assertion Dr. Busch's diary furnishes abundant testimony. The Chancellor is continually complaining that the military authorities are too mild in their treatment of the enemy. He insists that villages in which treason occurs should be forthwith burned to the ground and all male inhabitants hanged. The *francs-tireurs*—disguised soldiers who shot at the Germans from ditches and then disappeared in the forest—are especial objects of his anger, and he breaks forth into abuse every time he hears that his soldiers have captured some of them, instead of shooting them on the spot. It occurred very frequently during the war that captured French officers broke their word of honor and made their escape. When news was brought the Chancellor that General Ducrot, on his way to Germany, had made his escape in this manner, he exclaimed: "If any of these rascals who have given their word of honor—the others are not to blame—are recaptured, they ought to be hanged in their red breeches, and on one leg should be written *parjure*, on the other *infâme*." On the 20th of January a French officer came to ask for a two days' truce in order that the dead of the previous day might be removed and buried. Bismarck replied that this could not be granted, that a few hours would suffice for the work, and that, moreover, the dead were just as well off above as below ground. It is somewhat humiliating to find that an American general, who frequently dined at his table, gave an instance of military *sang froid* which throws even these cases in the shade. Herr Busch makes General Sheridan responsible for the doctrine that "correct strategy consists, in the first place, in dealing out heavy blows on the military portion of the enemy, and, secondly, in inflicting on the populace so many calamities that it will desire peace and insist on it with the Government. Nothing should be left the people but their eyes to weep over the war." To a certain extent this policy was adopted by the "Chef," for he continually insists that the populace should be so treated as to make them clamor for peace. And this reveals the very essence of

his general policy—a fixed determination to secure his object, at whatever cost to enemy or friend. We say friend as well as enemy, for he is showing just at present by his fiscal policy that his only aim is to secure a certain sum of money for the Government, totally regardless of the fact that by *his* method the people will lose much more than the Government will gain.

Another characteristic of the great Chancellor, revealed by Dr. Busch's diary, is that he feels an intense feline happiness in cruelly playing with his unhappy victims. This is particularly evinced by his treatment of M. Favre. At the same time one cannot help admiring some of his remarks to the Frenchman as good specimens of that sarcasm for which he is noted. In one of the interviews pending the capitulation of Paris, Favre remarked to Bismarck, by way of appealing to his feelings, that even then on a Sunday the Boulevards were crowded with women and children. "Indeed!" replied the Chancellor, "I am surprised to hear that they haven't all been eaten up yet." On another occasion Favre complained that the German artillerists fired at the asylums of the deaf and dumb. "I don't see what right you have to complain of that," was the reply; "you are doing what is a great deal worse than that: you fire at our robust and healthy soldiers (*Sie schiessen auf unsere rüstigen und gesunden Leute*)." M. Thiers also appears to have fallen a victim to his wiles. At an interview held late in October Thiers turned the conversation on the supply of provisions in Paris. "I interrupted him," says Bismarck, "and said, 'Excuse me, sir, we know more about that matter than you who have only been in the city one day. They are supplied with provisions in there up to the end of January.' You should have seen the astonishment depicted on his countenance! But I had only been testing him, and his astonishment told me that my assertion was not correct." A few days later he remarks at the table: "M. Thiers doubtless has some historical work in view. He always protracts our interviews by introducing foreign matters (*allotria*). He tells me what he did and advised on this and that occasion; asks for information about this or that point; what I should have done under such and such circumstances," etc. M. Thiers, on his part, appears to have received a favorable impression of Bismarck, for he subsequently alludes to him as a "barbare aimable."

Bismarck's conversations, like his speeches, support the conviction that, had his tastes led him in other directions, he would have distinguished himself in other spheres as well as in politics. Occasionally one feels inclined to regret that he did not devote his life to literary pursuits. In wit and sarcasm he might have equalled Heine, and he even has a rich poetic vein which, if properly taken care of, might have added much valuable ore to the literary treasures of the Fatherland. Appropriate and well-chosen figures abound in his remarks and letters. He aptly characterizes himself as the pepper in a German political assembly, and of his talent for framing an epigram the following, chosen at random, may serve as a specimen: "A general who unnecessarily exposes himself to danger should be arrested." In short, with all his occasional rudeness and lack of polish, with all his errors in dealing with social and religious questions in a mediæval spirit of repression and violence, he yet remains the centre of gravity of modern politics, and his great work, the unification of Germany, alone would suffice to make him immortal. When the present generation has passed away, those elements in his personal criticisms which now give offence will be less conspicuous, and future generations therefore will not withhold from Dr. Busch some of the gratitude which we now all entertain towards Eckermann and Boswell for having preserved the conversations of Goethe and Johnson for the entertainment and instruction of posterity. If Herr Busch's predecessors had an advantage over him, inasmuch as their conversations cover many years of the life of their heroes, he, on the other hand, has this in his favor, that the seven months covered by his diary constitute one of the most interesting episodes in the history of Europe.

AMERICAN FORESTRY.*

AMERICAN forestry, if it can be said to exist at all in the scientific acceptation of the term forestry, is still in embryo, and the voluminous report on this subject prepared by Mr. Franklin B. Hough, under direction of the Department of Agriculture, and published by Congress, will not serve in any great degree to dispel existing ignorance of what forestry means, or what it can be expected to accomplish. We search in vain for the practical suggestions we had the right to expect in so ambitious a work, or even for anything like a complete presentation of the subject in its different bearings. Mr. Hough has not thought it necessary to divide into chapters or even to classify the mass of material he has collected together, and his index has been so carelessly prepared that it affords but little assistance to the student searching through much chaff for a few stray kernels of knowledge. Indeed, so badly is the report edited that it is safe to say that it contains nothing of permanent value which is not more accessible in its original form. A second volume, containing statistics "of the most valuable character," and which "may be regarded as entirely exhaustive," has been prepared by the same hands, but (we make the announcement with feelings of at least mitigated regret) it has so far failed to pass the House Committee on Printing.

We should not recall, even for a moment, Mr. Hough's report from its position of obscurity beside the other forgotten publications of the useless Department of Agriculture, did not its appearance present an excellent opportunity to consider some of those national questions which the science of forestry must soon be called on to settle for us. Forestry in its relations to this country will be best considered under two heads, economic and physical. It is the sphere of economic forestry to supply the community with forest products by planting new forests where existing ones are, for any reason, inadequate to supply the demands made on them, and to render natural forests more permanent and productive through scientific management. If we except the extreme northwestern and southeastern portions, there is no part of the United States where the demand for forest products will not in a few years far exceed the supply. Everywhere our forests are ruthlessly sacrificed to fire and the axe. Every year the demands made on them are greater, while but little attention has yet been paid to providing for their restoration. Fortunately, however, this evil must in time correct itself, and a scantily supplied lumber market and high prices will soon set every one to planting trees. As soon as our farmers can be made to understand that it will be *more profitable* for them individually to plant portions of their land with trees than to allow it to lie idle, then, and not till then, will tree-planting become general in this country.

To demonstrate that tree-planting is profitable is the first duty of economic forestry. That done, it must show what and where and how to plant. There is hardly any portion of the United States, with the exception of the region lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, where a forest cannot be more or less easily and quickly raised; and as soon as it can be satisfactorily shown that timber-planting is a profitable employment for capital, capital will naturally seek this (for us) new form of investment. Little apprehension, then, need be felt about our ultimate supply of timber. It is not improbable that in a hundred years the country will have more and of a far better quality than at the present time. But timber is not produced in a day, and there is a still stronger probability that there will be an era at no distant date when the country will experience great hardships from a scarcity of lumber of all kinds. This, perhaps, cannot be entirely avoided, but the danger will be lessened by a general diffusion of knowledge on the subject of sylviculture, which is already occupying considerable public attention; and perhaps, also, by the enactment in other States of special laws for the encouragement of tree-planting, in imitation of the policy already instituted in New England. Exact knowledge of the economic value of most of our forest trees does not exist, and the want of a comprehensive *sylva* of North America is greatly felt. The preparation, however, of so expensive and elaborate a work can probably not be undertaken on a fitting scale except under the auspices of the general Government.

But we must turn to that more interesting and complex branch of the science of forestry which has to do with the physical relations of forests to the earth's surface, and which, for want of a better name, may be called physical forestry. Without touching even on some of the more difficult problems which this subject presents, it will be sufficient for our purpose to state that the annual precipitation of moisture over any great region is not, so far as is now known, either increased or diminished by the presence or absence of forests. Forests, however, play the most important part in retaining and distributing the rain and snow which falls; and it is observed that as a country becomes cleared of its forests its springs disappear and its rivers flow more irregularly, producing disastrous floods at some seasons of the year, which are followed at others by corresponding periods of unnaturally low water. Fortunately for us, the topography of that portion of the United States which is east of the Rocky Mountains is such that there is little danger here of those devastating torrents that spring from high mountain ranges from which the forests have been cleared. Freshets, more or less severe, occur annually

* 'Report upon Forestry. Prepared under direction of the Commissioner of Agriculture, in pursuance of an act of Congress approved August 15, 1876. By Franklin B. Hough.' Washington. 1878.

in nearly all our rivers, resulting in very large aggregate losses; these can be expected to increase steadily and rapidly until the forests in which they once took their origin are restored. Still, on the whole, little serious apprehension need be felt about the ultimate irregularity of the flow of Eastern rivers, or the ultimate drying up of Eastern springs; for these are evils which will also, to a certain extent, eventually correct themselves. When the scarcity of forest products sets every one to planting new forests or preserving existing ones, those mountainous and hilly regions where rivers and springs originate will naturally be selected the first for planting, as being but little suited for agriculture; and a greater regularity of the water-supply will naturally follow such a restoration of forest area. Under a form of government different from our own such reservoirs of the country's water-supply could well be held and cared for by the nation, but under existing circumstances large Government reservations of wood-lands in any of the older States are now impracticable; and it must be left to individual or corporate enterprise and intelligence to decide the future climatic and fluvial condition of the eastern half of the continent.

West of the Rocky Mountains all is different. The country is cut up by high mountain chains overlooking narrow valleys. The rain-fall is in parts of this region exceedingly small, and everywhere very unequally distributed throughout the year; so that once destroyed it would be difficult or, indeed, impossible to restore any forests of this region beyond the immediate influence of the Pacific Ocean; while its peculiar topography demands that the mountain ranges remain forest-covered that the valleys may be habitable. Large portions of this Western territory are still in the hands of the general Government, and before it is too late steps should be taken to set aside and scrupulously preserve at least such portions of forest-covered mountain ranges as give rise to important streams. It is probably already too late to preserve any considerable part of the scanty forests of the "Great Basin." They are everywhere fast melting away to supply the enormous and often unnecessary demands of the mining enterprises of that regions. These forests, which are of immense age, once destroyed, will never reappear, and the streams which now make agriculture possible in the valleys through irrigation will, at no distant day, flow only during a short period of the year. If any portion of this interior region is worth saving for agriculture, immediate steps must be taken to preserve the remnants of its forests, or it will not long support even its present small agricultural population.

More important still is the necessity for Government or State preservation of some part of the noble coniferous forest which graces the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada. The future of California depends on the existence of this forest. Nowhere on the face of the globe is the physical necessity for preserving the forests greater than in California; nowhere has the world seen its forests so rapidly and senselessly destroyed. We will briefly examine what the dangers are which threaten California, and what should be undertaken to prevent or at least diminish them. All along the western slope of the Sierras numerous rivers head, which, flowing westward through the rich foot-hills and great plains of California, fall into the Sacramento and the San Joaquin, the one flowing south and the other north, and at length emptying into the Bay of San Francisco. Through these rivers must pass all the moisture, not absorbed by the soil, which the Sierras attract from the ocean lying almost at their feet. The annual precipitation of moisture in these mountains, although almost exclusively confined to the winter months, is still very large, a fall of sixty feet of snow during an exceptionally severe winter having been reported in the high Sierras. It results that during the early summer months, when the snow is melting, these mountain streams become large and rapid rivers, carrying off immense volumes of water, and then almost entirely disappearing with the snow. As they are not replenished by summer rains, the length of their annual duration must depend on the slowness with which the snow at their sources melts. It is a well-established fact that snow melts much less rapidly and that much more of it is absorbed in the forest than in the open ground; while the forests on a mountain side offers great mechanical resistance, especially by their undergrowth and coating of fallen leaves, to the rapid running off of water or melting snow. If the forests of the Sierras are destroyed, their annual snow-fall will probably not be materially diminished. The length of time, however, required to melt it will be much shorter; and the absorbing power of the forest being gone, the volume of water passing through the rivers will be greatly increased. It is not difficult to foretell the results. Every season, earlier at the south, later at the north, torrents, more terrible and more destructive than the history of the world records, will carry during a few weeks death and desolation from the mountain-sides down over the foot-hills, covering the plains with débris and holding the cities lying along the low banks of the larger rivers at their mercy. And then, when this terrible rush of a few days is over, it will be found that the whole supply of water for the summer is exhausted. The foot-hills and the plain will no longer produce fruits or vegetables, or any summer crop for which irrigation is essential, for no water to irrigate with will come down from the mountains. "Placer mining" will be a thing of the past, and even the navigation of the great rivers will be either interrupted or abandoned. During the last fifty years more than one country in Europe has been visited by calamities similar in origin and extent to those which now threaten California, but in none of them were the physical reasons for the danger so great. The mountains from which the destructive torrents of Europe have sprung are lower than the Sierras, less heavily forest-clad, and enjoying a more regular precipitation of moisture with a much smaller snow-fall, and so less able to produce sudden and disastrous torrents.

There is but one remedy for the dangers we foretell, and on its adoption depends the future of California. A strip or strips of forest must be set aside along the western slope of the Sierras extensive enough to secure the natural flow of the rivers, and these reservations must be strictly guarded from fire, the axe, and especially from all browsing animals. It is in her boasted millions of sheep that California's greatest danger now lies. These, with countless herds of other browsing animals, are driven up every summer from the plains into the mountains to feed during the dry season. The damage they are inflicting in the Sierra forests is terrible and indescribable. One can ride for days at a certain elevation through the mountains along the sheep-trails without seeing outside of the rare ranch enclosures a single uninjured shrub or a seedling tree of any sort. Everything the sheep can reach is eaten clean. This means that there is nothing left of the forest but its older trees, and that it has lost or is fast losting its best element for holding back melted snow; and it means, too, that there are no new trees coming on to take the place in their turn of their parents. As the number of animals driven to the mountains increases, forest fires increase also, set by the shepherds either accidentally or purposely to increase the next year's feed. A forest annually wasted by fire, on which the axe is always making terrible inroads, and in which no young trees are allowed to spring up, is clearly doomed. When that of the Sierras, the noblest of our continent, has gone, nothing will stand between California and the dangers which threaten her. To preserve California is the first and greatest duty of American forestry. The task is a difficult one, but it can be accomplished if her people desire it.

The French Revolutionary Epoch: Being a History of France from the beginning of the first French Revolution to the end of the Second Empire. By Henri Van Laun. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878. 2 vols. 8vo.)—We do not remember any other work that undertakes to relate the history of France from the outbreak of the great Revolution to the present day. This book is therefore welcome, and will be found serviceable; it is only to be regretted that it stops at the year 1870, and does not, therefore, contain the *whole* of the revolutionary epoch; and that it is so disproportionate in its parts that it is in reality a history of the First Revolution and Empire, with a brief account of the subsequent period attached. The twenty-six years from 1789 to 1815 occupy a volume and a half, so that the fifty-five years that follow have only half a volume left for them. No doubt this results from the relative abundance of materials for the earlier period; but then it is precisely this early period of which we have already numerous excellent accounts, while the important events of the period since the Restoration we are obliged for the most part to pick up as we can. And at any rate, whatever the interest and importance of the earlier period, the sense of proportion and of historical perspective is seriously offended. Nor is this disproportion necessary; the events of these last years, if less dazzling, are varied enough and important enough to fill double the space given to them, and they are very well, if too briefly, related by Mr. Van Laun.

He is, indeed, very good at narration—best when he has not, as in the earlier parts, the shadow of Carlyle hanging over him. We should not say that he imitates Carlyle, although he often quotes him, and refers to him as an authority. But he has studied him to such effect that his style here is unhappily imbued with Carlyle's characteristics. In the second volume his style is far better. Acknowledgments are also made to M. Taine, from whom the introductory chapter is "summarized." The abridgment is fairly done, but it is not the best part of the book; it has the look rather of working upon another's ma-

terials than of independent labor. The lack of mastery over his materials is even more manifest in chap. i., "The Gathering of the Storm." We should not have believed it possible that any student of history should confuse the constitutional events of these years (1774–1789) as is done here. The convocation of "Parliament" by Turgot, Nov. 12, 1774 (p. 36) is evidently understood—or will certainly be understood by the reader—to mean the summoning of a legislative body. The English reader is not told that the French *Parlement* is a totally different body from his own *Parliament*, being judicial and not legislative; and if he happens to know this fact of himself, pains are taken to bejuggle him by speaking of the "convocation of the States-General" in the very next paragraph. The author then proceeds, in a series of paragraphs which read very much like an unskilful abridgment, to relate the early history of the States-General and the Parliament, which are ingeniously melted into one institution, called now by one name and now by the other. For example (p. 38), "Parliament had the right of consenting or refusing to grant taxes"—a right that never belonged to Parliament, but to the States-General. So the expression (p. 40) that "the first Parliament under Louis XVI. is convoked, the Third Estate as yet 'feeling its feet,'" is nonsense. The Parliament had no Third Estate; nor did the Third Estate begin to "feel its feet" until 1788, when the States-General were convoked for the following year. Any one who wishes to see how this process of "feeling their feet" went on can find it graphically depicted by Erckmann-Chatrian in 'The Outbreak of the Great French Revolution.' But what Mr. Van Laun means by saying at this juncture (p. 77) that De Brienne found himself "without plenary court and without Parliaments" we cannot conceive. Without Parliaments, of course, as the previous pages very well show; and of course, too, without plenary court, for this had not existed since the sixteenth century; but as well say without College of Cardinals or *Comitia Centuriata*.

Astronomy. By R. G. Ball, LL.D., F.R.S., Astronomer Royal for Ireland. Specially revised for America by Simon Newcomb, LL.D., Superintendent American Nautical Almanac, formerly Professor at the U. S. Naval Observatory. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1878. 16mo, pp. 152.)—If the object of the average science-primer were to amuse, there could be no fault to find with it; but, as far as America is concerned, it is next to certain that this kind of books as a species has done more harm than good. They are bought by two general classes of readers, we suppose: first, by those educated men who have forgotten the details of the astronomy they learned at college and wish to refresh their ideas; second, by intelligent boys and girls who wish to forestall or supplement their school-lessons in this subject. For the first class the science-primer, as we commonly find it, is quite too bewilderingly and condescendingly simple, as it omits all the difficulties and most of the facts. For the second class, it is noxious and deceptive, as it leaves them with the idea that they really understand something, at least, of the subject, whereas no subject can be at all comprehended if every difficulty is uncandidly avoided, as it must be in these small works.

These strictures on science-primers often apply to much larger and more ambitious works on astronomy. But they do not in general apply to Dr. Ball's work (one of the "Hand-books for Students"), which is direct, comprehensible, and valuable, and which will require, as it demands, some thought from the lad for whom it is presumably written. The reason why it is so much better than its congeners is largely due to its method of approaching difficulties. An illustration will make this clear. It is a question of the precession of the equinoxes, its amount, its effects, and its cause (chapter xiv.) The argument is as follows: a method for experimentally determining the right-ascension of a star has already been explained. This method has been applied to Sirius, for example, at different epochs, and the resulting right-ascensions of this star for 1847, 1857, 1867, and 1877 are set down in a table. The data the student must take on faith. These numbers vary by about 2.65 seconds per annum. The phenomenon to be explained is then accurately stated. It is that Sirius and the vernal equinox are now further apart than they were thirty years ago and that the change is progressive and uniform. This is true for any star. Hence, the motion is in the equinox and not in a particular star. But the equinox is the intersection of the equator and ecliptic. The ecliptic is at rest. Hence, the equator moves on the ecliptic. Observations of the north-polar distance of Sirius show a change also. These observations are given and the rate of change is determined. This change is one of the position of the celestial pole. Such a change might produce a change of the obliquity of the ecliptic or the angle between equator and ecliptic. The values of this angle determined by observation for 1847, 1857, 1867, 1877 are given. They show that the obliquity is practically constant; hence, the pole of the equator can only move in a small circle about the pole of the ecliptic. The rest of this question is treated in the same logical way, and, by the eleven pages of explanation devoted to the subject, the student with some thought can obtain an accurate idea, not only of the phenomenon itself and its cause, but of how it was discovered originally. This last most important point is usually not considered at all in text books.

It is clear that the method of this treatise is not that of the science-primer, and its value as a text-book is correspondingly high. It is not well printed, the stereotype plates being full of imperfect type. The wood-cuts are very coarse, although always well chosen for the explanation of the text. If this small book meets the success it deserves, these faults can be amended in future editions.

The Dramatic List: A record of the principal performances of living actors and actresses of the British stage; with criticisms from contemporary journals. Compiled and edited by Charles Eyre Pascoe. (London: Hardwicke & Bogue; Boston: Roberts Bros. 1879. Pp. 358.)—Mr. Pascoe, who is already known in this country as an occasional contributor to our periodical literature, has here prepared a really useful book of reference. Its purpose and scope are fairly stated on the title-page which we have quoted in full above. Mr. Pascoe has done for the more important living actors of England what Mr. W. Clark Russell, in his admirable 'Representative Actors,' did for the long line of great dramatic artists who had succeeded one another on the stage of Great Britain from the days of Betterton to our own time; and what Mr. T. Allston Brown ambitiously attempted to do for all American actors, past and present, in his miscalled and ill-made 'History of the American Stage.' As in Allibone's 'Dictionary of Authors,' the brief biography of each of the more prominent performers is set off by extracts from current criticism, taken in general from the *Athenæum*, *Times*, and *Telegraph*. It is a pity that more carefully considered criticism could not occasionally have been chosen, as, for instance, from Mr. Lewes's 'Actors and Acting,' or from Prof. Morley's 'Journal of a London Playgoer,' or from other similar works, in place of the necessarily hurried verdict of the weekly or daily journal. But Mr. Pascoe's selections are for the most part very well made, and they add greatly to the value of his volume. Somewhat too much space, perhaps, is given to the mere recital of plots of plays—a recital which can have only an indirect use in estimating the merit of the actors in them. Now and again, it is also to be noted, the same extract is used twice, appearing under the name of each of the performers in the scene (see for examples pp. 21 and 221, and pp. 79 and 118).

The biographical sketches are, as a rule, sufficiently full and yet concise; and the actors and actresses whose lives are given are in the main those who deserve the prominence here bestowed upon them, but the book would need to be at least a quarter larger to be anything like complete. Although Mr. Pascoe apologizes for the omission of absentees from England, one seeks in vain with surprise for the names of Mr. Coghlan, Miss Dyas, and Mr. Rignold. The use of the words "British Stage" in the title-page is not quite accurate, for no attempt is made to cover other than the London theatres. Many of the actors and actresses whose careers are to be found at length in these pages are wholly unknown in this country; not a few, however, are either Americans by birth or training, or have made themselves as well known in the United States as in Great Britain—the one class being represented by Joseph Jefferson, J. S. Clarke, and Hermann Vezin; the other by Sothern and Chippendale and Mrs. John Wood.

It is a pleasure to handle so well printed and well bound a volume as the 'Dramatic List.' The following errors may be divided among the compiler and the proof-reader: The right name of Mr. Wigan's version (p. 355) of M. Sardou's "Nos Intimes" is "Friends or Foes"; Mrs. F. A. Kemble's play (p. 212) is not the "Heir" but the "*Star* of Seville," and Mrs. Bancroft acted (p. 18) in Mr. W. S. Gilbert's exquisite "Sweethearts," not in the slightly antiquated "Sweethearts and Wives." There are two misprints of French proper names: the name of Mlle. Bartet, the latest recruit of the Comédie-Française, is misspelt (p. 18) with a final *l*, and M. François Coppée, the author of the tender and poetic "Luthier de Crémone," appears (p. 252) as Copyer.

On the Plains; or, How Mrs. Maxwell made her Natural History Collection. By Mary Dartt. (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1878.)—One learns here how much strength, energy, and capacity

were shown by a woman in shooting and trapping, then stuffing and cleverly mounting a collection of birds and beasts inhabiting Colorado and its neighborhood. The collection was exhibited at the Centennial, and this book is an enthusiastic and ill-written account of a good deal of hard work, undertaken from taste and necessity, and carried through by help of the same stimulus.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Anderson (E. L.), Sketch of Lt.-Col. Richard C. Anderson	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)	$1 00
Banker's Almanac and Register for 1879	(I. S. Homans)	3 00
Conway (M. D.), Demonology and Devil-Lore, 2 vols	(Henry Holt & Co.)	
Drone (E. S.), Law of Property in Intellectual Productions	(Little, Brown & Co.)	
Frothingham (Rev. O. B.) Gerrit Smith: a Biography, 2d ed	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)	2 00
Hooker (J. D.) and Ball (J.), Journal of a Tour in Marocco	(Macmillan & Co.)	6 50
Morris (Rev. R.), Elementary Historical English Grammar, new ed.	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Oncken (W.), Allgemeine Geschichte, Part II., Persia	(B. Westermann & Co.)	
Simmonds (P. L.), Commercial Products of the Sea	(D. Appleton & Co.)	1 75
Turner (F. S. and H.), Chaucer Tales Retold for Children	(Roberts Bros.)	1 50

Fine Arts.

THE TANAGRA FIGURINES.

A COLLECTION of the interesting statuettes from Tanagra has been received in this city, and has excited a lively pleasure in the few who have yet been invited to inspect it in its present resting-place at a residence in Lafayette Place. The terra-cotta figures from Tanagra tombs have been known to archæologists for six or seven years. In 1872 a native professional excavator, a man from Corfu named Yorgis Anyphantis, began to sack the tombs around the ancient capital of Bœotia, attracted by the reports of the neighboring farmers; a few archaic tombs containing vases were first discovered, and then a series dating from the time of Alexander, each revealing, besides a large bombylios-shaped drinking-pitcher at the head of the skeleton, from two to six statuettes in clay; other statuettes of like character were found outside, scattered over the lids of the sepulchres like the flowers strewn at a funeral, to the number of twenty or even fifty for a single tomb. As the Bœotian statuary betrayed a character entirely novel in Greek art it kindled the immediate ardor of collectors. The Louvre secured over a hundred specimens while the proceeds of the excavations were still a novelty and cheap. Individual French antiquaries followed suit, until the Tanagra statuary became a mania. The Berlin and British Museums obtained small but choice assortments, but very few have reached the hands of private English collectors. The examples now here were obtained at Athens—under every advantage for getting the specimens fresh and untampered with—by M. Gaston Feuardent, of the London and Paris house of that name, who possesses the series we shall describe. Since the earlier discoveries, digging for terra-cottas has been the sole form of agriculture practised by the worthy populace, from the hill of Grimada to the hill of Bratzi; the people from the villages of Skimitari, Liatani, and Staniates, and all their country neighbors of the Lari valley, have cultivated nothing but archæology; the land has become white with upturned earth, and the ancient roads of Bœotia are traced in dry heaps of dust, thrown up from their lines of tombs. The mutilated bits have now been sifted out, their fractures smoothed with a touch of the lathe or potter's wheel, and alarming monsters constructed of heads and limbs stuck together, to the taste of native restorers. These improved specimens, colored with forcible tints due to the triumphs of modern chemistry, are at present plentiful in Athenian shops, but they have been altogether avoided by the purchaser of the present admirable series.

The first sensation felt by the spectator of this miniature statue-gallery is the genial and familiar character of the figures. They represent a set of every-day gestures and attitudes of the promenade or the women's apartment. The temper and temperament of the easy Bœotian damsels of the fourth century B.C., the mannerism they could introduce in the fling of a vail or a shawl, the familiar turn of the head, language of the fan, coquetry of a hat worn sideways, and so on, are seized by the artists to perfection. Although statuettes from Greece and Asia Minor are well known in many cabinets, yet no series so abundant and so restrictedly local, none giving the boulevard aspect of a given city in such variety yet such harmony and consistency, has ever turned up before. It is a crowd of figures in full action, sketched on the fly, attired in the fashions of a particular capital and a particular date, and leavened with a mischievous spirit unknown to antique monumental statuary. It is completely Greek, yet as different from Greek marbles as English society-verses are from English epics.

A large figure in fine condition preserves the pink hue of its square shawl or himation, with a broad border of black; the garment is seen thrown over the head like a hood, while it falls just low enough to form, with the inner chiton of different color, and the innermost tunic, a series of three regular flounces. The right arm is set akimbo under the draperies, and the lady looks over her fan with a gaze of great tenderness and provocation. The sweet waiting expression of the head turned sideways is completely narrative, and a modern artist would name the figure at once, "The first at the rendezvous." All the statues have the hair painted a warm auburn, the eyebrows marked with black, the eyes and lips distinctly tinted; on this particular specimen the rouge on the cheek and the white plaster on the face are perfectly preserved. The fan is the usual heart-shaped lotus-leaf, but here alone it is decorated with a bent-up rim like a metallic mounting. The carnation hue with which the principal garment is tinted is a preparation of cinnabar. The bare left arm holding the fan, from which the black border of this pink drapery falls in coquettish zigzags, is clasped by a bracelet of which the gilding is still perfectly evident. Another figure, seven inches high, is robed in sky-blue, a coloring derived from a silicate of copper. She leans against a slender cippus or column, her right breast bare, her head tied in a kerchief. The potter who made this image had certain habits of his own which distinguish him from the manufacturers of every other piece in the series: the vent-hole between the shoulders of the statue, instead of being square as in all the rest, is here triangular; and the square plinth or base is hollowed out along with the rest of the piece, whereas the other figures are always cemented to a rectangular slip of clay like a domino. The whitey-brown clay of which they are all made is always turned out from the piece-mould very thin and hollow, and is retouched with the tool, so that interesting differences in expression have been observed in European specimens evidently from the same mould. The forms are kept large and rather summary or imperfect, as is always the case with images intended to be completed with elaborate painting. In this respect the Tanagra statues differ remarkably from the Cesnola terra-cottas from Cyprus, with which they offer the most interesting points of comparison. The Tanagra figures, so bold and original in movement, are very broadly treated, being, as it were, the mere ground for a picture; while the Cypriote statuettes are of excessively sharp finish, because they are meant to receive a coating of stucco of a certain depth.

A lively figure is a young girl in a pointed hat, the petasos, which is put on over her hood; she flirts her short mantle out to one side as far as it will go, like a cape, and looks in the opposite direction with lively interest. Her tunic falls around her feet, and both hands are covered from the hot sun which has necessitated the hat; one arm is akimbo, and the other employed in gathering her mantilla around her as tight as possible. Another, who has lowered her head and looks out from under her brows with an expression of inimitable sauciness, has wrapped her draperies spirally as close as she could; as she is only six inches high, it looks as if she were trying by this adjustment to make herself as perpendicular and tall as possible. Her hair is parted in rays, like the lobes of a melon. Another, with right arm akimbo under her shawl, and one foot on a slight eminence, pats her knee with her fan, bends her head back, and looks up with a telling expression of waiting for an answer. Her head is kerchiefed, the wrap running down behind to a point. Her sharpness of meaning, as indicated all through her posture, is mitigated by a truly Greek softness of lips, and cheeks, and expression. Still another figure with a fan betrays a perilous knowledge of the language of this seductive implement; biting the point of it, she flutters it just before her chin, holding it up at the same time demonstratively like a writing intended to advertise a coming friend. Her sidelong movement is full of vivacity, her right arm swings freely in a kind of sling formed in her robe, and her skull-cap allows the hair to escape gracefully both before and behind.

The figures of melancholy expression are still more fascinating. One standing lady of dignified mien, hooded in her mantle, separates the hood at her neck with one veiled hand, lifting up her robes with the other from beneath, and in this muffled and bandaged condition contrives to look up to heaven with perfect grace and abandon. Another, with a thick wreath around her hair, and her draperies strained around her in a spiral, looks softly downward with bent head; she is almost the Polymnia of the Louvre, the muse who leans against the rock, only that here the figure has straightened itself up in a slight degree and the rock is unnecessary. A third, a lovely little nymph, with thin folds of gauze wrapped around and around her, and tasteful melon-like partitions of the hair, looks down from her seat in the attitude of Aubert's familiar painting of "Meditation." The sacred or divine character of the Tanagra statues, ardently maintained by M. Heuzey against almost every

other archæologist, has little to support it better than the grave or reflective air of personages like these three. They may be representations of Ceres, the Mater Dolorosa of the Greeks, in her weary search for Korê; or they may simply be hetairai in moments of discouragement. The air of softness and beauty in their faces, and the fluent suavity of their motions even when boldest, remind us of Greek goddesses perpetually; but we must not be led to attribute too superhuman a character to the loveliness of the women of Tanagra, the townswomen of Corinna.

Several of the images discovered are, however, evidently meant for divinities. One of these is a female figure in the present collection. It seems to be treated as a conception of some importance. Instead of the simple domino-like plinth, there is a pedestal of two steps, on which, nude to the waist, is the familiar goddess lifting both hands to her hair, repeated in museums with many slight variations, as the Venus Anadyomene. This Tanagra statuette, made perhaps soon after Apelles' picture in a similar pose, shows the bather lifting up a tress with her right hand, and with the left pressing to her locks an implement with a handle and with teeth or bristles, not unlike a hairbrush. It is a somewhat novel rendering of the favorite posture, a posture repeated in a whole shelf of tinted marble statuettes in the Naples Museum, and derived, like them, from an artistic prototype of inexhaustible attractiveness.

The male statues found in the Bœotian tombs are not more than one in ten. Among those in this collection may be mentioned, as one which Prof. Heuzey would assuredly call a divinity, the sitting boy, nude except for shoes and hat, and a short chlamys which spreads behind and under him like a little riding-cloak. His right hand follows the curve of the knee; from his left, as it retreats into the cloak and supports the shoulder, a roundish object dangles over the seat. Calling the object a purse, and recognizing the petasos, we can dub the image at once a young Hermes; a Hermes introduced into the receptacle of the dead, not however in his more suitable attribute as the guide of souls into hades, but in his mundane aspect as patron of the markets. The fact that the figures discovered in older Greek tombs are always divinities is certainly an argument for recognizing deities in these mortuary offerings whenever it can be done; and there is hardly any familiarity which the innovating artists of the Macedonian epoch would not take with a celestial subject. But it is rash to carry a hobby too far; the female promenaders of Tanagra are often human beyond mistake, and the male subjects are sometimes still more unequivocally mortal. Thus there is in this series a handsome statue, nine inches high, leaning on a cippus with one arm and bare torso, and resembling the Spada Pompey as it extends a large ball with its bare right arm. The ball is held, however, under instead of over the hand, being clasped in the extended fingers as if ready to be dropped; and the subject is simply an exercise of the gymnasium. Another boyish character, going out hunting, as it would appear, in a short shirt and a hat, shades his bare arm with the edge of his garment as he rests his knuckle on his hip, and looks, but for the Hermes attribute of the hat, more like an Alcibiades, the destroyer of innumerable Hermes, than like the deity he insulted.

Except, indeed, such types as the Venus here present, and the correctly-winged Cupids of European museums, the statuary from Tanagra is decidedly wanting in religious significance; an obstinate doubt, so far, attaches to the innumerable figures hatted like Mercury, or meditative like Ceres. It is as lively impressions of the contemporary life that passed before the eyes of the artists that their plastic value remains. As a rich and varied but homogeneous mass of illustrations of a Greek epoch, as a set of antique Gavarnis, so to speak, the revelations of Bœotia are inestimable. Even such a collection as this made by a single individual—the half of which we have not particularized in our enumeration—is a rare and fruitful chance for the painter or the sculptor. It will not be surprising if the archæological brushes should presently be found taking a new direction. It must have been remarked that the Tademas and Gérômes have been confining themselves principally to Roman scenes, though everybody is far more interested in the life of the Greeks, and the latter suggests far more beauty and applicability to art. The reason simply is that there are multitudes of Roman relics preserved, and the details of Roman life can be depicted with demonstrable correctness. With the Tanagra flood of familiar Greek illustrations there may come a stimulus to revive, realistically rather than conventionally, the aspects of home-life in art's true home, Greece.

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26		300	1	242	2	192	3	146	4	107
27		307	1	257	2	213	3	174	4	141
28		315	1	271	2	234	3	202	4	176
29		322	1	286	2	255	3	230	4	211
30		329	1	300	2	277	3	259	4	246
31		337	1	315	2	299	3	288	4	282
32		344	1	330	2	321	3	317	4	318
33		352	1	345	2	343	3	347	4	356
34		360	1	360	3	2	4	14	5	26
*35	1	3	2	12	3	27	4	46	5	56
36	1	11	2	29	3	52	4	74	5	78
37	1	20	2	47	3	77	4	98	5	93
38	1	29	2	65	3	99	4	114	5	99
39	1	39	2	82	3	115	4	123	5	96
40	1	49	2	96	3	125	4	123	5	86

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1879.

The Week.

THE great question of "the New York appointments," to which the senior Senator from this State has devoted himself almost exclusively during the past year, has at last been decided. As soon as the nominations of Merritt and Burt in place of Arthur and Cornell were sent in, a fierce controversy opened between the Secretary of the Treasury and Mr. Arthur. The Secretary was called on by the Senate for his reasons for Arthur's dismissal. He gave them in a long letter, and they were, in substance, neglect of duty and connivance at abuses. Mr. Arthur answered and the Secretary replied, but the charges and countercharges have now little interest for the public. The shock of battle in the Senate was postponed from last week, and in the interval the excitement among the henchmen was painful to witness. On the one side was their "gifted leader," well combed and neatly attired, his brain full of the facts in the case, his coat-pockets crammed with damning letters, surrounded by piles of law-books, a curl of scorn on his lips, and his torso bursting with "sarcasm." On the other was the shrewd and wily Secretary of the Treasury, working as he has never worked before, pursuing the Senators to their lodgings and constraining them to support the Administration for this once. That heroic body of men, the Republican majority in the New York Legislature, were, in the meantime, so appalled by the preparations for the fray that forty-six of them signed a petition that Merritt might be confirmed, and thus prevent civic convulsions and promote harmony. Several of them afterwards were so frightened by the prospect of their leader's wrath, however, that they telegraphed to him that they were sorry for what they had done and hoped all would be forgiven.

On Monday the opposing forces closed in deadly conflict, and the reports which have crept out represent the Conkling onslaught as one of the most shocking scenes of "sarcasm" and "scorn" ever witnessed in a legislative body. The real havoc he wrought in the Administration ranks, however, was effected with private letters, which showed that the President and members of the Cabinet had insisted on appointments in the Custom-house for political reasons; that Judge Bradley had to have a son provided for in this way—for "manifest reasons"; and that Mr. J. Q. Howard, the author of a 'Campaign Life,' had to be furnished with a deputy-collectorship in consideration thereof. Sarcasm, however, was in vain, and the nominations were confirmed, that of Merritt by 33 votes to 24, and that of Burt by a majority of eighteen. The result has caused profound consternation among the henchmen, who are shouting frantically for "harmony," but we think the country and the Custom-house will be the better of it. Only fifteen Republicans voted with the Administration.

Except to confirm the New York appointments the Senate has achieved little during the week. When Mr. Edmunds's resolutions came up at last on Thursday, the mover declined to speak to them, saying that all he wanted was a vote; which at once invested the whole proceeding with an air of buncombe. Senator Morgan, however, undertook a one-sided debate, arguing from the ground of the Democratic counter-resolutions, and saying some things that were true and others that, whether true or not, were not pertinent, and on the whole failing to make a very serious or profitable occasion of it. Senator Bayard spoke more coherently and effectively on the same side on Tuesday, and Mr. Edmunds argued that the Constitutional power of the Federal Government to protect citizens was in aid of local self-government. The House has resounded with the noise of three Mississippians, Messrs. Chalmers, Singleton, and Hooker, in retort of Gen. Bragg's well-considered rebuke to Southern raids on the Treasury. From Mr. Chalmers's remarks it appears probable that he was the very offender whom Gen. Bragg had in mind, for he boldly stood up for what he called equal distribution of appropriations from the National Treasury, and confessed that he had long ago given warning of Southern desertion from the Democratic ranks in case the tap was cut off. Mr. Mills, of Texas, on the other hand, was for putting an end to the payment of all claims. The House passed on Thursday the Post-Office Appropriation Bill; on Friday voted down the Fairfax Seminary war-claim by 121 to 89, the yeas being nearly all Democratic; on Saturday it refused to take up the Army Reorganization Bill, and began the discussion of Mr. Hewitt's substitute in the shape of the Army Appropriation Bill, to which Mr. Banning offered the other as an amendment. On Monday, being still in a negative mood, it refused (130 yeas to 98 nays) to suspend the rules to oblige Mr. Wood, who wished the Sugar Bill made a special order for February 8; or (140 yeas to 81 nays) to pass a bill authorizing the issue of $40,000,000 four per cent. bonds to meet, as far as this amount might go, the extraordinary demand on the Treasury of the Arrears of Pensions Bill—a sign of returning sanity; or (101 yeas to 136 nays) to pass the bill offered by Mr. Whitthorne, of Tennessee, by which the Treasury would be compelled to pay $100 in gold for every $100 in silver presented to it—again a most healthful indication.

The Army Appropriation Bill contains a number of sections providing for a gradual reduction of the number of officers on liberal terms without deciding upon any final maximum establishment, that being left for a future Congress. The most, and indeed only, serious objection to the plan of the bill is that it departs from the uniform horizontal reduction in all grades and arms as was first announced to be the draft Mr. Hewitt presented to the Committee. It now discriminates in favor of the Corps of Engineers by excepting it alone from the stoppage of promotions, and thereby reawakens all the jealousies and contests which had virtually been allayed by the published simple scheme of equal and common hardship to all individuals and classes. Any argument for preserving the rank and numbers of the Engineers will apply equally to other staff corps, and legislation disregarding that fact becomes partial and special.

The report of the dissenting half of the Committee on the Indian transfer question has been published. It reviews the history of the Indian service while under the control of the War Department, and shows that during that period many evils and abuses grew up, while almost nothing was done towards civilizing the Indians. From a large amount of testimony taken it appears that army officers, as a rule, object to the transfer, and the Indians almost unanimously oppose it. The Committee cite a number of instances in support of the belief that the Indians can be civilized, and recommend that the present policy of reform and improvement be continued. They also urge that the civil law of the United States be as far as possible extended to the Indians, with a code of laws adapted to them, defining crime and providing a judiciary. The salaries of agents should be sufficiently liberal, and the tenure of office during good behavior sufficiently secure, to enable the Government to obtain the services of honorable and able men who can take their families to the agencies and support them there; at the same time the punishment of offenders in this service should be prompt and severe. Such a policy has been pursued with the best results under the present administration, which is considered as economical and as efficient as that of the War Department could be. Without urging immediate legislation the reporting members of the Committee recommend that the entire government of the Indians be placed under a separate and distinct department, its chief to be a member of the Cabinet. In

case of disorder or threatened hostility on the part of any tribe the President should be authorized to place such Indians temporarily under military control, there to remain until peace is secured. A bill which accompanies the report provides for this measure, and also authorizes the President to detail officers of the army as Indian agents or inspectors.

The investigation of the Potter Committee into the cipher telegrams is a melancholy business. They found out in the first two or three days all there was to find out, viz., how the Democratic despatches came into the hands of the Republicans and of the *Tribune*. There is nothing to be discovered about the Republican despatches, because they are not in existence. Mr. Brady produced those sent by him from Florida, which he had abstracted from the bundles in the Committee room, but they contained little but "words of cheer." One of them, however, threw amusing light on his statement before the Committee that he went to Florida to "see a fair count." In it he accuses General Barlow, who also went to "see a fair count," of "treachery" for "recommending contrary to our [Republican] interests." In other words, seeing "a fair count" was advising the Returning Board to count for Hayes, and any Republican whose arithmetical views did not permit him to do this was a traitor. Mr. Brady drew $300 from the United States Treasury for work in the Post-office at Washington while he was one thousand miles away watching Barlow and a State Returning Board; but he acknowledged to the Committee that "some of the Civil-Service Reformers might object to this." It would be just like their impudence if they did.

We believe a sub-committee is coming on to New York to examine Mr. Tilden and give him a chance to vindicate himself by showing that he knew nothing of the operations of Pelton and the rest. But he cannot show this to anybody but admiring friends, who are willing to take his own word as conclusive. There is only one way of proving to the incredulous that you did not know a certain thing on a certain day, and that is by showing that it was physically impossible or physically difficult for you to know it. Mr. Tilden may swear he never heard of Pelton's telegrams, and Pelton that he never told him of them, but nobody who now distrusts either of them will believe it. The only way out of the scrape is to prove an alibi or brain paralysis. If Mr. Tilden could show that he was in Europe or insensible during the canvass, he would now be able to confound his enemies; but having been in the same house with the ingenious Pelton, the case is hopeless. We must say that it is well that such is the case. Nothing at this moment needs to be more rigidly enforced than responsibility for Wicked Partners. The Partner and the Good Man must be held, for all purposes of moral judgment on their acts, to be one and the same person, unless the Good Man can prove that he was separated from the Partner by the sea, or by a chain of mountains untraversed by the telegraph. There is one thing the Committee ought to enquire into closely, and that is the great campaign miracle recorded by the *Tribune*, when the lightning was stopped on the wires to prevent the bribery of the South Carolina Returning Board. This is the most remarkable event of our time, and has attracted singularly little attention either from Roman ecclesiastics or scientific men, to say nothing of politicians.

The Chicago *Tribune* is as faithful a Republican paper as there is, and perfectly sound on the Southern question. Its account, in a recent issue, of Logan, the new Senator from Illinois and former member of the "Senatorial Group," is, therefore, very entertaining. After speaking of the shame caused in Illinois when he was last in the Senate by his ignorance, his illiteracy, his Crédit-Mobilier operations, and his back-pay vote, the *Tribune* says:

"He was opposed to all reforms in government; he was the embodiment of the worst phase of machine politics, and helped to bring scandal and reproach upon Grant's Administration; a majority of his appointments turned out to be corrupt and faithless, a number were indicted, some fled the country, others escaped through flaws in the law, many passed under a cloud, and some, who are out on bail, have yet to be tried."

The appointees were, in other words, worthy of their "influence," as the office-seekers call the man who gets them a place. To appreciate all this thoroughly, however, we must remember that Logan is one of a set whom the party is actually sending back into public life as a remedy for Southern disorders. Those who wish ill to the party can desire nothing better, for nothing is surer than that "the Group" will prepare the people not for Grant, as some of the managers fondly hope, but for "anything to beat Grant."

There are some signs that Mr. Carpenter, who has been returned from Wisconsin, has learned wisdom in his retirement. He is an abler man than any of the others, and it is to be remembered to his credit that he strenuously opposed the Louisiana iniquity of 1872. He has owed his election to the hostility of the Germans to his predecessor, Mr. Howe, which may help to keep him on the right track. Mr. Howe's fate is curious. He might have avoided it if he had not been seized with the then current delusion, that the thing to do after the new Administration turned the cold shoulder to the party leaders was "to have a whack at Schurz." So he composed "an effort," in which he devoted all the powers of his mind to showing that Mr. Schurz was born a German, that he rose against arbitrary government in his own country and afterwards emigrated to this, and had held high office here. He somehow had got into his brain that when the country had heard this it would be appalled at Schurz's rascality. But the only feeling excited by the speech among native Americans was one of simple curiosity about Mr. Howe's mental condition, while, as might have been expected, it enraged the Germans. The result is that he returns to private life. We would now recommend his visiting Germany and examining the exact spot where Schurz was born. He will find that it is not half as queer a place as he thinks it is, and will see in the region around a considerable number of men who will compare favorably even with himself.

The sub-committee for the settlement of the Virginia State debt met the representatives of the bondholders on Saturday last, and a liberal proposition was made by the latter, of which the following are the important features: Bonds are to be issued dated January 1, 1879, the principal payable forty years thereafter, bearing interest at the rate of three per centum per annum for five years, four per centum for twenty-five years, and five per centum for ten years, coupons on the bonds and certificates of interest to be receivable for taxes and other debts due the State. All due and unpaid interest up to January 1, 1879, is to be funded at the rate of fifty cents on the dollar, and a sinking fund established for the final payment of the principal. The sub-committee decided to submit the proposition to the Joint Finance Committee without recommendation. It is important that a settlement in this matter should be reached at once, both for the credit of Virginia and as an example to other Southern States in similar difficulties. The only persons in Virginia hostile to this proposition will probably be the "readjusters," who do not wish to pay more than three per cent., demand that the bondholders should yield their only security, the tax-paying coupons, and clamor for "concessions." The settlement offered by the State's creditors is a liberal one, and any further concessions ought to come from the other side.

The financial prospects of other States burdened with debt are less reassuring. The interest due on the debt of Louisiana might be easily met if the assessments on property were made with accuracy, and their collection enforced. The city of New Orleans is obliged to supply almost two-thirds of the State revenue, while property in the country pays little or nothing. The country has a majority in the Legislature who show no disposition to allow an honest assessment. The tendency in Tennessee is decidedly toward repudiation. A resolution recently introduced into the State Legislature to provide for the honorable adjustment of the debt by the

acceptance of a compromise of fifty cents on the dollar offered by the bondholders was tabled by a vote of fifty-one to thirteen. The State tax of Tennessee is only ten mills, while in eight other Southern States the average rate is eighty mills on the dollar. About half of this average rate would enable the State to meet the interest on the proposed compromise; but there seems to be no desire among the people of Tennessee to fulfil their obligations. The same sentiments prevail largely in North Carolina. The Governor thinks it is out of the question to pay part of the debt at its face value, and that there is no moral obligation to pay the rest. In a leading article the Raleigh (N. C.) *Observer* says "it is pained to learn that some Virginians must suffer on account of the inability of North Carolina to meet her obligations," but "has no sympathy with the holders of bonds who contributed to the bankruptcy of the State by taking part against her in the late war, or who bought the bonds they hold subsequent to the war, and on speculation." In short, in the States which have suffered least from the carpet-baggers as well as in those which have suffered most, the sense of honor is for the moment nearly extinct, and common prudence has not yet come to take the place of it.

During the week the Bank of England reduced its posted discount rate from 4 to 3 per cent., and in the open market prime three-months discounts could be obtained at 2 to 2½ per cent. There was not a sufficiently active demand in London for United States 4 per cents to offset the return movement of 5-20 6 per cents to this country; accordingly, the market for sterling bills here was strong, and rates advanced half a point nearer to the gold-exporting point; it is not feared, however, that gold will be exported. There was some abatement during the week in the demand in this country for United States 4 per cents, although enough were sold to warrant the Treasury in giving notice of redemption to the holders of $20,000,000 more 5-20s of 1867, which raises the total amount so notified since Jan. 1 to $170,000,000. The first month of specie payments resulted in a gain of about $45,000 gold at the New York Sub-Treasury, the principal office for presenting legal-tender notes for payment. The month was one of extraordinary activity at the Stock Exchange, more than seven millions of shares and stocks (having a par value of over seven hundred millions of dollars) having been dealt in. During the week there was a continuance of the downward reaction in prices which had begun when we last wrote. Money is still extremely easy at 1½ to 3 per cent. on collateral; and in the latest statement of the Treasury the following item appears among the assets: "Deposits held by National Bank depositaries, $166,351,141." This item is, to a large extent, a fiction of book-keeping made necessary by the refunding of the public debt. Silver in London fell to 50*d.* per ounce, and there remains. At the close of the week the bullion value of the 412½-grain dollar is $0.8430.

The result of the determination of the French Ministry to carry out the programme of the Left as regarded the changes in the army, the judiciary, and the civil service was that Marshal MacMahon sent in his resignation, saying he could not sign the proposed decrees, and that there was no use in trying a new ministry, as it would make the same proposals. His letter of resignation was received by the Chamber in profound silence, and they immediately proceeded to vote in joint convention for a successor for the term of seven years. Out of the 713 Senators and Deputies present 670 voted, and M. Grévy was elected by 536 votes, General Chanzy receiving 99. Marshal MacMahon, who has throughout behaved with great dignity, at once called on him and congratulated him. The result was received with great rejoicings throughout the country. M. Grévy's vacant place as President of the Chamber was then filled by the election of M. Gambetta by a vote of 405 to 314. The resignation of the Dufaure Ministry followed soon after, M. Dufaure pleading age and the desirableness of meeting the new situation with new men. A new one has been organized under M. Waddington, with Le Royer, a Senator, as Minister of Justice; Marcère as Minister of the Interior, an office which he also filled in the Jules Simon Ministry; Jules Ferry as Minister of Public Instruction, and Lepère as Minister of Commerce, he having been Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture under the late Ministry, and Admiral Jauréguibberry as Minister of Marine. The only very new man among them is Lepère, who is one of Gambetta's closest adherents, and in a certain sense represents him. The change has been received very favorably abroad, M. Waddington's name being a guarantee of peace. In fact, the only cloud which now appears in the Republican sky is the enormous weight of the centralization in Paris. Whether this will not cause every Ministry to break down under the legislative pressure remains to be seen.

The most striking piece of news from Europe besides the change of Government in France is the appearance of what seems to be the veritable Black Death of the Middle Ages on the eastern border of Russia, killing, it is reported, ninety-five per cent. of those whom it attacks, and alarming the Russian Government so much that it is using large bodies of troops to form a sanitary cordon one thousand miles long, and is burning the villages and the clothing of the inhabitants in which it has appeared. It is reported to carry off its victims in from four to ten hours. In the town of Vetlianka, in the government of Astrakhan, in which it first appeared, it slew 400 persons at once out of 1,700, and the rest fled, leaving the dead unburied. At Prishibe it killed 520 out of 830 inhabitants in two weeks, and it spreads even in thinly-settled localities with great rapidity. In one quarter it advanced thirty miles in four days. The alarm has not only passed through Russia but reached Germany, where rigid quarantine precautions are being taken on the frontier.

The Pope has published an Encyclical—we believe his first—and it is not pleasant reading for those who, like Colonel Forney, enjoy "the bright side of human nature." He says there is a "mortal plague" running through human society; denounces the Socialists and Nihilists, on whom he lavishes all the Papal wealth of invective, and finds the source of their detestable errors in the Reformation, which first brought in the present atrocious liberty of opinion; warns princes and rulers that the present spirit of resistance to their authority is due to their own hostility to the Church; repudiates the principle of equality, and preaches passive obedience to earthly governments, except where something is commanded in direct hostility to natural or divine law; treats sacramental marriage as one of the foundations of social order, and declares that it is the Church only that can enforce the performance of the various duties appertaining to the domestic relations; and he closes a most dismal review of the condition of mankind by a solemn appeal to all governors and peoples to take the Church for their mistress, as the only refuge from misfortune, both present and to come. The allusions to Pius IX. and his Encyclicals which the paper contains seem to indicate that the present Pope is not very far from adopting the doctrines of the Syllabus, though the style of all Papal documents is such that one hardly knows how much is merely the trumpet-blast of warning and how much formal assertion.

The Bulgarian Parliament, or Assembly of Notables, as it is called, was to assemble at Tirnova on December 27. It consists of 290 members, of whom seventy-five are officials and thirty-five ecclesiastics, including the Turkish Mufti and the Jewish Grand Rabbi. The first business of the Assembly is to elect a prince, but who is the most likely candidate is not known. He cannot belong to any reigning house, and will probably be picked out by Russia. One of the most striking facts brought out by the election of the Assembly is the diminution in the Turkish population in the Principality, who are now said not to number over 100,000, the rest—about 300,000—having disappeared during or since the war, a result which, as regards the future, is certainly not to be deplored, particularly as the emigration has included a colony of Circassians whom the Porte some years ago planted in the midst of the Christians, and who never abandoned their predatory habits.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CUSTOM-HOUSE?

THE President's Message to the Senate touching the New York Custom-house appointments contains very sound doctrine, and, in fact, goes to the root of the whole question of civil-service reform. He says the New York Custom-house collects over two-thirds of the whole customs revenue of the Government; that, therefore, the whole country is interested in having it managed on business principles; that it has not been managed on business principles, because its managers have for years been also the managers of the Republican party in this city and State, and have, therefore, "regarded the duties of the offices held by them as of subordinate importance to their partisan work," and have made the Custom-house "a centre of political management." This is all strictly true. It is one of the notorious facts of the day. It is true not only of the Custom-house as managed by Mr. Arthur, but the Custom-house as managed for a great many years by Mr. Arthur's predecessors of both parties. The Custom-house has not for forty years been conducted as "a business office on business principles," to use President Hayes's language, but as a political "headquarters" with a business office attached. The evil consequences of this have been, however, more apparent since the war than before, owing to the enormous increase of business. This being the case, the controversy which has been for some time raging between the late Collector and the Secretary of the Treasury has really not been over the question whether Mr. Arthur's management was the best that could be secured, but whether it was so bad as to warrant the interference of the Administration. From the purely business point of view there is not, and never has been, any doubt about his unfitness. No private firm would for one month retain in charge of weighty interests two persons whose minds were as much occupied with other things than the business as Messrs. Arthur and Cornell—persons, for instance, who were so deeply concerned night and day about primaries and conventions and elections and "claims." If a private firm found its cashier and bookkeeper leading this sort of life, the head of it would not suffer himself to be questioned as to the exact extent to which the officers neglected their business. He would refuse to say in what particular and to what extent the house was damaged by their political activity. He would dismiss them on general principles of human nature. He would inform them that they were not the kind of men he wanted, and that, without going into details, he knew as a matter of business experience that the affairs of his house could not be well managed by persons who not only did not make them their chief interest, but who took an intense and absorbing interest in something else.

All the investigations into the management of the Custom-house, therefore, have been really enquiries into *the degree* of its badness. Their object has been to ascertain not whether it came up to the business standard, but whether its abuses were so great and flagrant that political considerations would have to be disregarded in order to reform them. Mr. Arthur's defence has been that there was not as much bribing and cheating as people said there was, and that he passed more hours in his office than some evil-minded persons tried to make out; that anyhow his administration would compare well with Mr. Murphy's or Mr. Grinnell's or Mr. Schell's, and so on. He would not venture to defend himself in this way if his employer were a private firm, because he would know it would avail him nothing. Nor would Mr. Cornell venture to tell a private employer who complained of his absenting himself too much for political work that he was interfering with his "personal and political rights," because he would know that any such observation would lead to his instant dismissal.

Those, therefore, who accept Mr. Hayes's view of the nature of the Custom-house, and are aware of the position in politics hitherto occupied by the Collector of the Port, will have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the President is right in saying that Mr. Arthur is not the man for the place, and will be disposed to treat the discussion between him and Mr. Sherman over the more or less of Custom-house abuses as really extraneous or superfluous. There is one other argument in support of the President's position which is not in our own eyes a very strong one, but which as against the class of politicians with whom the President is contending is fairly overwhelming. There is no ground on which Stalwarts have so bitterly opposed anything like the introduction of fixity of tenure into the civil service as the ground that it would weaken the responsibility and tie the hands of the appointing officer if he had to give reasons for dismissing a man. "Give the head of every department," they say, "complete liberty of choice and removal, and then hold him to a rigid accountability, and you will have the best civil service on this planet." This rule if good for anybody is good for the President, and if good for any portion of the Government service is good for the New York Custom-house. We are, therefore, surprised to hear from Stalwart mouths fierce denunciations of Mr. Arthur's removal as long as it cannot be shown that he has committed any criminal offence. In fact, if their theory of the management of the New York Custom-house were to become a permanent part of our system of administration, it would soon be as difficult to hold anybody responsible for the proper collection of the duties as for the state of the weather. If we were to judge from many of the articles we read on the subject, we should come to the conclusion that the last persons whose opinions about Mr. Arthur's qualifications were of any consequence were his immediate superiors, the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, and that the persons to whom he was really answerable were Senator Conkling and an indeterminate number of politicians and newspaper editors. A custom-house organized on this basis might afford some beautiful examples of the working of pure justice, but it could hardly remain very long an efficient instrument for the collection of revenue.

Of course we know very well all that can be said by way of showing Mr. Hayes's inconsistency in applying these rules to his dealings with the New York Custom-house when he has violated them freely in his own practice elsewhere. The best portion of his supporters will read with genuine pain the revelations made in the Senate on Monday about his mode of using the Custom-house for the reward of his personal followers. Considering the professions with which he solicited and obtained the votes of reformers, his forcing the author of a 'Campaign Life' on the Collector of this port as a deputy was a performance which it is difficult to characterize in moderate language. There is no denying that if you insist on dismissing men from office for too great political activity you must be careful not to appoint them to office for political services; and that Mr. Hayes has left himself, to a certain extent, at the mercy of the Stalwarts, and incapacitated himself for anything like complete reform of the civil service, by distributing offices wholesale among the large and by no means respectable body who took part in the canvass and "count" by which he obtained the Presidency, is only too true. This, of course, furnishes the Senators whom he is trying to deprive of their patronage an excuse for resisting him which it is not easy for *him* to dispose of. But the public has no real interest in this quarrel. It gains nothing by driving Mr. Hayes into a corner and exposing his errors. It is not his private affairs that he is managing, but those of the country, and in so far as he manages these rightly, or calls for what we must all acknowledge to be a reform as far as it goes, it is not very wise policy for those who are interested in reform to keep telling people not to mind what he says. If it be a good thing to change the management of the New York Custom-house, it is good whether Mr. Hayes acted rightly or not a year ago in making other appointments, and should be so taken. The defeat of Mr. Conkling, whatever be the merits of the nominee who has been confirmed, or of the Collector who has been dismissed, is an effective blow struck at what is worst in the present system. It will rob him of the allegiance and confidence of scores of "henchmen," and reduce him before long to the sorry plight of having to maintain himself in public life by useful industry and by application to serious public questions. In all the controversy, too, both sides have been forced to acknowledge and rely on the principle that efficiency and fidelity in the discharge of official duty constitute the sole title to retention in the public service. All this is a great gain

for the country—so great that we can well afford to disregard the motives of the disputants.

THE NEW REGIME IN FRANCE.

IT seemed unlikely a week ago, even, that the French Republic would be put to so severe a test as the election of a new President close on a change of Ministry, and still more unlikely that it would bear the strain with so much ease. But Fortune seems to smile on the new régime as it has never smiled on any preceding one. Marshal MacMahon's throwing himself into the hands of the Reactionists on the 16th of May of last year bore at that time the appearance of a serious misfortune and danger, as he enjoyed an amount of prestige which no other military man possessed. He was the only one of the older generals who came out of the war with a shred of reputation. In fact, only two even of the younger men—Generals d'Aurelle de Paladines and Chanzy—won any fame from it whatever, and the former of these is dead. All the old marshals of the Empire, except MacMahon, either gained nothing from it or were fatally discredited by it; and whether even he would have been able to lift up his head after the pummelling he received from the Crown Prince at Reichshofen, if he had not had the good fortune to be badly wounded at Sedan, is more than doubtful. But this wound relieved him most opportunely from all share in the responsibility for the surrender, gave him the air of one of the martyrs of the war, and revived in his favor the memories of the Italian campaign in 1859, which was after all the one brilliant episode in the history of the Empire. He was the hero of Magenta, which ought not to have been a victory but was one; and seen from afar, amid the smoke and desolation and disgrace of the German invasion, its glories were heightened, and people of all parties turned to the man who won it, in his new character of the "glorieux blessé de Sedan," as the last of a grand generation, and the only really surviving "Marshal of France." The news, therefore, that he had put himself in the hands of the Broglie-Fourtou combination was very serious for the Republicans, because they could not estimate with any exactness the amount of hold he had on the French public, and the knowledge that anybody had of the condition of public opinion a year ago was still very vague. It turned out, however, on experiment, that he had no political weight whatever; that the reactionary party could not conjure with his name, and that the country did not rely on him for the preservation of "order." This discovery was an immense gain and relief to the Republicans, because it proved that there was no military name or reputation in France which kindled the imagination of the voters; or, in other words, that the army was no longer to be dreaded. It of course also greatly diminished his value in the eyes of the Conservatives, but they would probably have still stuck by him if he had not surrendered somewhat tamely to their adversaries. When this occurred, more than half the difficulty or danger of getting rid of him altogether disappeared, because it left him absolutely without political friends. The other half he removed himself, it now appears, by his not ungraceful resignation. He could not make himself the instrument of the new reforms in the Administration. The ties of comradeship are with most old soldiers stronger than any other, and when he was called on to sacrifice old army friends to political necessities, he took himself with a good deal of dignity out of the way.

The election of M. Grévy, however, by an overwhelming majority of the Chambers in joint convention is something more than the election of a new President. It is the beginning of a new régime the like of which France has not yet seen. By it the French people have, for the first time, put a man in the chief executive office who has no pictorial effect. We spoke two or three weeks ago of the strength of the French tradition which requires the chief of the state to be a soldier, either professionally like MacMahon, or *ex-officio* like the late Emperor—and, indeed, like all kings—that is, a man who is entitled to wear a uniform, and is in theory, at least, capable of commanding an army in the field. M. Thiers was apparently an exception to this rule; but M. Thiers, by the length and lustre of his past, did touch the imagination of the present generation; and to these claims on their respect he added others derived from his negotiations with the Germans. Then, too, he had done so much with his pen to glorify the French army that he possessed a kind of semi-military reputation, and, in fact, plumed himself a good deal on his knowledge both of strategy and tactics. He accordingly came in more as a relic of old greatness and glory than as a statesman simply; but, even as such, he more or less startled the public during his administration by reviewing troops and appearing at state ceremonies in a black coat.

M. Grévy takes office as a politician simply. There is nothing striking and picturesque in his career. It is that of a plain, laborious, and upright publicist who has done well in various positions whatever work was given him to do. He is probably, on the whole, made of more commonplace material than any man France has yet seen in such a position. He has none of the literary *éclat* of Louis Philippe's ministers, nor has he the court behind him from which both they and those of the Second Empire borrowed much of their dignity. He will, in fact, for the first time present to the country the spectacle of a chief of the state who is simply a functionary like another, paid for performing certain duties, and will thus completely obliterate the monarchical halo which still lingered around MacMahon. When he takes up his abode in the Palais Elysée, it will be not as a personage with a semi-sacred character cutting him off from the rest of his countrymen, and investing him with mysterious and indescribable titles to respect, but as a public servant paid for doing certain work for a limited term. There are countries in which this change would not be altogether beneficial in its effects; but in France, strong as the passion for equality is, and completely as royalty has been uprooted, the "pouvoir exécutif" has remained surrounded by a somewhat superstitious reverence which has been one of the great obstacles in the way of real political progress, both by making it an object of lawless ambition, and deluding the possessor of it as to his real powers and duties.

The election of M. Grévy, too, has provided a happy solution of the Gambetta problem, which the resignation of M. Dufaure threatened to make more serious than ever. As long as Dufaure remained in office, the anomaly of Gambetta's position was kept somewhat out of sight, as the Dufaure Ministry was, to all outward appearances, the product of the victory in October over the Broglie-Fourtou reactionists. But a new Ministry would have been considered, whether truly or not, Gambetta's creation, and the creation of ministries by a man who did not himself take office would have been in a republic a scandal as well as a danger which it was by all means desirable to avoid. His election to the presidency of the Chamber in place of M. Grévy is an escape from the difficulty. It puts him in office at last, and in a very conspicuous office, for the Speaker in France is a good deal more than the mouthpiece of the House. He deals out doctrine, reproof, and instruction to the orators on his own motion, and in heated discussions is constantly in the *mêlée* as the defender of dignities and principles against unseemly assaults. Here the country will get used to Gambetta as the friend and defender of the thing that is, and be prepared for his succession to the Presidency when the time comes.

Any alarm that has been excited by the proposed removal of officials of monarchical antecedents will doubtless soon pass away. The fear that has found expression in some quarters that it foreshadows the introduction of the American "spoils" system, and will lead to a clean sweep every time there is a change of ministry, is not justified by the changes now proposed. That a government can be well and efficiently administered through agents belonging to a party opposed to that in power is well known; but no government can be well and efficiently administered by agents who deny its right to exist, and are eager for its overthrow and the substitution of another form. In other words, a republic cannot be carried on by monarchists, or a monarchy by republicans, or a constitutional monarchy by the lovers of a pure despotism. If the Republic is to last in France, its paid servants must be men who believe it to be the best kind of government, and who desire its success and are jealous of its fame, and any minister who put up with servants who sighed for the

Empire, or believed in the divine right of the Comte de Chambord, would be guilty of a sort of treason. Precautions on this point are all the more necessary in France because of the great concentration of powers in the Government, and the vastness, complexity, and rigidity of the machine through which they are exercised.

Correspondence.

THE BRAZILIAN STEAMSHIP SUBSIDY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In Mr. Thurber's letter in your issue of 30th ult. he does not exhaust his illustrations.

He instances two grocers competing for a certain suburban trade. One puts on a wagon and a smart driver, and compels his neighbor to do likewise. Therefore (is his moral), if our manufacturers wish to compete with those in Europe, our Government must subsidize a line of steamers. But Mr. Thurber's enterprising grocer did not ask the Government to subsidize his wagon; he ran it himself, and Baltimore begs New York to imitate him in his independence.

Yours, T. E. Carson.

Baltimore, Feb. 1, 1879.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It appears to me that Mr. F. B. Thurber's argument (in the *Nation* of January 30) in favor of the Brazilian steamship subsidy is fatally defective in this, that it does not show how much money, if any, Mr. Roach is now losing in default of a subsidy, and how soon, therefore, the line will be withdrawn if the subsidy is not granted. Mr. Thurber's argument goes to show that such a line is wanted. The answer is that the line is already in operation, has been running nearly a year, and that before it was started there was another line (an English one, I believe) on the same route. I have not seen any statement going to show that Mr. Roach's line has been operated at a loss. On the contrary, the newspaper accounts of its success from month to month have been somewhat glowing. I presume nobody would contend that money should be paid out of the Treasury to Mr. Roach because he has established a successful line, but that it should be paid, if at all, because he has started an unsuccessful one. But just here all the advocates of this subsidy stop short. They do not tell us whether the money is wanted to make good a deficit in the balance-sheet of the concern, or merely for purposes of general encouragement. Doubtless we should all feel encouraged if we had a little more money.

W.

New York, Feb. 3, 1879.

INTER-STATE EXTRADITION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In some remarks in the *Nation* of January 23, upon the article on "Extradition between States" in the *American Law Review*, you say that I seem "to think that there is no remedy for the present chaotic condition of things save through the action of the States; that Congress cannot interfere." A reference to the article will show that in the passage referred to, a part of which is quoted, there is no allusion to the matter of legislation, nor is there any reference to that question in the article. The discussion assumes the law in its existing shape as a finality throughout. It is too well established to need further illustration that as the law now stands the question of executive discretion, so-called, cannot be brought directly before any court in the ordinary course of judicial proceedings. In view of that fact, the suggestion contained in the article was made, that under such a provision as the constitution of Massachusetts contains, authorizing the governor to require the opinion of the State Supreme Court on "important questions of law and upon solemn occasions," a governor honestly desirous of executing the mandate of the constitution in accordance with his oath might obtain a rule for his safe guidance, having for him and for his State the absolute force of law. It is worth mention that the writer has since been more than once assured, by those presumably familiar with the ways of thinking of State executive officers, that the proposition is quite too simple to catch the average State governor. The reason given is that, having found in the complicated relations of the two governments, both of which a governor swears to support, this solitary chance for the exercise of arbitrary and irresponsible power, he would be supremely foolish to submit the question of his duty to a tribunal authorized to lay down the law for him by a method which would carry a sanction with it. By an accidental circumstance he can make himself in this particular his own interpreter of the Constitution. It is of small consequence to him that by a primary principle, taught even in the schools, the Federal Supreme Court is the sole interpreter of that instrument, and that not only that court but all other respectable courts, which have had an opportunity to express an opinion, have declared an interpretation diametrically opposed to his own. That circumstance indeed supplies an additional motive for abstaining from soliciting a decision which would bind him. Under the present law he cannot be compelled to adopt the construction of the courts any more than to execute the provision at all, and so long as he is careful not to submit the question to the judges he may exercise his accidental prerogative with impunity.

As to a remedy for this preposterous state of things by legislation, there can be little doubt that Congress has the necessary power, though the subject is not altogether free from difficulties. The right of Congress, as opposed to the States, to provide for executing the constitutional clause was declared by the Supreme Court in Prigg *v.* Penn (16 Pet. 539), which pronounced the Act of 1793 constitutional. Congress can, therefore, repeal that Act, and make other provision for the case. The only condition of such legislation is that it be in harmony with the clause of the Constitution which it is designed to carry into execution. The obvious remedy, and that most in accord with the theory of the Government, is to relegate the whole matter of surrenders to the Federal courts in the States where the fugitive is found. Federal officers are, of course, amenable to the general Government. Is this course authorized by the Constitution? There is certainly nothing in the language of the rendition clause itself inconsistent with such a theory. The clause assumes that the "executive authority" of the demanding State shall make the demand, and says that the fugitive shall thereupon "be delivered up." It does not say upon whom the demand shall be made, nor who shall deliver up the fugitive. The turn given to the argument of the court by Chief-Justice Taney in the case of Kentucky *v.* Davidson seems to lead to the conclusion that the clause as it stands contemplated that the demand should be made upon the State executive, and the surrender made by him. In view of the similar provision in the Articles of Confederation, and of what he assumes was the practice under them, the chief-justice concludes that the members of the Constitutional Convention "manifestly intended to sanction the mode of proceeding practised under the Confederation—that is, of demanding the fugitive from the executive authority, and making it his duty to cause him to be delivered up." Chief-Justice Cooley, in his recent article in the *Princeton Review*, also seems to hold that Kentucky *v.* Dennison decided not merely that the duty imposed on governors by the Act of 1793 could not be enforced, but that "within the sphere of Federal jurisdiction no power existed to compel obedience to the constitutional obligation." If these statements be literally accepted, we are confronted with the startling fact that there is no remedy for the present condition of things short of a change in the fundamental law.

But this theory is not that generally held. In the famous case between Pennsylvania and Virginia, before the passage of the Act of 1793, Attorney-General Randolph expressed the opinion that the fugitives might be surrendered without calling upon any State officers. "Private persons may be employed," he said, "and clothed with special authority. The Attorney-General [of Virginia] agrees that a law of the United States might so ordain." That has been the prevailing opinion. In 1867 it was asserted with confidence by Chief-Justice Beasley, of New Jersey, in the valuable judgment in the case of Voorhees (3 Vroom, 141). He said:

"I can entertain no doubt of the power of Congress to vest in any national officer the authority to cause the arrest in any State of a fugitive from justice, . . . and to surrender such fugitive on the requisition of the executive of the latter State. The national right to require the surrender under the terms of the Constitution seems to me clear, and all that is necessary to render such right enforceable in every case is the necessary organ of the Federal Government."

Chancellor Kent (Com. ii. 32, n. h) was of the same opinion. He declared the provision to be a "substantive and essential grant of power by the people of the United States to the Government of the United States"; and he maintained that the subject partook of a judicial character, and was fitly of judicial cognizance by the Federal courts under Art. iii. § 2 of the Constitution, which extends the judicial power of the United States to all cases arising under the Constitution. He thought the Federal courts the "fittest tribunals" to possess the power, and that the marshals might be clothed with the duty of making arrests and surrenders on the warrant of the court. This course he thought autho-

rized by the Constitution, and he believed Congress ought to have adopted it, as the most efficient and safest for the fugitive and most consistent with the orderly and customary administration of justice. It is noteworthy that Kent's opinion, that the proceeding partakes of a judicial character, coincides with what is now known to have been the practice both before and during the Confederation—that is, of making arrests and surrenders without the intervention of the executive, by virtue of a writ from the Supreme Court of the State having jurisdiction, endorsed by the chief-justice of the State where the fugitive was sought. A case occurs in 1784, where an executive declined to interfere, on the ground that the writ of the chief-justice was the proper and appropriate method, and it might cause misunderstanding if the executive interfered with the regular course of judicial action. The existence of this practice tends to weaken the argument of Chief-Justice Taney, based on the language of the Articles of Confederation and on the circumstance that under that compact the States were independent sovereignties, not liable to coercion for violation of its provisions. On the whole, there seems little ground for holding that the rendition clause contemplates or requires that the demand should be directed to the State executive and the surrender made by him. If such is not the case, there remains no legal obstacle to an act transferring the duty of surrender now resting on governors to Federal functionaries, subject to the writ of mandamus of the Supreme Court in case they neglect their duty. Whether such a provision would meet with sufficient favor in Congress to secure its adoption at present is another question. The surrender of fugitives even under the Constitution is popularly looked upon as an act of sovereignty, and it is to be anticipated that the old spectre of State sovereignty would be conjured up by such an attempt to transfer this precious prerogative of executives to the Federal courts. Whether done under the theory that Congress can impose the duty upon any Federal officer, or under that of Kent, that the matter constitutes a case of a judicial character arising under the Constitution, it would doubtless be met with the cry of "Federal encroachment." Chief-Justice Ryan, of Wisconsin, has in a late case arraigned the Federal judiciary for unwarrantably expanding its jurisdiction, in the pure *ante-bellum* manner, and the action in the case of Judge Rives in Virginia indicates an abiding sensitiveness on this point even after the war has enabled the Supreme Court to declare that "The United States is a Nation." In spite, therefore, of the propriety and urgent necessity of action in the present instance, it is not unlikely that Congress would fail to make the change required, and we shall remain for some time yet to come a preposterous spectacle in the eyes of those civilized nations with whom we are year by year entering into more and more intimate and careful treaties for the surrender of fugitives. Meanwhile, our own criminals will run scot free and be the occasion for wrangles between the States as unseemly as they are deplorable.

I. T. Hoague.

Boston, January 28, 1879.

COST OF LIVING IN GERMANY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The number of Americans who come to Germany to finish their studies is not only large, but increasing. They study here chiefly medicine, philology, and music. A few hear lectures on law at the universities; but the origin, theory, and practice of German law, as well as the highly abstract and antiquated method of teaching it, are so foreign to our views of jurisprudence that such students generally themselves regard their law studies as a luxury and an accomplishment, rather than a practical gain. Though our students are to be found in nearly every university town, most of them gather at Leipsic and Berlin. Last winter there were more American students at Leipsic than there were natives of all other countries not European together. The figures were: Americans, 67; total, 79. Austria excepted, no single European nation sent so many students to Leipsic as America. The chief states were represented as follows: Austria, 71; Russia, 61; Switzerland, 49; Great Britain, 19; Greece, 14; France, 4; the United States, 67. The majority of our countrymen who study in Germany are not wealthy. Most of them come supplied with a sum which they think with fair economy will last one, two, or three years. Their calculation is based, almost without exception, upon the theory that the expenses of living in Germany are much less than at home. I venture to say that not one in fifty lives within his theoretical estimate. My own experience is derived from a residence in Leipsic and Strassburg of nearly two years, with visits to Berlin, Dresden, and other cities of North Germany. It is not a rare thing to meet men who say that, had they known the expense of studying a year or two here to be so great as it is, they would not have come, or would have postponed their coming. I shall endeavor here, if space be granted me, to state the facts as they now are, hoping they may thus reach a wider circle than that of private intercourse.

As a general statement, it is true that there is scarcely a single article in the range of human commodities that does not cost less in this country than with us; yet the matter of personal expenses is so relative and subjective that the conclusions of different Americans are amusingly various. Wealthy tourists say life is dearer here than in America because they succeed in easily disposing of large sums. Others observe that they can get good instruction for 75 cents per lesson, or a good dinner for 30 cents, and they conclude that living is less expensive here than at home. One can relieve himself of as much money as he likes and receive a fair equivalent, or he may economize to almost any extent. The Germans are, as a whole, poor, and the tendency of life outside the circles of the nobility is toward economy. One of the first characteristics noted by an American is a surprising minuteness of detail in bills, and a regard for sums so small that it seems to him like penuriousness. There is no lavishness, and the new-comer soon begins to fall into the national habit of taking care of the *pfennig* (about two mills). Again, the question is made complex by the fact that prices vary in different provinces and in different cities. Americans, too, must usually pay from ten to twenty per cent. more than natives until they have learned the customs and a smattering of the language. Every American is thought to be rich, and, as a compliment to him, I suppose, it is thought no sin to give him back too little change, to mark up prices when he enters a shop, and to demand high fees.

Allowance cannot here be made for exceptional cases. The following list of prices includes only rates for those accommodations which would not disgust a man of some refinement. I have known Americans to live here with $10 per month, everything included; and thousands of needy German students live with from $10 to $15 per month. But they are unclean, their dress is not respectable, and their food and rooms are becoming neither to a gentleman nor a scholar. Anything less than a German stomach, used to black bread, sausage, fat, and beer, or a German system, used to thick and smoky air and little exercise, would finally give way under the pressure of these prices. The necessaries of life, within reasonable limits, cost about as follows: Board—breakfast of rolls and coffee, 10 to 20 cents; dinner at *table d'hôte*, 20 to 75 cents; private table, 20 to 30 cents. Lodging—one room on first floor, good location, with month's notice, $10 per month; second and third floors, $7 to $9; poor location, first floor, $6; second and third floors, $4 to $6. If one goes to the luxury of study and sleeping rooms together, he must add about 20 per cent. to these rates. A good suit of clothing costs from $20 to $35. A good pair of shoes costs $5. Books not imported are nearly one-half cheaper than with us. They are generally bought in paper and turned over by the purchaser to the binder. Binding costs from 20 to 60 cents per volume in calf, according to the size of the volume. The cost of instruction varies with the eminence of the instructor, and with the methods of it. For private lessons a gymnasium teacher receives 75 cents per hour; but good private teachers of languages may be found who charge only from 30 to 50 cents per hour. The fees for instruction at the universities are very small in all departments save the scientific, where apparatus and chemicals are required, and there they are comparatively slight. Six lectures per week for an entire semester cost from $4 to $6, and the rates dwindle thence down to $2 for two lectures a week. Many lectures are quite gratuitous. Heating in winter costs from $2 to $3 per month extra. This item varies with the weather, as it is the custom to let the fire go out and to rekindle it on very short notice. The fuel is either a sort of soft, peat-like coal, or wood. Our coal-stoves are almost unknown.

The expenses for books are much lessened by the liberal policy of all German libraries, academical and municipal. Upon giving due guaranty, the student may take to his rooms for long periods books from the libraries. Besides, there are many loan-libraries where books may be had for three cents per week. Railway fares in Germany are not high. For second-class fares the rate is about two cents per mile ordinary, and by express train about three cents per mile. First-class fares are nearly one-third more, and third-class fares nearly one-third less, than these rates. In third-class coupés there are no cushions, and connections are bad; but for short journeys in summer they are tolerable. At hotels there is a most complex system of grades, bills of fare, and variations for different meals at different times of the day. The charges at a first-class German hotel aggregate from $3 to $4 per day. This includes wine at dinner, for

no water is drunk. One can live well at a second-class hotel for from $2 to $3 per day; and at a third-class house rates vary from 75 cents to $1 50, and it often happens that a third-rate inn is not so bad as its class would indicate. Laundry bills are one-half cheaper than in the United States.

To generalize, a student may live comfortably, second floor, in a single apartment, in Leipsic for $25 per month, and in Berlin for from $25 to $35. Nothing save board and lodging is included in this estimate. The number of small items, fees, admission charges, etc., usually not reckoned by the student before leaving home, is surprisingly large. For less than this sum he cannot live comfortably, and many would say not decently. Then there are the almost irresistible temptations to visit at least neighboring cities of note. The student should not provide himself with less than $600 a year, though many squeeze through for $400 and $500.

An examination of these figures will show that each of the necessaries of life is cheaper in Germany than in the United States, that board is relatively most expensive, and that books, clothing, and instruction are relatively much cheaper. We see by a comparison of like grades and classes with each other that the cost of living in detail and in the aggregate is less than it is with us. It is about one-fourth less; in some cities one-third less. But an important point here enters into the problem: a first-class German hotel is not so good as a first-class American hotel; a second-class pair of German shoes will not last so long as an American second-class pair; a restaurant of middle grade does not set so good a table as a middle-grade restaurant with us; and this relation runs through the entire list, with the exception of instruction and books. Though Germany is poor, and her body politic is weighed down by a stupendous and costly military system, she pays her thirty odd thousand university professors and her myriad gymnasium teachers well, and ensures them a position for life and a pension in decrepitude; so that her instruction is cheaper and better than ours, and her books are written by the best scholars in the world. While we see, then, that the student may live in Germany in the same rank of life as he lived in at home for from one-fourth to one-third less, and that he may carry economy farther than at home, yet he does not get absolutely as good goods for his money as he has been used to, so far as the material side of life goes. But the result is that most American students do live here less expensively than at home, or they make the same money go farther in the way of travel and sight-seeing, which is the same thing.

As to differences in different cities, Leipsic is on the whole the most favorable city for one economically inclined. In most ancient university towns special advantages are granted to students, as, reduced prices for seats in the theatre and at concerts, discount at bookstores, and the like. Though the seat of the famous *Messen*, or fairs, and though the students number over three thousand, yet rooms are always plentiful in Leipsic. There is every inducement to choose that city, save, perhaps, romantic surroundings—excellent and varied university instruction, good libraries, many interests and phases of German life, a literary and musical centre, a time-honored and well-established theatre, the Gewandhaus concerts in winter, and moderate prices. Rents are dearer in Berlin than in Leipsic, but board is not more expensive. Göttingen and Bonn are more expensive than Leipsic and as expensive as Berlin. Strassburg is dearer than Berlin. It has a magnificent corps of instructors, but it has since 1871 adopted little of the air or customs of a university town. K.

STRASSBURG, Jan. 6, 1879.

Notes.

A SECOND edition of Frothingham's 'Gerrit Smith' has been published by the Messrs. Putnam, the author's difference with Mr. Smith's family being composed by admissions which leave Mr. Smith's veracity unchallenged: he knew Brown was intent on a raid, but did not know (and could honestly deny that he knew) that Harper's Ferry was the chosen rendezvous, or that the plan involved an attack on Federal property—the arsenal—which gave it a seditious character.——Prof. J. C. Welling's "Notes on the Life and Character of Joseph Henry," read before the Philosophical Society of Washington (of which Prof. Henry was President) and printed in the Society's Bulletin, have also been issued separately in a pamphlet of some thirty pages.——We have received the N. Y. *Tribune's* 'Index for 1878,' compiled, under one title, by Mr. John L. Weinheimer: a reference-book of prime utility to journalists, and a mirror of the year's history.——The ninth edition of Fletcher and Kidder's 'Brazil and the Brazilians' (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.) has been revised as far as the plates permitted for the body of the work, and brought down to date also by means of an added chapter and by alterations and substitutions in the appendix. The map, too, shows signs of correction, chiefly in respect to railroad extension. The portrait of Dom Pedro at the age of thirty-five has been replaced with an admirable steel engraving of him at fifty-two, with his prematurely venerable aspect. Ruder portraits of eminent Brazilian statesmen and of the rising composer Gomes, a sketch of whose life is given, still further freshen the edition, in which one could now chiefly wish to see the wood-cuts of persons and scenery yield to more authentic and artistic reproductions of nature, with all the resources of photography and photo-engraving.——The occupation of the new capitol at Albany gives a timely interest to the leading paper in the *Magazine of American History* for January, on the formation of the first constitution of New York, by the editor, Mr. John Austin Stevens. Most curious is the Rev. B. F. De Costa's account of the so-called Globe of Ulpius (1542) now in possession of the New York Historical Society, and which has an important bearing on the Verrazzano controversy. It is announced that the Lenox Globe (1510–12) will form the subject of another critical article. Of the February number, wholly devoted to Washington, we shall have something to say hereafter. Its contents are remarkably attractive.——Those of our readers who may have been interested by our article last week on American Forestry should be reminded of the recent addition of important works on this subject to the Boston Public Library, with the co-operation of our Minister to Italy, Mr. George P. Marsh. In Bulletin No. 46 appeared a list of 148 general and 22 special works, besides a great number of references to agricultural reports, articles in the periodical press, etc.; this has just been reprinted, by request, with additions, in Bulletin No. 48.——No. 10 of the Harvard University Library Bulletin has the usual valuable "supplement," with articles on the early history of the Massachusetts Bay Company; references in Analytic Geometry; the floras of different countries; the life and works of Michel Angelo; the calendar of Lee MSS.; the Sumner Collection; and Shakspere's poems. Prof. Winsor is preparing a list of all editions of Ptolemy's Geography, and a bibliography of the early editions of Milton is also in progress at the Library.——On the 11th of this month, the birthday of Daniel Boone, the newly-founded Kentucky Historical Society will hold its first annual meeting at the State capital. The curator is Mr. Geo. W. Ranck, author of a meritorious 'History of Lexington,' published in 1872. The Society appeals for contributions of all articles appertaining to the history of the State ——The 'Banker's Almanac and Register' for 1879 (New York: I. S. Homans) would seem to be indispensable to the banking fraternity, and of considerable use to merchants and others. That it would have any attractions for the greenbacker, is less apparent.

—Mrs. Francis Lieber, being engaged upon a Life of her husband, the late Dr. Francis Lieber, urgently requests his friends and correspondents (or their families, in case of their decease) who have preserved his letters to send them to her by express. Mrs. Lieber's address is Newport, R. I.

—The Report on the General Index of the Journals of Congress, now in progress by order of the House of Representatives, is a document that concerns not only catalogue-makers and bibliographers, but every citizen. The orderly development of legislation, difficult enough in a Congress whose personnel is so changeable as ours, is rendered doubly so by the impediments to research when it is really desired to ascertain what has been said or done on a given subject in previous Congresses. Hence, on the one hand, the reckless introduction of bills inconsistent with the whole tenor of the statutes; and, on the other, the ignorant acceptance of them, or the vain repetition of debates in which their principles had been long ago condemned. The wastefulness of this habit is not its worst feature; it encourages contempt of precedent, and gives rise to those sudden and frantic efforts to remedy real or imaginary evils for which the present Congress has distinguished itself. No more amusing as well as melancholy instance of the results of the want of continuity in legislation, arising from ignorance, has been seen than the passage of the Silver Bill, as a corrective of fraud and conspiracy, afforded. When shortness of memory begets in the Anglo-Saxon mind suspicions worthy of the Reds of '89 it is high time that an index should come to the rescue, and we regard Mr. Albert Ordway, to whom the task has been committed, as nothing short of a public benefactor. His two communications to the Committee on Rules show him to be fully impressed with the political importance of the undertaking, and to be equal to the practical difficulties of it. He omits private legislation altogether, and for the rest enables the enquirer to "find at a glance the course and final result of legislation

on any subject," each entry containing the number and year of the session and a memorandum of where the matter referred to can be found. Mr. Ordway annexes to his report a specimen taken from the completed index for the House and Senate Journals of the first four sessions of Congress. It seems to us admirably executed, and we can only hope that the extra compensation prayed for as a means of employing more assistants will be freely granted. We conclude by pointing out the advantage which such an index would be to Cabinet ministers admitted to the floor of Congress to attack or defend measures ; and the vast improvement which it ought to effect in the character of Congressional debates.

—Parents whose care for what their children read extends beyond the holidays will welcome two fresh additions to juvenile libraries—the one already standard, the other destined to become so. Of Charles and Mary Lamb's 'Tales from Shakespeare' nothing need be said further than that Macmillan & Co. have brought it out in a cheap but handsome dress, with a vignette by Du Maurier, and an introduction by the Rev. Alfred Angier, who tells how the Tales came to be written, and what was each author's part in them. Their guiding principle, to employ as much of Shakspere's own language as was consistent with their purpose, has been followed by Francis Storr and Hawes Turner, "late scholars of Trinity College, Cambridge," in their 'Canterbury Chimes : or, Chaucer Tales Retold for Children' (London : C. Kegan Paul & Co.; Boston : Roberts Bros.) To use the *ipsissima verba* in Chaucer's case is of course far less practicable than in Shakspere's, and paraphrase and interpretation have been freely resorted to, omissions and transpositions made, and still a fidelity to the substance maintained that is worthy of all praise. The Prologue and the Knight's Tale occupy half the book, the others chosen being the Man of Law's Tale, the Nun's Priest's Tale, the Squire's Tale, the Franklin's Tale, and the poet's own. It cannot be said that everything bloody has been omitted or smoothed over, but all coarseness has, and the stories will interest any child and harm none. What heightens the attractiveness of this pretty volume, besides a portrait of Chaucer, is the character illustrations borrowed in fac-simile from the Ellesmere MS., and which, as the editors justly assert, "give a truer idea of the personages of the Prologue than such modern pictures as Stothart's, or even Blake's." Their archaism is, in fact, charming.

—The February *Atlantic* continues its series of articles descriptive of different phases of American life with a sketch of the Career of a Capitalist which is instructive and, we think, typical of a whole class. The other more solid articles are a discussion of International Copyright, "Limited Sovereignty in the United States," and "Puritanism and Manners," which last is much too full of unconditioned statements. Mr. W. W. Story gives us an extremely entertaining sketch of a journey in the country districts near Rome some twenty years ago ; and the account of "London Streets," by Mr. Richard Grant White, is full of interesting matter. Mr. Stoddard contributes some intimate reminiscences of Bayard Taylor. "The Lady of the Aroostook" is still delightful reading, and Mark Twain's account of "The Great French Duel" is of the cleverest. Altogether the number is of extraordinarily even interest.

—The oldest American poet, Richard Henry Dana, died in Boston on Sunday, Feb. 2, in the ninety-second year of his age. He was seven years the senior of Bryant, having been born in 1787 (Nov. 15), but his muse was less precocious, and his first verses, on "The Dying Raven," were contributed nine years after "Thanatopsis" saw the light in the *North American Review* (with his own editorial approval), to the *New York Review*, just established in 1825 by the poet who left us last year. Moreover, Mr. Dana's poetical activity was confined to a single decade ; after 1833, when he brought out a volume of new poems, he produced, we believe, no more, although he made alterations in those he had written. His complete works, in prose and verse, appeared in 1850 in two volumes, and since that date the younger generation have been reminded of him only by some such accident as the republication in *Harper's Monthly* of his "Husband and Wife" (1858) and his "Buccaneer" (1872). The poet was worthy of this revival, for he had, to use our own words on a former occasion, "the solidly valuable qualities of sense, delicate sensibility, masculine vigor, and cultivated restraint." Although among the first to appreciate the worth of Coleridge and Wordsworth, and more or less affected by them and their contemporaries, he proved his independence of them; and his personal character as visible in his verse had a title to respect which time cannot diminish. Like his father and his grandfather, and his mother's father and grandfather, Mr. Dana was bred to the law, but his poor health and his ample fortune fostered his disinclination to enter heartily upon that career. So essentially literary was his poetic calling that he passed unmoved through the stormy period which inspired Longfellow, Whittier, and Lowell with some of their loftiest and warmest lyrics. A few stories, essays, and a course of lectures on Shakspere are among his prose works published and unpublished.

—We have received from Mr. Alfred T. White, of Brooklyn, whose name is well known in connection with plans for improving the condition of the poor, a copy of some proposed amendments to the Excise laws of this State which are being brought to the notice of the Legislature by Mr. Jonathan Ogden. The amendments are borrowed largely from the Excise laws of Sweden, and seem particularly adapted to our present needs. One liquor-saloon is allowed for every five hundred inhabitants of a city, or for a village containing less than that number. All licenses are sold at auction, so that the local government obtains their actual value, and not merely a license-fee, as is now the case. Besides this advantage, it is evident that a dealer who has paid a fair price for his license will be slow to sacrifice it by a violation of the law, and will be interested in preventing illegal sales by others. Any person obtaining a license is obliged to give public notice of the place where he intends to pursue his trade, and if the owners of half the property situated within two hundred feet of that place remonstrate against the sale of liquor in their vicinity, the dealer will be required to establish himself elsewhere. In this way a good neighborhood is protected, and a liquor-dealer once established finds it to his interest to keep such order that his neighbors will not complain. This system, however, will not apply to any city or town where the inhabitants have established total prohibition. By the adoption of these amendments the liquor trade will cease to be so profitable as to induce large numbers of persons to pursue it ; the revenue derived from it will be greatly increased, and the number of saloons being limited they can be properly overlooked. The trade will also cease to be an element in politics. The simplicity as well as the justice of these changes ought to render them satisfactory to the State, as well as to honest and law-abiding dealers.

—Governor Robinson, in his recent message to the Legislature, touches upon a subject which it is to be hoped will receive the careful attention of that body—the proposal of Lord Dufferin that Niagara Falls shall be set aside by the New York and Canadian governments as a reservation for an international park. The plan contemplates a purchase or appropriation of a good deal of land on both sides of the Falls, a permanent commission, and a revenue from tolls. There can be no great difficulty in carrying this project into execution, and it would certainly be a cheering sign of advancing civilization were it successfully carried out. Every few years the newspapers set afloat the story that some one has proposed or is about to propose the utilization of the water-power of Niagara for industrial purposes ; and the story serves the convenient end of pointing the somewhat stale moral of the devotion of America to the "almighty dollar," the national lack of sentiment, and so on. To our minds the utilization of the waters for this purpose would not be so striking an illustration of those national vices as the use to which the place is already put is a proof of our easy-going national indifference to matters of public interest. The Governor describes the evil as follows : "It is, however, well known, and a matter of universal complaint, that the most favorable points of observation around the Falls are appropriated for purposes of private profit, while the shores swarm with sharpers, hucksters, and pedlars, who perpetually harass all visitors." If the money went to keeping up the appearance of the place, towards making good roads and pretty paths, providing comfortable vehicles to ride about in, and other conveniences of that sort, no one would grudge it. But it does not. It simply goes to enrich private persons, who have little interest in the place except so far as the desire to see it may lead to the increase of their income. We do not mean to reflect at all upon them, or upon the Niagara landlords and hackmen, over whose rapacity the newspapers expend every summer a great deal of indignation. The trouble does not lie in the moral qualities of the hackmen or hotel-keepers, who, according to our experience, are only rapacious after their kind, nor in the moral qualities of the property-owners, who only imitate other property-owners in trying to get as much as they can out of their property ; but in the system. As long as Niagara is regarded as nobody's business, so long will the sight-seeing public continue to be heavily taxed by the intelligent people who are determined that it shall be *their* business.

—But surely the plan is well worthy of the State's interesting itself in

it. From a mere commercial point of view there can be no doubt that the existence of Niagara at the extreme western end of the State has been of great pecuniary advantage to New York, inasmuch as it has led to an annual pilgrimage through it by a class of pilgrims who do a great deal to stimulate the business prosperity of the State through which they pass. Without professing to speak with absolute mathematical accuracy, it may be estimated that a hundred thousand people go every summer through it to Niagara. If they each spend fifty dollars on the way there and back (certainly a low estimate), we have five million dollars spent within the borders of New York every year merely because Niagara happens to be where it is. Of course, leading arithmeticians will differ as to these figures, some insisting that more and some that less people "visit the Falls"; but the main facts of the annual pilgrimage and its commercial importance cannot be disputed.

—The last numbers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* contain a highly interesting series of articles on the history of the Eastern Question, from its earliest beginnings, centuries ago, entitled "Les Évolutions du Problème Oriental." They are from the well-known pen of Julian Klaczko, and are evidently destined to be formed into a volume, like his former politico-historical contributions to the same periodical, the "Études de Diplomatie Contemporaine—Les Cabinets de l'Europe en 1863-1864," "Les Préliminaires de Sadowa," and "Les Deux Chanceliers." The "Évolutions" abounds in vivid sketches of political combinations, schemings, and theorizings, and in piquant traits and utterances of both East-European and occidental rulers and statesmen. Like all M. Klaczko's productions it is marked by ample evidences of a complete familiarity with the subject, and by graceful and sprightly treatment; but, like all his productions, it also betrays a motive different from an unmixed desire to establish historical truth. Fully susceptible of historical candor, and wonderfully adroit in displaying it before his readers, he yet never ceases to study and sketch history in the interest of Poland. A Lithuanian Jew by birth, a convert to Christianity, and a member of the Polish emigration in France, he is free from prejudices of race, creed, and political theory, but constantly under the sway of anti-Russian, and, in a less degree, of anti-German, sentiment. A friend of the Czartoryskis and of Beust, he was drawn in 1870, when he was a member of the Galician Diet, into an inopportune advocacy of a Franco-Austrian alliance, and soon abandoned the parliamentary arena; and he is now untiring in endeavors to influence French public opinion in favor of a Franco-Austro-English coalition against Russia, or, if necessary, against Russia and Germany. The journalistic power which he wields through his extensive diplomatic knowledge and attractive versatility is such that a well-informed Paris correspondent lately designated him in our columns (No. 673) as "the chief enemy—the arch-enemy, if I may say so—of Russia in France."

—The following fragment of M. Klaczko's sketch of the reaction against Philhellenism, the *pointe* of which is rather striking, is, perhaps, a fair specimen of his broad, discursive, sparkling, affectedly-candid, and superficial way of treating political topics, though it may not fairly exemplify his style, which is generally more concise and less florid:

"Graver, heavier, more conscientious in her science, as well as in her malice, Germany undertook to destroy the Hellenic legend in its most mysterious, most sacred foundations; to despoil the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus and of the Ægean Isles of their last prestige—the glory derived from their past. Fallmerayer devoted a whole life [?] of labors and travels, an unparalleled erudition, a literary talent of the highest order to the demonstration of that original thesis, that the modern Greeks are but spurious Hellenes—in fact, wretched Slavs, possessing no right whatever to the magnificent title of successors to Pericles and Philopœmen. He measured with his callipers the features of every Palikar woman whom mischance threw in his way, and called the world to judge whether those were the proportions of a Venus of Milo. It gave him ineffable pleasure to convince Europe that, like Shakspere's Titania, she had long clasped with her loving arms a head not in the least resembling the Apollo Belvedere or the Jupiter of Atricoli; as if archæology and æsthetics were the criterion of the right of nations; as if all this fine theory, elaborated in hatred of Russian ambition [?], could not be turned with equal, or even greater, ease in favor of the same ambitious tendencies! It was a strange carelessness indeed which made General Ignatieff forget to appeal to the Fallmerayer theory when, at San-Stefano, he strove to force so many Greek lands and populations into the mould of the Great-Bulgaria of his dream."

—'England's Gesetzgebung in Bezug auf die Preise (1326-1601)' is a dissertation published last year by Dr. Ochenkowski, upon his attaining the *venia docendi* at the University of Jena. It is an admirably-told and instructive chapter of the economical legislation of England, based upon abundant extracts from the statutes, which are accompanied by copious explanations and remarks. It is shown that the legislation of this nature was primarily in the interest of the consumer, hardly at all of the producer, while the middleman, and, indeed, the commercial class in general, was the object of constant hostility. Along with the watchful interest in behalf of the consumer, there came in ethical considerations—the desire to check luxury and excessive profit. Whatever protective ideas had a share in this legislation were rather analogous to the English corn-laws than to our American tariff, being prohibitions upon export; but these, too, had the interests of consumers rather than of producers in view. Stringent regulations were at the same time directed against foreign merchants residing in England. In all this there appears to have been no recognition at all of capital as a factor in production, or of production as a broad national interest; and the writer goes on to show, by an interesting analysis of the industrial methods of the time, that the spirit of this legislation was at bottom a conservative reaction against the modern forces of capital, which began to work about the middle of the fourteenth century. The growth of pasturage, which is familiar as a leading fact of the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth, he designates as a retrogression in economy.

HARTMANN'S NEW SYSTEM OF PESSIMISTIC ETHICS.*

IN the war of 1866 against Austria a handsome Prussian lieutenant of artillery, then twenty-four years old, was obliged to pass the night in a damp trench, and from a rheumatic fever which followed partially lost the use of both legs for life. Though his education was mainly military, he had found time for much reading of philosophy and general science, to which he now devoted himself, and a few years later leaped into sudden and world-wide fame by the publication of his 'Philosophy of the Unconscious.' His opinions were novel and often startling; every chapter was full of such curious scientific facts, and his style so simple, direct, and popular, that even cultivated German ladies fell to reading philosophy, and have never ceased to interest themselves in the remarkable personality and the no less remarkable career of the author.

Intelligence, in the system of Schopenhauer, is a final form of development from an unconscious and unreasonable will; while according to Hartmann will is guided from the first by knowledge, and indeed is inseparable from it save in the mind of man. The unconscious is at once Fichte's absolute ego, Schelling's absolute subject, Hegel's absolute idea, the Spinozistic substance, the Eleatic one-all, etc. It is the organizing power in nature, guiding instinct to act according to a purpose without knowledge of the purpose, building up the nervous system and then tenanting it with a soul. It makes no mistakes, never hesitates, is clairvoyant, divine, and finally compels us to infer final from efficient causes. The ultimate end and purpose of the universe, he insisted, was not justice, goodness, happiness, or freedom, but the development of consciousness. Yet the more consciousness the more unhappiness; pleasant impressions fade, those which are unpleasant are indelible. Men have awaited happiness successively in the future of the individual on earth, and in the future of the race in this, and finally in another world, but vainly and without reason. Pleasure is ever misery's decoy-duck. Earth is bankrupt in happiness. Joyous expectations are never realized, etc. In view of all this we must not, as Schopenhauer said, cease to will, but press on in the universal struggle to develop intellect till action become so utterly irrational and antagonistic that it must cease for ever. How all this occurs is left very indefinite, and it is precisely here that the new synthesis we are about to consider begins.

The discussion occasioned by the publication of the 'Philosophy of the Unconscious' was bitter, and has now lasted a decade, while the work has just passed to an eighth edition. Professor Michelet expressed "honest pity" for an author who brings such "miserable nonsense" into the philosophical mart. J. C. Fischer called it a "pyramid of absurdity" fit to "excite universal laughter." Dr. Hausemann feared that the doctrine of the infallibility of the unconscious would tend to the notion of a potential infallibility of the pope. One avers that Hartmann has "shamefully duped the world," another calls his book a "snarl of idiotic stupidity." "Reason run mad," "the odor of death pervading the whole volume," "purely pathological," "frivolity and pretence," "the jugglery of logic," "a plea for moral bankruptcy," and similar verdicts almost by the score have been pronounced by adversaries. On the other hand Professor Lasson considered it one of the best expressions of the tendencies of modern times, admirably calculated to reconcile the classic works of

* 'Phaenomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins. Prolegomena zu jeder künftigen Ethiks. Von Eduard v. Hartmann.' 890 pp. Berlin. New York: Westermann. 1879

German philosophy with the methods and results of modern science. Professor Kapp calls it the inauguration of a "new way of regarding the universe." Professor Schweitzer considers it very significant, brilliant, interesting, etc. Other writers too numerous to mention, but to whom Hartmann has called attention in a prospectus, have more guardedly spoken of his system as "*genial*," of a "thoroughly pure and noble moral tone," as a "remarkable bit of cultured history which will survive the next century," as "suggestive to an unparalleled degree," etc. Thus it is, perhaps, not too much to say with Dr. Kirchmann that its reception, not only among scholars but throughout the reading world, was unprecedented in the previous history of philosophy.

Soon after the publication of this work, in 1869, the author was honored by a call to a professorship of philosophy at Leipsic. His health made it impossible for him to accept, and the chair remained vacant till it was assumed last year by Professor Wundt. He has published in the meanwhile several minor treatises: "The Self-Dissolution of Christianity and the Religion of the Future"; "Critical Foundation of Transcendental Realism"; "Strictures and Elucidations of the Systems of Kant"; "Schopenhauer and Hegel"; "The Unconscious from the Stand-point of Physiology and the Development Theory"; "The Truth and Error of Darwinism"; and a volume of "Collected Studies and Essays." The author has lived meanwhile in the greatest retirement in a simple and almost homely style in an uninteresting suburb of Berlin, leading a purely intellectual life, and not in the least indebted for his influence to personal inculcations or to literary cliques. He is essentially a man of genius, a musician, a painter, and the author of one tolerable drama. He is a most indefatigable worker, eschewing most current literature. His manner and personal appearance are striking. He is short and rather thick, walks with great difficulty and only on level ground, and prefers to wheel himself in an invalid chair. His long, abundant sandy hair and beard, and his fine poetic eye, his very rapid utterance and quick movements, his brief characterization and denunciation of the "professorlings" who most severely criticise his opinions, his confidence that he is only in the beginning of his philosophical activity, all combine to make a most strongly-marked and original personality, in which the keen sensitiveness of a poet and an invalid is combined with great force of purpose and power of sustained mental effort. His pessimism is almost a religion with him, and he accepts and defends with ardor in private conversation all its consequences and implications. A high place among synthetic thinkers must be allowed to him, and the appearance of his new work, narrower in scope but much more thorough in method than his first, is an event of at least great literary if not of truly philosophic moment.

The first and lowest form of moral consciousness, says Hartmann, was characterized by the Cyrenians. Their naïve hedonism taught that pleasure was the end of life. The discussion of the different sorts, degrees, and consequences of enjoyment led to the true eudæmonism of the Epicureans, who taught that mental pleasure was preferable to that of the senses, and that friendship and freedom from passion and desire were the supreme forms of happiness. Aristotle, Hobbes, and especially Spinoza represent this system in greater detail. Its practical half-truth is a wise and moderate *savoir vivre*, which is the highest result of what is termed the mundane positive eudæmonistic morality. As soon, however, as men begin to reflect on the disproportion between happiness and merit, the postulate of an all-wise and transcendental Judge is erected, and by degrees develops into a system of rewards and punishments in a future state. To this vulgar form of egoism, best represented according to the author by the Jesus of the synoptic gospels, earthly motives and pleasures soon come to appear low and unworthy when compared with those which are heavenly. This antithesis he regards as both false and impossible. Sensuous elements are inexpugnable from every conception of a future retributive state, and a noble epicureanism is far better. The inevitable self-criticism of this moral scheme leads to the negative phase of cynicism. Pleasure is seen to be impossible, and the individual in this stage withdraws from the world and is indifferent to its opinions. He seeks only to lead a harmless life and avoid evil, and feels that the world can neither give him anything he desires nor take from him anything he loves. This again is a partial, because a merely individual, stand-point, and the "negative transcendent moral" is sure to be inferred. Suicide, or refusal to live by asceticism, or the insight that the end and object of living is not to be happy, but to be independent of happiness, and that only those who know little and whose experience has been shallow find enjoyment in life, result from various degrees of development of this stage of moral consciousness. All morality, at least, is only a palliative between full enjoyment of the world on the one hand and refusal to live on the other. In this extreme of self-negation the ultimate but inevitable bankruptcy of every egoistic moral system is manifest. The first cycle of the moral consciousness ends thus in utter self-renunciation and despair.

The more complete this shipwreck of the selfish principles the more eagerly do men grasp after heteronomous authoritative principles, and the more uncritically do they apply them to the guidance of conduct. According to the well-known views of J. H. Kirchmann, this is the highest morality. Humanity, the state, etc., is infinitely higher and wiser than the individual. To obey because we are commanded is the highest and final moral motive. Precedent in law, good government, business, social intercourse, all depend on this instant and complete surrender of the individual will to higher authority. The moral act brings rest, but never pleasure, etc. True, replies Hartmann, the sentiments of reverence and veneration are independent of the feelings of pleasure and pain; but even these must not be unduly exalted above self-respect and independence in thought and action. The origin of paternal authority is sought in the animal instinct of defending the young. This is the first and fundamental form of all authority. Legislation stands for the control of the worst elements and individuals by the moral consciousness of the best. Custom is an unconscious which should be replaced by a conscious morality. Church authority is the most insidious and dangerous of all for both mental and moral culture. The autonomous movement by Protestantism is of great theoretical, but has proved to be of little practical worth.

With the discussion of such points the introductory, or "pseudo-moral," portion of the work ends. It has shown that conscience is not simple, but a very complex product of all varieties of instincts, feelings, opinions, tastes, etc., and that freedom of conscience postulates merely the negation of every heteronomous element. Everything is thus far strictly in the spirit and method of Hegel's Phenomenology. Hartmann expressly assumes the same objective stand-point, and, though renouncing the dialectic method, has not, save in a few inconspicuous details, succeeded in working his way to independence of his most ingenious model, which is now coming to be considered in Germany not only as the most significant part of the Hegelian system, but as one of the acutest and most suggestive of all the products of philosophical thought.

Is there in consciousness a spontaneous ethical estimate of human actions, apart from all conformity to outer authority or influence? With the discussion of this great question the second part, which is entitled the "True Ethical Consciousness," begins. First among the subjective motives of morality is the æsthetic principle of taste, the existence of which enables us to answer the above question, which is purely empirical, affirmatively, by asserting the existence of such a principle without telling or knowing what it requires. Taste is conscious of no objective or subjective reasons for its choice, and it demands only what is morally beautiful. The doctrine of the golden mean is the apotheosis of mediocrity. The principles of harmony, of perfection, moral ideal, and the many reconstructions of society proposed by reformers, are all shown to be the products of merely æsthetic judgments. A deeper moral principle is found in feeling. Pathos, enthusiasm, pride, humility, regret, resentment, sociality, sympathy, fidelity, love, are each characterized in long sections, and a transition is finally made through the feeling of duty to what are termed the rationalistic moral principles—practicality, truthfulness, freedom, accountability, and purpose. The latter is here the most comprehensive of all moral principles, just as in the Philosophy of the Unconscious it is necessarily conceived as the *inner Moment* of the absolute. We constantly and inductively infer ulterior from nearer immediate ends, and the teleological ordering of our actions teaches us not only their but our own relativity. The "higher egotism" is thus bankrupt, and the ethical consciousness turns at last towards altruistic social ends. Social democracy seeks the greatest enjoyment for the greatest number. This would not be diminished by the decay of culture, which is, in fact, the greatest enemy of general happiness. The illusion of the greatest-happiness principle would eventually lead the world back to animalization. But against this consummation the ethics of evolution not only teaches that the most vigorous and virtuous survive, but it impresses the duty of developing intelligence to the uttermost. True, the culture of a high civilization necessarily produces misery, poverty, and vandalism. It tends to unsphere women and to the precocious cephalization of children, excuses competition and even war, and hence, finally, a higher absolute, monistic, religious moral principle must be sought, which shall

tend to the practical and essential identification of individuals with each other, and then with the absolute itself.

We must know and autonomously will to follow non-egoistic absolute ends as essentially our ends. Cosmic development is the life-process of the absolute, which must be presupposed as identical with my own essence and as teleological. Accepting its unconscious ends as our own, we are able to do morally right so far as we develop the full consciousness that our will is but a branch of the all-will. If the notion of an absolute, or of God, is to have any value as an hypothesis, we must conceive him as unhappy before the beginning of things. The final cause of creation was not, as Hegel believed, a self-mirroring of the absolute. The unfolding of the universe is rather a pathological healing process which goes on within it. The world is a "plaster to draw its inner pain outward." The positive transcendental happiness of God before creation is purely mythic. The divine complacency which pronounced all that was made "very good" expressed no positive joy or satisfaction, but only an amelioration of inner woe. Cultured piety sees that pity, not love, for God is man's highest duty. The emancipation of the absolute from its transcendent unhappiness may never be complete. New generations, races, worlds may ever perpetuate the immanent torture, nearing only by asymptotic approaches an equilibrium between universal pleasure and pain, but we must never forget that the world and the absolute must be redeemed, if at all, together. God can redeem the world only by being redeemed by it. Only the phenomenal selfish individual, who seeks pleasure, fancies that he can find release from the duty of universal co-operation in death, which he is too puny-souled to seek. All the elect understand that the supreme duty of redeeming God from pain, or of "ameliorating the negative eudæmonism of the absolute," is a duty which will end only with the universe itself. The work closes with the sentence: "Real existence is the incarnation of deity; the world process is the passion-history of God made flesh, and at the same time the way to the redemption of Him who was crucified in the flesh. To be moral is to lend a helping hand in shortening this way of suffering and of redemption."

From this all too brief epitome the reader may see that the classification of the various moral theories which occupy the first three-fourths of the ponderous volume is ingenious and suggestive, and exhibits a broader and more philosophical plan of treatment than is found in any modern ethical work; but it is no less evident, on careful reading, that neither the author's scholarship nor his critical or analytic power has sufficed to justify the pretentious title of his work. His systematic method is arbitrary, his transitions, especially from the morality of taste to that of feeling, and again to that of reason, often purely artificial. His spirit is more dogmatic and mystic than in his earlier work, and the book, though expressly addressed to lay readers, is far less simple in style. He has had the hardihood to carry out the pessimistic conception of the universe to its extreme logical consequence. His "system" is complete. It is a most gloomy poem by a sensitive æsthetic soul whom fame does not comfort for personal misfortunes. He has the synthetic power of an artist and not of a philosopher. Attention is irresistibly drawn from his work to his personality. Hence a strictly psychological (none the less interesting if it proves pathological) problem is presented to the critic, viz.: what physiological or other reasons will explain why an aristocratic and vigorous young soldier, suddenly robbed of his career, his associations, his personal comeliness, his fortune, and largely even of the use of his muscles—those most faithful servants of the will—living in retirement with a wife sensitive, cultivated, and invalid like himself, should find satisfaction in believing and teaching that all happiness is born of ignorance, and that Deity is in need of human pity and help? We have no present wish to discuss this problem, but Herr v. Hartmann should at least not forget, when he tells the complacent world that it is miserable in spite of fancied happiness, that it will be apt, before accepting his pessimistic gospel, to ask most searchingly if the unhappiness he fancies is or should be universal is not really his own.

RECENT NOVELS.*

SOMEWHERE in the early part of this century was published a book, half humorous, half descriptive, called 'The District School as It Was.' It was in striking contrast to 'Roderick Hume; the Story of a New York Teacher.' The scene was laid in New England, which gave a local quality to be allowed for; but, all allowance made, there is a mighty change in the fifty years between the two stories. Then literature was cultivated, if not "on a little oatmeal," yet under the sternest conditions. Short sessions, scant salaries, severe discipline necessary to induce the refractory flock to begin the ascent to Parnassus, were the rule, and the teacher's place was supposed to be held by stress of necessity. The times change, however, and we change with them, and trust-funds, endowments, and shrewd speculation play a prominent part in the more recent story. To furnish a marketable article is the object of the school management, and the reputation and capacities of the teacher are points to be scored in the game. The under-teachers are a powerful and well-connected body, and school events are also village events. The book is vivacious, and the author knows the ground he describes; but it is difficult to imagine any one less fitted for his place than Roderick Hume. Self-confident, rash, inexperienced, knowing neither human nature nor himself, prejudiced and hasty of speech, he is very nearly a model, except in honesty of intention, of what a teacher should *not* be—though possibly in the incidents of his visit to New York the author is showing his own knowledge of the world at the expense of his hero. Mr. Bardeen exposes some of the tricks whereby public funds are unworthily obtained, and the way in which good State regulations can be evaded or turned to harm in a fashion well known on a wider stage, and, carrying his hero through hope, disappointment, folly, and despair, brings him out with flying colors at the close of the book.

The republication of inferior early stories by an author who has written a successful book, seems the inevitable result of debate between need of money and desire to maintain literary reputation. The first always triumphs. All the failures, the rough copies, the blotted outlines are bestowed on the public, and we are taught afresh how difficult it is to do well, how easy to blunder. 'Kathleen,' 'Lindsay's Luck,' 'Pretty Polly Pemberton' are all set afloat afresh in the wake of Mrs. Burnett's later books. The first, 'Kathleen,' is an unnatural American story; 'Lindsay's Luck' an unnatural English story with an American hero; and 'Pretty Polly Pemberton' a lively, vulgar little "tale," entirely appropriate to the columns of a second or third-rate English magazine.

A book written by Jules Sandeau and crowned by the Academy bespeaks respectful reading, and, even when it has been read, one casts up the account of defects and good points with a great pull in favor of anything so originated and so rated. Our readers will judge for themselves. The first fifty pages give a charming description of a certain Chevalier and Marquise, old friends, who had faced the emigration of the nobility together (with the Marquis), and who by their French wits and philosophy had made life in exile possible, then endurable, then cheerful. The Revolution is over, their estates have chiefly been restored to them, the Marquis has gone over to the majority, and the two well-bred old people cheer each other's lives with neighborly visits; talk of old times, and speculate together on the future of the Chevalier's only child, Maurice de Valtravers. To them enters a girl of fourteen years old, the niece of the Chevalier, thrown on his protection by her mother's death. Presently Maurice departs for Paris, where he treads the paths prepared for rich, idle, excitable young men, and where he lingers year after year, writing home more and more rarely, but drawing on his father as long as the Chevalier's fortune lasts. Meantime Madeleine is the stay and comfort of her uncle's life, and watches his death-bed, where his son is not to be seen. The Valtravers estate is to be sold, the Marquise purchases it, and, dying soon after, bequeaths it to Madeleine. She has there a hasty visit from Maurice, who returns to Paris at once, having made an appointment with himself to kill himself. We hear of a lawsuit, brought against Madeleine by the disappointed heirs of the Marquise; and, shortly after, we are as much astounded as Maurice, when Madeleine, accompanied by a peasant girl called Ursula, presents herself in Paris at the apartment of Maurice, tells him that she has lost everything, and has come to him as her natural protector. Maurice, who has taken his last walk, kissed his pistols and prepared for a short shrift, is astonished, indignant, recalcitrant, *cross;* but Madeleine is firm, and after walking him about Paris (accompanied by the preposterous Ursula) and across the track of his former friends, fixes their home in the rue de Babylone, obtains from her cousin a promise to live two years in order to give her a good start, and proceeds to work for the living of both parties. Maurice was certainly not an amiable inmate. "He asked himself by what cowardly condescension, what incredible weakness, he had permitted himself to be brought to this. He accused himself of imbecility, and

* 'Roderick Hume; the Story of a New York Teacher. By C. W. Bardeen, editor of the *School Bulletin*.' Syracuse N. Y.: Davis, Bardeen & Co.

'Lindsay's Luck. Pretty Polly Pemberton. Kathleen. By Frances Hodgson Burnett.' New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

'Madeleine: A Story of French Love. (Crowned by the French Academy.) Translated from the French of Jules Sandeau by Francis Charlot.' Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. 1879.

cursed the name of his cousin." A long illness follows ; and when he recovers it is still to a state of ill-tempered idleness. Madeleine suggests wood-carving, in which he has been proficient. He does not precisely fling the tools in her face, but contrives a verbal equivalent. Finally, to assist a fellow-lodger, a distracted cabinet-maker, Maurice does carve a figure, and gradually goes to work. Being a little better in health and freer in his movements, it occurs to him that he ought to seduce Madeleine, and he begins appropriately. Madeleine puts a stop to that and invites him to dine. As the months go on he sometimes reads to Madeleine in the evenings, and selects a disgraceful book which she allows him to read to the end. Then they begin to go to the opera together ; Madeleine sings to him ; they take country walks together ; and when the two years are well over, Maurice finds himself in love with his cousin. A Sir Edward (we cannot find that he has any other name) appears on the scene as patron of Maurice and lover of Madeleine. Maurice feels it his duty to leave the ground clear for him, and goes off on a walking journey, which brings him to his native village and the entrance to his father's avenue. He goes up the path, finds Madeleine, Ursula, Sir Edward, the cabinet-maker and his wife on the *perron*, the château in perfect order, and the old servants bustling about. It has all been a made-up story. Madeleine did not lose her lawsuit—has been a rich woman all the while, but thought best to play this little comedy for the restoration of the prodigal. She gives Maurice a final talking-to, and then they are married and live happily ever after. The delicacies of description and the cynical sayings scattered through the book are such as one looks for from M. Sandeau ; but the plot appears to us worthy of Madame de Genlis, and it is possibly this peculiar element of moral trickery which justifies the second title of the book—'A Story of *French* Love.'

Cherbuliez is fortunate in being the master of a style which is so clear and pure, and at the same time is so little tinged with an individual manner, that it is thoroughly translatable. The translation of the 'Comte Kostia' or of the 'Revanche de Joseph Noirel,' though it cannot be said to be as good as the original, conveys to the reader a very adequate idea of the author's literary character. The same thing may be said of 'Jean Têterol,' his latest production. This is, to our mind, the least effective of his stories, and compared with 'Joseph Noirel,' or 'Samuel Brohl et Cie ,' is hardly worthy of him ; yet it is clever enough to make the fortune of an ordinary novelist. Jean Têterol is a man of the people, who in early life has been a workman on the estates of a certain Marquis, a gentleman of the old school, who has no idea of the fierce democratic passions and wild hopes that are raging in the mind of such sturdy dependents as Têterol. For an affront which the Marquis hardly thinks a man in his position capable of resenting, or feeling as an insult, he leaves his master's estates and goes off, resolved on revenge. By steady industry and devotion to his fortunes he accumulates a large amount of money, which he lays by with the fixed idea of returning to the home of his early life, and acquiring possession of the estates of the Marquis. At last he returns, burning with revenge, to carry out his plot, only to find, however, that his dream has been foiled in a way that had not occurred to him as among the possibilities of the case—by his old enemy's death. The marquis, however, has left a son in possession of the estates, and this son is a man of easy-going, self-indulgent disposition, who has led a gay life, and finds rather late in it that he must turn over a new leaf, economize, manage his estates, and in fact change himself from a gay citizen of the world into a sober country gentleman. Jean Têterol determines, as he cannot be revenged upon the father, to make the son pay for the father's insult, and accordingly begins an elaborate campaign, the end in view being the acquisition of the estate and the ruin of the Marquis. Têterol, however, has a son who is as different from his father as possible, while the Marquis has a daughter as different from her father as can be. These two, without knowing how curiously their fates are related, fall in love with each other, and finally, after many crosses, the whole ends in a happy marriage ; and Jean Têterol's idea is brought to naught, as ideas of the kind should be. Such is the baldest outline of a story which though, as we have said, not on a level with other novels of Cherbuliez, is well worth reading. The character of Jean Têterol, obstinate, revengeful, and selfish, but loving his son better after all than himself ; of the Marquis, polite, self-indulgent, finding everything but pleasure a bore, while reconciling his conscience to his life by a number of well-rounded phrases and maxims of a highly moral character, which do duty in the place of any moral actions ; his daughter, charming as all the young girls in Cherbuliez's novels are, and the son of Jean Têterol, filled with the chivalrous ideas which make his father's blood run cold, while they inspire him at the same time with a sort of dazed admiration—all these characters are well drawn, and if the plot were only more interesting, would leave nothing to desire. But the plot comes to nothing. Jean Têterol's idea is not carried out, and what does come to pass is what the reader has seen was coming from the first. Cherbuliez is not a writer who lets you divine very much from his books as to his opinions, though he differs from many French novelists in the fact that the reader is quite confident that he has opinions. Unless we are mistaken, one of these is an opinion very hostile to aristocrats and aristocratic institutions. His aristocrats are almost always bad, while the pictures of a happy and good existence in his books are generally to be found in the lives of untitled and unpedigreed people ; witness the Comte Kostia, the Comte d'Ornis, the patroness of Samuel Brohl, in this book the Marquis, and on the other side the delightful description of the bourgeois household in 'Joseph Noirel.' At the other end of the social scale, to be sure, he has bad characters enough, such as Samuel Brohl himself, and Joseph Noirel, who certainly cannot be considered a model. But you feel that these are to a great extent the unfortunate victims of circumstances ; while the Comte d'Ornis murders his friend because aristocrats have cruel and vindictive passions, and the Marquis in Jean Têterol is selfish and pleasure-seeking and hypocritical because these are the vices of marquises. What Cherbuliez's politics are we do not know ; but his books, as might be expected from a true Genevese, are republican ; in this respect nothing could be more different than his novels and those of a writer like Octave Feuillet, who, though he resembles Cherbuliez in a certain purity and delicacy of style, is essentially a novelist of aristocratic life.

Henri de Chelles, of an ancient and noble French family, ran through his money early in life, and, after giving his friends a great deal of trouble, finally agreed to expatriate himself in consideration of his debts being paid by his sister's husband, M. de Clairac. In America he meets with the beautiful Doña Manuela de Moralés, of a rich and noble Mexican family, whom he marries. Unfortunately, she is disinherited at the same time, and Henri is worse off in this world's goods then ever. He joins the Union army and is killed in the battle of Bull Run. His wife dies two years later, leaving to the care of the French branch of the family her child, Manuela. 'Remorse' opens with the introduction of the orphan to her aunt, Madame de Clairac, in Paris. This lady is a woman of the world, with two married daughters, a *salon*, and a position to keep up. Manuela is a child of nature, beautiful, innocent, and confiding. One of the persons on an intimate footing at her aunt's house is Maurice Morton, the distinguished poet and romancer, at bottom a cold and selfish man, but one who analyzes his emotions and sensations to a good purpose. Manuela has read some of his books, and he, consequently, makes an immediate impression upon her. He is interested in her, but not sufficiently to be blind to the fact that she would be no match for him. He encourages her interest, in the heartless manner peculiar to men of his stamp, until it needs but a word from him to make her happy for life, and this word he seems perpetually on the point of uttering. Just at this critical time her aunt finds a husband for her in the person of M. Walrey, a man of the people, the head of a great firm of metal-workers, thoroughly good, but, it must be confessed, not so agreeable in conversation as Maurice Morton. She, to bring matters to a test, asks Morton's advice, and he breaks her heart by advising her to marry M. Walrey. She takes his advice, however, marries, is carried home by her husband to his place in the country, where she lives in the midst of blast-furnaces, rolling-mills, forges, manufactories, and so on, taking no interest, however, in her new life, and dreaming frequently of Morton and a very different home. Here appears a new character, Pierre Liéven, *alias* "Rolling Stone," or "The American," a good-for-nothing workman of M. Walrey's, who has socialistic proclivities, and is, not unnaturally for one of his turn of thought, in love with his master's wife. The current of events takes Mme. Walrey back to Paris, where she again sees Maurice Morton, whose passion becomes, now that she is fairly married to another man, much more ardent than before. She still loves him, and, afraid of her own weakness, insists on his leaving her. Unfortunately, at the moment of leave-taking they are surprised by M. Walrey, who carries off his wife. After this comes the murder of M. Walrey by Pierre Liéven, and the remorse of the widow ; remorse for what, it is rather difficult for the author to explain, for she had never done anything wicked. However, the book being called 'Remorse,'

'L'Idée de Jean Têterol. Par Victor Cherbuliez.' New York : F. W. Christern. The same Englished ('Jean Têterol's Idea'). New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

'Remorse : A Novel. From the French of Th. Bentzon.' New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

there must be something in it to justify the title. She therefore devotes herself to perpetual widowhood, while Morton writes a "pessimist romance," in the style of "Nathaniel Hawthorne, that keen analyzer of subtle and mysterious causes." This psychological study, the author observes, was "the very evident result of the keenest observation of mental agony in all its phases." People said of it, "How deeply he feels!" "He has written with his tears, with the blood from his veins." And so it was; Morton "had pitilessly utilized his own impressions and those of others. It was his right as an artist." 'Remorse' cannot, on the whole, be called a very strong book, though the opening chapters contain some nice descriptions of character. The author attempts more than she can carry out, and, after introducing Pierre Liéven and murdering M. Walrey, she rather staggers under her accumulated burdens.

In 'A Paper City' Mr. Locke has undertaken to draw a picture of the rise and downfall of those Western "cities" which are built up (on paper) by the manipulations of a set of clever speculators and swindlers, aided by the sanguine credulity natural to the inhabitants of a new country rapidly filling up by emigration. The story reads like a true one, and if New Canton is not the name of the town whose history is given, it may be taken as the type of such towns. It was "developed" by means of a land company, a savings-bank, and a subsidized press, and when it had reached the height of its prosperity, it was suddenly reduced to its original condition by the flight of the trusted financial genius of the place with all the available assets of the bank and land company. Of course the authors (it appears from the preface that Mr. Locke has been assisted in his work by "Shirley Dare") have thrown in a love story, in fact two or three love stories, but the main interest of the whole centres in the adventures of New Canton itself. In the financiering of Mr. Burt one cannot help being reminded of the financial expedients resorted to by the leading citizens of "Confedrit Cross Roads," where Mr. Nasby is postmaster, and some of the extracts from the local newspapers, showing the probable future of New Canton, are very amusing. Humor is much more in Mr. Locke's line than love; of this he makes strange stuff, that still has an unpleasantly real Western flavor. The heroine is engaged to be married to the hero, but is forced by her parents into a union with a man she detests. Her husband, who proves to be a drunken villain, maltreats and beats her. He is himself finally beaten within an inch of his life by the hero, and shortly afterwards commits a robbery and disappears. His flight is immediately followed by a suit for divorce, in which the attorney who appears for the plaintiff is no other than the hero, and the author adds: "It is unnecessary to occupy paper in saying that, within an hour after the decree was obtained, Mary Lewis and James Gardiner were united in the bonds of holy matrimony."

We do not know who "Blanche Westcott" is, but from internal evidence we infer that this is her first novel, and we sincerely trust that she will not attempt another. We do not say this because of any immorality in 'Jean,' because it is essentially a pure and blameless work—the worst thing that the heroine does in it is to break the rules of a school relating to bounds on one occasion, and of this she repents. Jean Hogarth is the daughter of a physician, left at his death without means of support, and is taken home and made a wretched drudge by a close-fisted uncle and cousin. She finally escapes, and marries happily in the end. This is all well enough. No one can find fault with this plot in itself, though it is not new; but the jaded novel-reader requires something more, something in the way of description, or character, or original style. As to the last, it must be said that the author uses occasionally original English, permitting herself such phrases as "to suspicion," "an ambidexter" (applied to a young woman's management of hairpins), and "bump of inhabitiveness." But in description she is weak, as may be inferred from this account of "W. C. M. Moultrie," a gentleman who "writes for the Eastern periodicals": "I took the greatest pleasure in comparing him with all the other men I knew, and what a Saul he was above them all, with his noble head, his musical voice, the perfect culture of his manner, the intelligent beauty of his face, and oh, gracious! what was the use of thinking of him in parallel with anybody else?" The description of the squalid and miserable life in her uncle's family is the best thing in the book. We should fear the tendency of 'Jean' to diminish the general public respect for girls, who as a class it is important should not be made contemptible or ridiculous. Indeed, we are firmly of the opinion that all descriptions of girls in novels ought to be by men, if we would not have many of the most beautiful illusions of life destroyed.

'A Paper City. By D. R. Locke (Petroleum V. Nasby).' Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1878.

'Jean; or, Clouds with a Silver Lining. A Story. By Blanche Westcott.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.

Mary Wollstonecraft. Letters to Imlay, with prefatory memoir by C. Kegan Paul. (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.; Boston: Roberts Bros. 1879.)—The romantic career of Mary Wollstonecraft found its place as an episode in Mr. Paul's previous 'Life and Letters of Godwin,' to which this volume is in some sort an appendix, but no impartial narrative or adequate defence of her life has yet been written. Bred in a vulgar home, under the care of a dissolute father, and in her earlier years brought into intimate associations with two like families, she had gained her experiences of married life in the worst school; of an independent spirit and extremely sensitive temperament, she revolted against the social conventions that resulted in such homes, and so it happened that when, after supporting herself by teaching for some years, she began her literary life, she published a work which by the vigor and plainness of its speech upon marriage and other social relations brought upon herself violent condemnation not unmixed with whispers of scandal in her private life. She was called an atheist and a libertine, and probably most of those who know her only by name in our day associate with her some ill-defined moral obliquity. Mr. Paul has attempted to clear her reputation by showing the humanity of her motives and the purity of her affections, and has reprinted her letters to Imlay as a faithful and the best illustration of her character. They are letters of a purely private and domestic nature, and should never have seen the light; but, although we see no reason why they should be recalled to public notice now, it would be unfair, perhaps, to find fault with Mr. Paul's republication, since her own husband, Godwin, first issued them. The story they tell is a sad one; they disclose private sorrow so intense and piercing, tragedy so nakedly real, that one reads them only with pain and cannot escape a feeling of intrusion. It is not necessary here to go into any detail. At the time of the Revolution Mary Wollstonecraft went to Paris, where she formed acquaintances in the party of the Gironde; there she met an American, Captain Gilbert Imlay, who had served in our Revolution, and had become a commissioner for laying out land in the back settlements, of which he wrote a topographical account afterwards published in Dublin. He was in France for the sake of money-getting, and his devotion to that pursuit is a frequent subject for reproach in these letters. After a brief acquaintance she became his wife, Mr. Paul says, resting his assertion upon a business document of Imlay's in which she is so called. No marriage ceremony was performed, nor is there any reason to suppose that any was desired, although many honorable motives have been assigned for the omission. Mr. Paul cites the most important obstacle to legal marriage in the fact that she was an Englishwoman, and quotes very appositely the situation in 'Corinne,' where Lord Nelvil, speaking of Madame d'Arbigny, says: "Je l'aurais épousée, comme elle le voulait, s'il ne se fût pas recontré dans ce moment les plus grands obstacles à ce qu'un Anglais pût se marier en France, en déclarant, comme il le fallait, son nom à l'officier civil." Whatever the reasons may have been, no legal tie was formed, and after a succession of separations, after she had borne the daughter whose fate is so familiar, and after, in a last effort to retain him, she had gone upon an arduous journey to Norway and Sweden to look after some of his business affairs, she found him faithless and unworthy, and in despair attempted to commit suicide by plunging into the Thames, whence she was rescued insensible by passing boatmen—an incident so similar to one in 'Daniel Deronda' that Mr. Paul thinks the novelist drew from history.

This is the story which these letters light up and darken with their outpouring of sentiment, affection, reproach, hope deferred, longing, and grief, until finally the disenchantment came. Yet she does not seem to have been deceived in Imlay's nature from the start; more than one passage might be quoted full of keen sarcasm and biting jest which show that she knew he was the creature of his senses. She certainly loved him with a pure affection, and appears to have hoped for his reformation—to have believed that her own noble nature and the force of natural affection for their child would bind him finally to a quiet and humble home. Towards the last she writes: "I still thought that I and virtue would at last prevail." She was mistaken in her hope; the result was inevitable from the beginning. Throughout all, however, she developed much rarer qualities than love and fidelity; one is surprised at the energy of her mind, the dignity of her demeanor, her courage, resolution, and self-reliance. She concludes her last letter to Imlay thus: "I part with you in peace." Less than two years after she died in giving birth to her daughter Mary, whom Shelley wooed and won over her mother's grave in old St. Pancras churchyard.

Sanitary Examinations of Water, Air, and Food. By C. B. Fox, M.D. (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1878.)—Although the scientific chemist or sanitarian would fail to find in this book a full treatment of the interesting and important subjects suggested by the title, yet enough may be got to repay amply a careful reading of the book. In the chapter on water, for instance, the method of examination used most commonly in the German laboratories is not even mentioned, and the omission is an important one ; for without that, and especially by ignoring also the German principle of interpreting results of chemical examinations, the reader might be led to suppose that water-analysis is already more a branch of exact science than it really is, whereas the indications given by it, in the vast majority of cases, are yet very unsatisfactory, and the whole subject may still be said to have its future. Pettenkofer's process for estimating the carbonic acid in the air, although preferred to all others in most parts of the Continent of Europe, in the United States, and even by some of the first observers in England, is so imperfectly given that one must search elsewhere for such a description as would enable him to use it. Throughout the work, and particularly in those parts devoted to the consideration of air and food, the general reader may learn much that would be of interest and permanent value. The health-officer, newly appointed and without special experience in sanitary investigations, can scarcely afford to be without the book ; although he can hardly fail to observe that a single standard of estimating impurities, one system of weights and measures, a uniform chemical nomenclature, now and then a clearer and more compact arrangement of the subject-matter, and not seldom a less loose description of analytical methods, would add greatly to its value and be more consistent with the general character of a book intended for scientific readers.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*	
Benjamin (S. G. W.), The Multitudinous Seas, swd.	(D. Appleton & Co.)	$0 25
Brown (S. G.), Life of Rufus Choate, 3d ed.	(Little, Brown & Co.)	
Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature, Vol. I.	(Am. Book Exchange)	
Curtius (E.) and Kaupert (J. A.), Atlas von Athen.	(L. W. Schmidt)	
Force (M. F.), Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio, swd.	(Robt. Clarke & Co.)	50
Grêville (H.), Philomène's Marriages, swd.	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.)	75
Hill (Prof. D. J.), Washington Irving.	(Sheldon & Co.)	1 00
Robinson (Rev. C. S.), Selection of Spiritual Songs.	(Scribner & Co.)	2 50
Savage (J.), Picturesque Ireland, Part 5, swd.	(Thomas Kelly)	50
Waterton (C.), Wanderings in South America.	(Macmillan & Co.)	6 50

Fine Arts.

THE AMERICAN WATER-COLOR SOCIETY'S EXHIBITION.

THE twelfth year of the existence of our American Water-Color Society opened, with every evidence of vitality, with the exhibition begun last Monday. There are 595 numbers, including oftentimes several sheets to a number, as in the black-and-white exhibit, which is of singular beauty this year. The particular accent of the present exhibition is conferred by a class of workers who have been experimenting with simple clouds of color floated on wet paper. By soaking the heaviest Whatman paper with clean water, and applying transparent color to the drenched surface—soaking up portions for high-lights with an almost dry brush—graded tints may be obtained of all the delicacy of an ether. The difficulty is in the behavior of the blots, which will not confine themselves to an outline, but go stealing about in unexpected places, and dry up unmanageably while the artist is attending to something else. If the effects obtained by this luscious method were reconcilable with academic draughtsmanship, one could see a future for water-color art which might destroy the prestige of every vehicle of painting besides. The limpid splendor of stained glass, the most solid and satisfying impasto of oil, the diaphanous shadowiness of bitumen, besides the damask gloss of printer's ink and the crushed-velvet look of charcoal, are all compassable in sheets treated by this medium, which suggests unimagined riches for the craft of aquarelle. Up to the present, however, the colors sprawl as they like in the hands of the practitioners, and the latter are obliged to come before the public with some very loose thinking. Every method put in practice by our present exhibitors has been displayed before, but with the corrective of a little sanity. Fortuny and Villegas have applied the wet-paper trick to backgrounds, draperies, and even the modelling of flesh, and Galofre with great skill to clouds and foliage ; but each of these experts has conciliated the public in making the expressive part of the picture intelligible by means of accurate drawing. It seems that it is necessary that the mania of "Fortunism" should get over to Munich, and there, with infinite refraction and befogging from German brain to brain, work out its emancipated pathway to the transcendental, in order to effect its present deliverance in the pure Unconditioned.

Mr. Currier, who gave us a striking portrait in the Franz Hals style last winter in the Art Association, is the arch-priest of this harmony of the future. Mr. Brennan abets him, with less out-door escape and a more stifling environment of Fortuny bric-à-brac. Mr. Blum, Mr. Muhrmann, and, in a less jerky style, Mr. Chase, swell the ranks of painting unencumbered with drawing ; the result is a strong distinctive character to the present exhibition, most confusing to the public, and somewhat dangerous to old academic reputations. There are few of the members of the Society proper whose works do not suffer and fall into flatness beside the innovators, even though the latter do not succeed in putting themselves in the right. Mr. Muhrmann, however, is a member, and his incendiary views are the affair of the body which includes him. We find ourselves, on a hasty view, quite unable to be scandalized by the pictures in this method to the degree we perhaps should be. Mr. Currier, with his "Pines" and "Rock Scene" and "Willows and Water" and "Beech-wood Interior" and "Sunset" and "Trees," seems to us not to succeed but to point to a success. The painter, once allowed to dictate the spectator's point of view and mood of mind, must be allowed to have indicated some poetic effects too precious to be thrown away ; he can suggest with his methods the ghostly gray of beech-trunks in a sylvan twilight, or the sweeping shiver of water-willows blotting together their thick plumage. What we do complain of is that the artist does not seem always faithful to his own inspiration ; we are ready to allow in a fly-away sunset effect, like his 390, that cloud-drawing, even the most summary, should be subordinated to the dazzle of splendor sought for ; but what is his excuse for dragging Prussian blue, totally unwarmed, over his upper right corner, and pure pipe-clay white into his lower left ? These are the false notes which Turner allows himself in his skies, distressing the faithful ; and they are never suggested by nature, even to our moods of inattention and self-preoccupation.

Other artists, with no desire to posture as maniacs, seem to have wrung all the sweetness out of the soaked-paper method. Mr. Colman's "Dutch Boats on the Maas" (302) seems to us the most lucid and lovely of all the water-colors he has painted, and it shows a comprehension of every manipulation of floated tint. Mr. Chase's sketch (181) of figures near a balustrade has all the quick glance and pearl-shimmer of the Fortuny sketch (252), and it is more comprehensible. Mr. Homer has a number of *bergeries* this year ; he applies his frank, direct way of transcribing the immediate impression of nature to a set of themes that used to be generally embroidered on satin—Bo-peep and her sheep, Perrette and her *cruche ;* with him "impression" painting takes a fine air of concision and austerity ; the detail he brushes away seems as if it would be an impertinence. The finest figure-picture exhibited is, beyond doubt, Mr. Eakins's "Quiet Moment"; it has the academic accuracy and the impressionist's bath of light and aerial mystery. Mr. Fredericks shows a scene in "Rouen" that every one takes for a Prout, and which is fully as good as any Prout. Mr. Quartley, who is the man of the year, having made one of those decided and inexplicable leaps into public favor that are not always the result of bad work, exhibits a few sketches in harmony with his usual luminous, positive, and satisfying style. Mr. Sartain is simple and strong in a lonely and creepy-looking "Rue des Assassins, Algiers," (14) and an African coffee-house (112). Mr. Beckwith, a new exhibitor, shows some decorative heads of unusual elegance. Mr. La Farge ranges from an exquisitely-caressed "Japanese Inro" (111) to a large and noble church cartoon ; but this artist cannot be dismissed with an epithet, and we shall return to him.

The black-and-white exhibition is a study in itself. One interesting sheet is a large *académie*, or nature-study, in the manner of Holbein, which the Art League of this city sent over to Munich to buy. The artist is one G. Takobides, and the *tour de force* terrific. In wood engraving we find work superior to any European work we know, when the representation is of rich broken effects of light, without suavity of form ; when it is a question of graduated tints on flesh, the manipulation, as in the engraving of Leonardo's *Gioconda*, must be admitted to yield to that of Pannemaker *fils*. Messrs. Harpers' exhibit (with engravers' names not catalogued) includes the fine "Birds and Plumage," after Mr. Gibson. That of Messrs. Scribner comprises the best copying of a charcoal drawing in minute scale on wood we ever saw or heard of ; it is Mr. King's "Home of John Howard Payne," after Mr. Hopkinson Smith. Mr. Marsh has produced this year, we think, his masterpiece in engraving, a Haviland biberon-shaped bit of faience, with its painting of a cock by Couturier, and its contents of loosely-arranged plants. Etchings are contributed by Henry Farrer, Swain Gifford, J. D. Smillie, and others.

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Net assets, December 31, 1877		$5,072,576 16
Receipts during the year:		
For premiums	$955,261 14	
For interest	290,060 49	
		1,245,321 63
		$6,317,897 79
Disbursements:		
Claims by death	$201,367 93	
Matured endowments	171,399 90	
Surrendered policies, cash dividends, and return premiums	483,129 50	
Annuities	1,708 32	
TOTAL PAID POLICY-HOLDERS	$857,605 65	
Taxes	7,253 19	
Commuted commissions	23,915 62	
Profit and loss	6,814 52	
Dividends to stockholders	8,653 75	
Expenses—Rent, coms., salaries, postages, advertising, medical examinations, etc	160,367 85	
		1,064,610 58
Net assets, December 31, 1878		$5,253,287 21

ASSETS.

U. S. and N. Y. City stocks	$2,313,466 30	
Bonds and mortgages	2,270,214 02	
Real estate	414,436 23	
Cash on hand and in banks	224,548 63	
Loans on collaterals	15,187 48	
Agents' balances	15,434 55	
		5,253,287 21
Add excess of market value of stocks over cost		93,758 70
Interest accrued and due and unpaid		47,289 76
Deferred and unpaid premiums, less 20 p. c.		108,908 02
Gross assets, December 31, 1878		$5,503,243 69

LIABILITIES.

Reserve by N. Y. Standard, company's valuation	$4,448,480 00
Unsettled claims	112,182 48
Premiums paid in advance	11,620 26
Unpaid dividends to stockholders	175 00
Salaries, rent, etc	3,750 00
Total liabilities as to policy-holders	$4,576,207 74
Surplus as regards policy-holders	927,035 95
Aggregate	$5,503,243 69
CAPITAL STOCK	$125,000 00

W. A. BREWER, Jr., Vice-Pres't.
W. HAXTUN, Secretary.
CYRUS MUNN, Assistant Secretary.
E. S. FRENCH, Sup't of Agencies.
B. W. McCREADY, M.D., Med'l Ex'r.

THIRTY-FOURTH

ANNUAL STATEMENT

OF THE

MUTUAL BENEFIT

Life Insurance Company,

NEWARK, N. J.

LEWIS C. GROVER, President.

STATEMENT, Jan. 1, 1879:

Premiums received in 1878	$4,044,271 05
Interest received in 1878	2,018,969 63
	$6,063,240 68
Balance January 1, 1878	32,252,129 96
	$38,315,370 64

EXPENDITURES IN 1878.

Claims by death	$1,762,259 50
Endowments and annuities	652,002 33
Surrendered policies	1,054,334 50
Dividends or return premiums (Paid policy-holders, $4,956,191 42.)	1,487,595 09
Commissions and agency expenses	270,201 46
Medical Examiners' fees	23,675 61
Printing, advertising, postage and exchange, salaries, and office and incidental expenses	166,047 10
Taxes and legal expenses	88,126 03
Premiums on bonds purchased	214,374 77
Profit and Loss, including deficiency on foreclosure sales	60,061 90
	$5,778,678 29
Balance, January 1, 1879	32,536,692 35
	$38,315,370 64

ASSETS, JANUARY 1, 1879.

Cash on hand and in bank		$474,829 83
United States bonds, 6 per cent., par		6,016,500 00
State, City, and County bonds, par		8,841,584 78
First-mortgage bonds, Newark & N. Y. R. R., guaranteed		573,000 00
First-mortgage bonds, Pemberton & N. Y. R. R., guaranteed by United Companies, N. J.		375,000 00
First bonds and mortgages on real estate		9,853,332 44
Real estate, Company's office-building, Newark		296,441 67
Real estate, taken on foreclosure, New York and New Jersey		1,275,302 50
Premium loans on policies in force, secured by reserve on same, of over $15,000,000		4,803,623 78
Balance due from agents		27,077 35
		$32,536,692 35
Interest due and accrued	$747,108 16	
Premiums due in December and deferred premiums	186,981 77	
		934,089 93
Total assets, par value		$33,470,782 28
* Market value of United States and other bonds above par, $1,447,316 53.		
Gross assets, including market value of securities		$34,918,098 81

LIABILITIES.

Reserve fund, 4 per cent., Mass. standard	$30,178,822 00	
Policy claims in process of adjustment	668,502 00	
Dividends due	,986 57	
Estimated expenses on unpaid premiums, 10 per cent	8,698 18	
Premiums paid in advance	7,348 88	
		$31,113,357 63
Total surplus as regards policy-holde r value of assets at 4 per cent. (Mass. standa serve		$2,357,424 65
Total Surplus: Market value of asse at 4½ per cent. (N. Y. standard) serve	5,937,160 00	
Dividends on 1878 premiums, paya 1879		$1,436,349 19
Unapportioned surplus		$921,075 46

Number of policies in fo nuary 1, 1879, 41,764;
Insuring, $119,179,529.

E F Bickford ms 25 79

DIRECTORS.

LEWIS C. GROVER,	E. A. STRONG,
JOSEPH A. HALSEY,	O. L. BALDWIN,
AMZI DODD,	THEODORE MACKNET,
HENRY McFARLAN,	J. B. PEARSON,
B. C. MILLER,	WILLIAM CLARK,
F. T. FRELINGHUYSEN,	EDWARD H. WRIGHT.

OFFICERS.

LEWIS C. GROVER, President.

B. C. MILLER, Treasurer.	J. B. PEARSON, Vice-Pres't.
E. A. STRONG, Secretary.	B. J. MILLER, Actuary.
H. N. CONGAR, Adjuster.	F. H. TEESE, Counsel.

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WM. S. KIMBALL & CO., Rochester, N. Y.
Peerless Tobacco Works.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1879.

The Week.

DR. NORVIN GREEN, the President of the Western Union Telegraph Company, has written a letter to Mr. Clarkson N. Potter intended to defend the Company from the imputation of breach of confidence or partiality involved in the allegation that the political telegrams of the canvass of 1876 were handed over to the Senate Committee by the late Mr. Orton, who was an ardent Republican. What Dr. Green says is that they were handed over to the Senate Committee by the Executive Committee, but with the understanding that the House Committee was to have access to them whenever they pleased, an arrangement with which both parties expressed themselves satisfied, and which was intended to save the immense labor of copying them. Mr. Clarence Cary, the lawyer of the company, makes the same explanation on another page. This puts Mr. Orton's course in a better light, but it does not essentially change the situation. The House Committee made no attempt to examine them, we presume because both parties had come to an agreement not to look further into the doings during the canvass, which Mr. Orton told Mr. Hewitt would be found discreditable to both sides. This agreement imposed on Senator Morton the obligation to return the telegrams intact; instead of which they lay in the committee-room, where they were inspected and sorted by Bullock, the clerk, now Consul at Cologne, Brady, the Assistant Postmaster-General, both Indiana henchmen, and other workers, until the Democratic telegrams finally reached the *Tribune*. The transaction from first to last has been worthy of a band of faro-bankers quarrelling over a division of their gains, but the nature of the discoveries made about Tilden's followers is such that the public is not disposed to trouble itself about the *modus operandi*.

We have discussed elsewhere the investigation of the cipher telegrams conducted by the House Committee in this city. The New York *Times* gives the following deplorable account of Mr. Tilden's personal appearance in the committee-room:

"It was a pitiable spectacle to look at this infirm old man, his expressionless countenance seamed all over with physical decay, his thin, grey hairs straying confusedly in all directions over his poll, his feeble body sunken into a heap, and his transparent hands shaking violently with palsy, mumbling denials which few unprejudiced listeners doubted were untrue, so utterly inconsistent were they with the ordinary circumstances of every-day life. Every few moments—often in the middle of a sentence—he would stop for breath, and would then go on without inflection or indication of any kind that any other faculty of his mind than his memory was in play."

What is most interesting in this is the fact of the memory continuing to work after the other faculties had been impaired. Usually, indeed almost invariably, the memory is the first to go, and what is most painful in the condition of these rascally old dotards is that they remember little or nothing unless stirred up with a cudgel. Another curious feature in Mr. Tilden's condition as here described is that such a helpless old fellow should be a powerful and indefatigable railroad wrecker and speculator and intriguer, and be actively engaged even now in all manner of wickedness. How does he manage to be such an energetic evil-doer, as the *Times* often assures us that he is, with "his feeble body sunk into a heap" and "his hands shaking violently with the palsy"? Here is a question for the neurologists.

Henry Ward Beecher also "took a whack at him" in his sermon on Sunday, calling him "an old crafty paralytic." The sermon was highly pessimistic, relating to the general decay of morality, which the preacher described as "the danger that the foundations of our society and polity may crumble away and let us down into the depths of ruin," which is certainly an awful prospect. Mr. Beecher takes a far more serious view of bulldozing than of cheating in the count, and sneers bitterly at those who are not troubled about election terrorism but are troubled about the Returning Board trickery, using, he says sarcastically, "the conscience of arithmetic," which he evidently thinks a mean thing. The sermon calls for two observations: one is that Mr. Tilden is in a position of which Mr. Beecher has had painful experience—that of a man who has little but his naked assertion to oppose to powerful circumstantial and documentary evidence of guilt, and therefore deserves at *his* hands, at least, exemption from vituperative moralizing. The other is that bulldozing and other forms of violence are not characteristics of our age or nation. They are the sins of small districts in a low stage of civilization, and are sure to pass away before long, because population, industry, trade, and wealth kill them. Returning-Board trickery, or, as Mr. Beecher calls it, making "two and two into five" is, on the other hand, the vice of the period *par excellence*, and is confined to no State or section. It flourishes most where the arts are found in most perfection, and where schools and churches most abound. Some of its most eminent practitioners, indeed, are prominent pewholders, and applaud most lustily when hearty preachers are pitching into the Louisiana "red-shirts." If there be anything that is going "to plunge us into the depths of ruin" it is this, and our best if not only defence against it is "the conscience of arithmetic," which is more shocked by the spectacle of a band of official scoundrels doctoring returns and cooking accounts, than by a band of ruffians fighting on the highway. It is this conscience which preachers need just now to preach with most pounding of the cushion. Nobody in Mr. Beecher's church is at all tempted to go out and bulldoze, but his sheep are all more or less tempted to make five out of two and two, and were we in his place we would carefully cultivate the "arithmetical conscience," feeling assured that the other conscience, which takes charge of distant crimes and outrages committed by other people one thousand miles away, will grow beautifully without other nutriment than coffee and cakes.

The Congressional doings of the week have been of some importance. The Democratic substitute for Mr. Edmunds's resolutions was rejected on Wednesday week by a party vote of 23 to 16, after amendment by Mr. Edmunds in these words:

"That the right of the people peaceably to assemble for the purpose of petitioning Congress for a redress of grievances, or for anything else connected with the powers and duties of the National Government, is an attribute of national citizenship, and as such under the protection of and guaranteed by the United States, and within the scope of the sovereignty of the United States to protect by penal laws."

Mr. Edmunds's resolutions were then adopted separately by about the same vote. So the Judiciary Committee stands instructed to prepare a bill to protect citizens in their right to vote for Representatives in Congress. The gist of the debate we have considered elsewhere. On Thursday the Senate passed, by 46 to 4, the new bill in regard to the taking of the census which has been prepared with the aid of the Superintendent of the Census, and is a vast improvement on the law of 1850, though Mr. Conkling, who voted with the minority, thought there was no need of a change. Mr. Conkling seldom misses an opportunity to show his utter indifference to the commercial interests of the great State whose servant he nominally is, and he was not ashamed to declare his opinion that the object of a census was to reapportion representation in Congress and not to secure "all sorts of statistics." The enumeration is to occupy the month of June, 1880. On Friday, by 40 to 20, Mr. Edmunds dissenting among the rest, the Senate passed a bill that had been re-

ported adversely by the Judiciary Committee, and in accordance with which women are to be admitted to practise before the Supreme Court after three years' practice before the highest court of any State or Territory, and upon certificate of good standing and good moral character. This measure had already been passed by the House. On Monday the Senate passed the House Certificate of Deposit Bill, amended so as to make the interest 4 per cent. instead of 3. For convenience the Treasury would have preferred 3.65.

The House on its part has been chiefly engaged with the Army Appropriation Bill, which it passed on Saturday. The reorganization details of the Burnside Bill were substituted by a party vote of 116 to 92 in place of the section which, by stopping promotion, left those details to be settled by a future Congress. The present vote will not, however, have the opposite effect, for there is very little doubt that the Senate will resist the new legislation of this bill, and that a Conference Committee will not save it. The party which has been clamoring so long for army reduction has, meantime, saved its character for sincerity, and will be satisfied to have done so. Another amendment to the bill was one offered by Mr. Hewitt, repealing that section of the Revised Statutes which authorizes troops to be stationed at the polls on election day; this was carried by 110 to 95. An amendment involving the transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department was defeated, in Committee of the Whole, by 101 to 88. In view of the fact that the reports of the Joint Committee for and against that proposition had been printed, and that there had been both sufficient notice and debate in regard to it, the vote may be taken as a clear indication that the transfer will not be made by the present Congress. It would not be remarkable if the decided change in the views of several of the Democratic members, during the last fortnight, upon this subject were due to the intelligence of the shocking fate of the revolted band of Cheyennes while under military control. An unsuccessful attempt was made on Monday to pass, under suspension of the rules, a bill repealing the statutes providing a test oath for Southern jurors in certain cases, and for the appointment and payment of election and special deputy-marshals. The supporters of the Sugar Bill proved strong enough to get to-day fixed for its consideration. The discussion of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill was begun.

The Democratic caucus in Congress decided on Saturday to tack on to this Appropriation Bill a repeal of the act compelling persons to swear that they have not borne arms against the Union as a qualification for service on juries, and also of the Federal Election law, in order to coerce the Senate and President, through the dislike of an extra session. It was alleged in the caucus by Senator Thurman that these acts, or one of them, had been passed by the Republicans in this way, and that therefore there could be no impropriety in adopting this mode of repealing them. It is, perhaps, an exaggeration, but not much of an exaggeration, to call schemes of this sort revolutionary, and Mr. Thurman's leading them shows that he has completely lost his head. Mr. Bayard opposed the plan, and it appears that the caucus was thinly attended, and that the bulk of the Southern, and the best of the Northern, Democrats decline to be bound by its decisions. The Republicans have, we believe, no objection to the repeal of the Jurors' Test Oath, with which the Southerners would, for the present, be content. There is no need of haste in taking up the Election Law because there will be no election before December, and anyhow the Democrats will commit one of their accustomed follies in proposing its repeal without, at least, offering some substitute for it. In any case, tacking to appropriation bills measures which deserve serious and separate consideration is tricky and unparliamentary, and deserves all the resistance it can receive.

The bill to permit women to practise before the Supreme Court at Washington is a measure passed principally for the relief of Mrs. Belva Lockwood's disabilities, she having been engaged in the practice of the law for some time in Washington, debarred by her sex, however, from appearing in the Supreme Court. The bill was carried through mainly by the energetic advocacy of Senators McDonald, Sargent, and Hoar, whose oratorical efforts were reinforced by the presence of "Judge" Lockwood, as she is called in Washington by male reporters, in the gallery. After the struggle was over, all the senators who advocated the bill were "made the recipients" of bouquets, while the three Senators whose names we have given received large baskets of flowers. This is a pleasing omen of that purification of legal business which it is hoped will flow from the introduction of woman into the courts. It was not flowers that used to be distributed at Washington and Albany, in the old corrupt times, among legislators in testimony of gratitude for their votes. Let us hope that venal legislation at Washington will be extirpated by the rise of this beautiful custom. It is pleasant to think of the oratory of "favorite sons" being stimulated by the gentle rivalry as to which of them shall get the most bouquets or the biggest basket of flowers, instead of those lower motives which have had such full play heretofore.

The Navy Investigation has concluded with a majority report from the House Naval Committee, which gives some facts additional to those contained in the issue of the *Nation*, No. 705. During the eight years of Robeson's administration there was appropriated for the United States Navy the sum of $182,409,033. During the same period material was disposed of which cost the Government $100,000,000. Yet, in spite of these great sums at the service of the Department, there existed an indebtedness at the close of Secretary Robeson's term of $7,083,503 25, unwarranted by any law, while there is very little to show for this enormous expenditure. There were last year seventy-four vessels temporarily or permanently unfit for use, and only forty-three in service. The property sold or disposed of could easily have yielded an income of $20,000,000; but, as a matter of fact, the Government received for it something under $2,000,000. The report points out violations of law in too many cases for mention. In the single matter of proposals and purchase from the lowest bidder, the distinct provisions of the law have been disregarded in 850 cases. Other illegal transactions were the making of contracts for which there was no appropriation, advance payments for work not done, and endless corruption and favoritism in the disposal of material belonging to the Government. Ex-Secretary Robeson and several chiefs of bureau are named as the guilty persons, and the Committee demand that they be brought to justice.

The President is said to have written a letter to Collector Merritt informing him that there must be no discrimination against Mr. Arthur's appointees in the Custom-house, which must now be administered on strictly reform principles. We trust this is true. There is little doubt that the effect of the victory in the Senate has been very disheartening to the henchmen, and has done much to dislocate the Machine all over the country. It will doubtless, for this reason, do a good deal to discourage the Grant movement, which is essentially an effort of the Machine to renew its hold on power, and the success of which would be really a formal surrender of the best portion of the better of the two political parties to the worst influences in national politics, and as such would be an immense disaster. It has been feared by many, however, that the President would be so elated by his success in beating Conkling with his own weapons, that he and Sherman would be tempted into showing the world that they were not mere "Sunday-school politicians" after all, but could, if they got their blood up, play as sinful a game as anybody. A sturdy adherence even now at the eleventh hour to the beautiful programme with which Mr. Hayes took office would soon put an end to these discouraging rumors, and would before the next convention do much to revive the reform feeling to which he owed his election.

Elizabeth in the North and Memphis in the South have proclaimed themselves bankrupt. The causes which led them into this

strait are somewhat different, and on the whole more discreditable to the Northern than to the Southern city. During the period of demoralization following the war Memphis fell into the hands of a set of rascals who saddled the city with a large debt by issuing bonds which were sold for about fifty cents on the dollar, and the proceeds of which were either stolen or wasted. This debt and the loss of life and business consequent on the ravages of the yellow fever during the past year have combined to ruin the city financially. Elizabeth, on the other hand, has burdened herself in a manner which admits of no palliation. The city officers have sold bonds for every purpose that their imagination could suggest, from elaborate paving and water-works to providing the means for paying their current expenses, while property has been assessed till more than its value has been paid for improvements of very questionable use. The city officers, however, do not deserve all the blame. For the continued existence of such a state of things there must have been a culpable indifference to public affairs on the part of the tax-payers. As regards the way out of the difficulty, the methods adopted by the two cities will probably be different. At her own request the charter of Memphis has been taken away, and she is no longer a city, a proceeding which is probably unconstitutional, as involving the violation of contracts. The inhabitants seem to regard repudiation with no unfriendly eye, and unless protected by the courts the bondholders will lose everything. Elizabeth, although more inexcusable in the contraction of her liabilities, will no doubt find an honester way to deal with them.

The sales of United States 4 per cent. bonds continue at the rate of about $5,000,000 per day, and notification has been given to the holders of another $20,000,000 5-20 6 per cents that they will be redeemed. This makes $190,000,000 notified for redemption this year. The sales of 4 per cents in Europe are increasing, but they are not yet sufficient in amount to offset in the foreign exchanges the 5-20 bonds ordered from Europe for redemption. Accordingly, the market for foreign exchange is strong, and the rates for bankers' sterling have been advanced nominally to within half a point of the specie-exporting rate, and actually to within one point of that rate. At the Stock Exchange speculation is not as active as during January, but there is a wonderfully large and sustained demand for railroad investments, and it is evident that a good part of the money coming out of United States 6 per cents is going into railroad securities rather than into United States 4 per cents—proof of a new class of buyers for the latter, inasmuch as the amount of 6 per cents called in is governed by the amount of 4 per cents sold. The money market continues extremely easy for all classes of borrowers. In general trade there is some improvement, but this cannot be measured by the increased activity and advance in prices at the Stock Exchange. The Treasury stopped buying silver deliverable at the Philadelphia Mint, and has given notice that it will buy only small weekly amounts for delivery at New Orleans and San Francisco. In London the price of silver bullion has fallen to 49⅛*d.* to 49⅝*d.* per ounce; the bullion value of the 412½-grain silver dollar is down to $0.8353.

The British troops have sustained a severe reverse in South Africa, losing over five hundred regulars of the Queen's army and about one hundred of the Colonial troops, and a large quantity of stores. The military situation in that region has been causing a good deal of anxiety ever since the annexation of the Orange Republic of the Dutch Boers two years ago. The Boers, who are a very small settlement, had a quarrel with Secocoeni, a Caffre chief, a sort of vassal, as well as can be made out, of Cetiwayo, the King of the Zulus, the most powerful and warlike of the South African races. The Dutch got the worst of it in the fight, and to prevent their extinction, and the entrance of the victorious savages into the British settlements of Natal, the British Colonial Office annexed the Republic, and warned Secocoeni off. He fell back on his suzerain, who made preparations to support him. After much fighting and bickering, the British Government resolved, in order to restore peace and order on the frontier, to reduce Cetiwayo to the condition of an Indian prince by requiring him to receive a resident and submit himself to a variety of restrictions both in his relations with the colonies and in his manner of governing his own people. As he is a warlike fellow, with an army of forty thousand in organized regiments, fairly disciplined, armed with rifles, and capable in that country of feats of locomotion which Europeans cannot imitate, and as he had hitherto thrashed all his neighbors without difficulty, he disdained to reply, and prepared for war. Lord Chelmsford, the British commander, thereupon marched against him with a small and, as it appears, divided force, on one column of which Cetiwayo threw himself with overwhelming strength and annihilated it. He has since, it is reported, been frequently repulsed, and he probably will find it difficult to keep the field in great numbers, but the white colonists as well as the white army are but a handful in the midst of a vast black population, and the danger is that the rising against them may spread before reinforcements reach the ground either from England or India. It is rather odd that the Zulus should after all prove more formidable foes than the Afghans. The result of the conflict will probably be a considerable extension of the British territory, but at great cost, and it will press against a teeming population, and in a very difficult country. The region, too, is not very attractive to colonists, and the burden of defence will fall almost wholly on the home Government.

The news is bad for the Ministry, as it brings home in an unpleasant way the costliness of an "imperial policy," and brings it home, too, at a moment when the public begins to feel anxious about the future in Afghanistan, where no organized resistance worth mentioning has been encountered, but where no one can take a walk outside of the British sentries without the risk of being murdered. In fact, all the reports from the seat of war go to show that each column holds the ground it camps on and no more. The news of Yakub Khan's submission has not been confirmed. He is at Cabul, but the invaders are afraid to march on him and overthrow him, because they would then have nobody to negotiate with and would have the government of the country on their hands. The Tories have, however, received some solid comfort from the defeat of the Liberals in North Norfolk, a county election at which both parties put forth all their strength, and which the Liberals acknowledged beforehand would show conclusively whether they had made any impression among the farmers. It would seem that they have not, and the explanation now given is that they furnish no positive foreign policy as a substitute for Beaconsfield's. This is the more discouraging as the election came close on a speech of Sir William Harcourt's at Oxford on this policy, which was probably one of the most savage and destructive pieces of political criticism ever uttered —so destructive that no Tory orator or writer even attempted to reply to it. They simply bowed their heads and said it was easy to find fault.

In France the new régime seems to be working smoothly, and M. Grévy is carrying on the programme of the Left by sending procureurs and generals into retirement by the dozen, and the Monarchists have apparently completely abandoned the field, leaving the Republicans face to face with their only remaining enemy, the "Clericals," who seem to be getting ready for the fray which every one feels is sure to come before long, as the Government proposes to withdraw the permission given three years ago to universities to grant their own degrees, and a bill for compulsory secular education by means of severe penalties on parents is before the Assembly. A new champion of the Church has appeared in the person of Bishop Freppel, of Angers, who seems desirous of occupying the late Bishop Dupanloup's position. He commenced operations with one of the most effective weapons of ecclesiastical warfare, by praying for the Chambers, when the session opened, in a bitter and minatory way, and he has defied the law by publishing the Pope's Encyclical without state permission.

THE CIPHER TELEGRAMS INVESTIGATION.

MR. TILDEN, as well as Messrs. Marble and Pelton, have been examined by the Potter Committee in this city, and with what we may call the anticipated result. Mr. Tilden denied in the most sweeping way all knowledge both of the telegrams deciphered by the *Tribune* and of the transactions to which those telegrams referred. He acknowledged, however, that he did learn at the time of Pelton's having gone to Baltimore in November, 1876, to negotiate with somebody for the purchase of a vote or votes of the South Carolina Returning Board, but declared that he had expressed his displeasure to his informant, Mr. Edward Cooper, and had directed Pelton to be recalled at once. This furnished the only matter by which any impression whatever was made on his testimony in cross-examination, for it was pointed out to him, and we think with success, that his card addressed to the public in October last, denying all knowledge of the cipher telegrams, was so worded as to convey the impression that he had not, until these telegrams were published, heard anything of any attempts to buy or sell the votes of any of the Returning Boards. But this must be judged with reference to his idiosyncrasies, one of which is the habit of not writing anything that is not strictly necessary to cover the case. It also came out in cross-examination that his displeasure with Pelton for his Baltimore operations was not shown in any violent or even impressive way. This is hardly of great importance, because it is not the custom of men in public life to denounce "workers" for being dishonest in their own service with any great vehemence, even when they dislike it; and, if we are not mistaken, there is no case on record of a Good Man in politics having repudiated a Wicked Partner until he was publicly found out. Allowance, too, has to be made for differences of temperament, in judging men's ways of expressing disapproval. Feelings which in one man find vent in profane language, in another simply produce sadness of countenance.

As to Pelton, he confessed everything, and so did Smith Weed. Marble got on very well, by representing his telegrams communicating the offers to sell as "danger signals" and pieces of news, until he reached those in which he was informed by Pelton that "the proposition was accepted, if done only once," and in which he, as is alleged, replied that "the proposition had failed." Pelton swore that the first of these was an authorization to Marble to buy, on certain terms, and that he did not raise the money because of the second, in which Marble announced to him that the negotiations had broken down. Mr. Marble's denial of this explanation and inability to offer any other, and his inability to explain the despatch alleged to have been received by him—"Despatch here; proposition too high"—may be said to have been fatal to his evidence. This ignorance or forgetfulness as to these two despatches, taken in connection with the despatches he acknowledged and Pelton's confession, seem to make out pretty clearly that he was engaged in a negotiation for the purchase of the Presidency which, for some reason not revealed, failed. The whole of his evidence is not worth analyzing, and is of little or no interest to the public, which is getting thoroughly tired of the whole matter.

As to the effect likely to be produced by Mr. Tilden's testimony, we think it will with each reader have the weight of Mr. Tilden's word. That is, it will impress favorably those who trust him, and will seem to those who do not trust him simply an addition to the list of his sins. Looking at the matter in the light of surrounding circumstances, and in the light of Pelton's character, which was well known to him, and in the light of his own manner of doing business, most people will find it difficult to believe that he did not perceive the possibility of something wrong, or that he had determined to do anything by way of prevention beyond repressing whatever was brought to his knowledge, or that had he obtained the Presidency he would have been much surprised or troubled if he had learnt, after his election, that some of his votes had been paid for. His allowing Pelton, with the knowledge he already possessed of his character, to rove about on political business, and even appear to represent him, is something which hardly any assertion will dispose of. His statement before the Committee, nevertheless, was skilfully made, and will, we do not doubt, have a certain impressiveness with the rank and file of Democratic voters, though it must have been disappointing to the chiefs, who doubtless looked for something much more crushing. The warmth, in particular, was inserted in the right place, and found expression in vigorous and telling English, which will produce its effect on thousands of rural voters, who will not examine the evidence with a critical eye. One thrust in it was most dexterous, and must have disconcerted the Republican members of the Committee, if one may judge from the pains they took to meet it—we mean the solemn asseveration "before God and his country" that the votes of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana had been bought. He was, however, able to adduce no proof of this beyond what was known to all the world. The strongest fact he had—a fact, however, which anywhere but in "politics" would be serious, if not fatal—was McLin's receiving a nomination to permanent office, a chief-justiceship in New Mexico, from the person in whose favor he had, in the exercise of judicial functions, given a discretionary casting vote for the Presidency. In any other field than politics, as we have said, this would be called a sale; and there have been several incidents of the same sort. In fact, on a calm survey of all the evidence which has been produced with regard to the occurrences in the three disputed States between the day of the vote in 1876 and the Congressional count in 1877, it is all but impossible to avoid the conclusion that some of the workers on both sides were engaged in attempts to corrupt the Returning Boards, the Democrats with offers of money and the Republicans with promises of office; that the latter owed their success to the fact that, other things being equal, the sympathies of the members of the Board were with them; and that a proffer of good situations from the party actually in power seemed both surer than a naked offer of money from the party in opposition and much more attractive, because the receipt of money would, if discovered, entail infamy if not criminal prosecution, while the receipt of office would be treated as harmless if not praiseworthy. Mr. Tilden's people could, of course, have promised McLin a chief-justiceship just as well as Mr. Hayes's, and McLin might have put it in Tilden's power to bestow it; but, as we have said, despicable a person as we now know McLin to be, he doubtless had feeling and conviction enough to prefer Hayes to Tilden, *cæteris paribus;* besides which, McLin being a Republican, Tilden could not have given him office at the South without confessing illicit relations with him.

The Republicans have, with a naïveté which has not of late years been characteristic of them, helped to strengthen this view by their manner of pushing the case against Pelton and Marble and the other "coparceners." They apparently have not perceived, in their eagerness to convince the country of Democratic dishonesty, that the more clearly they show these worthies to have been engaged in negotiations for the purchase of the Presidency—negotiations which, according to the *Tribune*, only failed in South Carolina by the Providential miscarriage of a despatch—the more clearly do they prove the venality of the Returning Boards, and the more unlikely do they make it seem that these Boards gave Mr. Hayes out of pure love of justice what they had tried to sell to Mr. Tilden for cash. A glimpse of the consequences of this blunder seems to have been vouchsafed to some Republicans at the eleventh hour, for immediately after the close of Mr. Tilden's evidence a writer in the *Times* made a labored attempt to prove that members of the Boards were not venal, but honest though poor citizens; but it was hardly worth examination. The public, we are satisfied, has now had enough of the whole matter. The exposure has probably and deservedly ruined Mr. Tilden's chances of another nomination, but it is not likely to have any other result of much public importance beyond intensifying the popular determination that the opportunity for these shocking scandals shall not recur, that some means shall be devised of deciding conflicting claims to the Presidency which will make it unnecessary to treat the candidates and their friends as common criminals, and to weigh their acts in scales usually reserved for the burglar and the counterfeiter.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE COLORED VOTERS.

THE debates in the Senate during the past fortnight on Mr. Edmunds's resolutions have been very interesting. They contain a very free and full exposition of the position which both parties have reached on the question of the relation which the recent Constitutional Amendments have created between the Federal Government and the voters of the various States. It is acknowledged on all hands that the precautions taken by the Republican party while in power for the protection of the freedmen of the South in the exercise of the suffrage have proved insufficient, and that if they are to be protected in it at all by other agencies than their own physical and moral force something new will have to be resorted to. Carpet-baggery has been tried and has proved futile; so has the machinery for the supervision of elections created by Federal statutes already enacted, and it is clear that even in the States in which the negroes are in the majority neither their opinion nor physical force is equal to the task in the teeth of white Democratic hostility. That this should be a source of anxiety not unmixed with mortification to the best class of Republicans is natural enough. The party emancipated the negroes on its own motion, and at the close of the war deliberately resolved to meet the responsibility imposed by the fact that the freedmen were to be left in the power of their late masters, by insisting that the suffrage should be given them. This was probably the best course open under the peculiar restrictions imposed on the Federal Government by the semi-independence of the States. By no government would slaves so emancipated have been left completely under the control of their late owners. Any Government in the world possessing complete sovereignty would have protected them by means of a magistracy and police of its own, armed with extensive powers. The Republican party tried to reach the same ends by means more in harmony with American traditions and feelings, and, in fact, by the only means which American polity seemed to leave within its reach. As these have proved ineffectual, it is not unnatural, now that the party seems to be losing its hold on power, that it should try whether it cannot come to some understanding with the Democrats by which its pledges to the Southern colored voters would be redeemed; and Mr. Edmunds's resolutions in the Senate have looked like the opening of negotiations for this purpose. They pronounce the three last amendments valid, declare that the people of each State have an interest in the enforcement of the Constitution in every other, call on Congress to supply such legislation as may be needed to protect citizens in the enjoyment of the rights secured by these amendments, and instruct the Judiciary Committee to report a bill for the full and impartial protection of all citizens legally qualified in the right to vote for representatives in Congress.

To this Mr. Morgan, of Alabama, replied on behalf of the Democrats by an amendment acknowledging the validity of the Amendments, but affirming the restrictions placed on the power of the United States by the Constitution, and declaring that the United States has not conferred, and cannot confer, the right of suffrage on any one; that the Fifteenth Amendment has bestowed on the citizens of the United States a new Constitutional right—that of exemption from discrimination on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and that while Congress may legislate to prevent the denial or abridgment of this right by a State when such denial or abridgment is on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, if such right is denied or abridged by any one not acting by the authority of or in obedience to the laws of a State the duty of punishing such interference rests with the State, and not with the general Government.

The debate showed that there was really no substantial difference of opinion between Mr. Morgan and Mr. Edmunds, except on one point—viz., what constitutes a denial or abridgment of the right to vote; the Democrats holding that to warrant the interference of the Federal Government there must be denial or abridgment by a State law; the Republicans, that there need only be a failure or omission on the part of the State to provide protection for the voters, whether such failure or omission shows itself in the absence of proper legislation, or in the misconduct of the courts, or in the inefficiency of the police. There is, of course, no State legislation denying any one's right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and it is not likely there ever will be; but the exercise of the right has been prevented, and probably will be frequently again, by unpunished or unpunishable fraud or violence, or by unfair polling arrangements. The United States Government, therefore, Mr. Edmunds holds, should make provision for the proper conduct of Congressional elections and for the protection of persons voting or desiring to vote at them. He even intimated that they should also provide for the free exercise of the right "to assemble peaceably to petition for the redress of grievances," or, in other words, should provide police protection for public meetings held in anticipation of Congressional or Presidential elections, and should punish all attempts to disturb or prevent such meetings. There is undoubtedly in the Republican party a widespread and deeply-seated feeling that some such assertion of power on the part of the United States is due to the colored voters whom the party has called into existence. It is probably the only strong sentiment or opinion in any particular direction now to be found in the party, and it is the sentiment which is appealed to by the process called "waving the bloody shirt"—that is, collecting stories of disorders and outrages at the South, and presenting them in exaggerated and inflammatory language.

We have said that the debate was interesting, meaning for the expressions of opinion that it brought out. But we must also add, that the fact that Mr. Edmunds's resolutions were introduced after the recess in the last session of the present Congress, when there was no chance of their resulting even in an attempt at legislation, that thirty-seven Senators did not vote on them, and only three or four took part in the discussion, seems to show that after all the subject, in spite of its gravity, does not really take hold of the mind of politicians on either side with any seriousness. The chief object of the resolutions, indeed, like the Teller investigation, seems to have been the successful performance of the bit of electioneering known as "putting the Democrats on record" as the enemies of something or other. There was, too, running through the speeches on both sides an evasion of the real facts of the case, and a curious cherishing of an unfounded hypothesis. Mr. Edmunds, for instance, took it for granted in all his remarks that the legislation he called for was needed in every State in the Union; that, in them all, large bodies of persons were liable to be prevented from voting by force or fraud, and were not likely to obtain redress or protection either from the public opinion or the legislature or courts of the State; the fact being that in all but six of them the protection of the voter by State law is the same which has existed since the foundation of the Government, and is as perfect, probably, as could be devised. The Democrats, on the other hand, as studiously pretended that there was no state of things in any part of the Union to account for the Republican anxiety to interfere with State machinery, or to extend the jurisdiction of Federal police, and that there was as much need for Mr. Edmunds's proposed legislation in Massachusetts as in South Carolina or in Mississippi. These little fictions gave the controversy an unpleasant resemblance to a sham battle intended to amuse or bewilder the bystanders.

If the question of Federal protection for negro voters at the South is ever to get beyond the stage of an electioneering cry in the mouths of sensational reporters, or that of a theme for constitutional dialecticians, it will be through what we have not yet had, and what the Republican leaders are bound in honor to give us—viz., a resolute facing and passionless discussion of the details of any proposed system of Federal interference. The negro voters being for the most part a poor and dependent and credulous class, how is the subtle and effectual intimidation of creditors, landlords, and employers to be *legally* met? How is the practice of spreading frightful stories among them about the consequences of voting to be put down? How are juries to be got to punish infractions of Federal election laws, except by packing them? How are we to secure

respect for Federal election laws as long as their administration is entrusted, as at present under party usage, to political partisans, whose bread is dependent on making the election turn one way and not the other? These questions all relate to the practicability of Federal interference when once decided on. But take the still more serious question: By what marks or signs are we to know when the contingency has arisen which, according to Senator Edmunds, will make it Constitutional, under the Fifteenth Amendment, for the Federal Government to interfere in State elections, namely, the refusal or neglect of a State to provide proper protection for the voters? How *much* inefficiency on the part of the courts or police is to create the contingency, and who is to gauge it? Would it be possible to appoint any person to gauge it without in practice giving him a supervision of the entire government of the State? The conduct of trial-justices, for instance, in dealing with assault and battery might very properly be held accountable for a heavy falling off in the vote on one side; are we prepared for this reason to assume the administration of general criminal justice in every State in which the party in power is not satisfied with the result of the election? We might multiply these questions indefinitely. Others of a similar character will occur by the dozen to every thinking man. The instructions of the Edmunds resolutions to the Judiciary Committee to prepare a bill, if given earlier in the session, would have furnished us before now, and it may furnish us by next December, with the plan in detail by which the Republicans expect to solve these problems. If it does so it will be most useful in bringing down the party mind to the facts of life, and putting a check on the vague declamation in which the whole subject of negro voting is now involved. It will submit also to the people in black and white the momentous question, whether they are willing to make a fundamental change in their system of government in order to put an end, in four or five States out of thirty-eight, to disorders which there is strong reason to believe are transitory, and the chief causes of which are gradually disappearing before our eyes.

THE JOHN ROACH SUBSIDY.

IT is known to the public through the maritime columns of the daily press and otherwise that a line of steamers is plying between the port of New York and that of Rio de Janeiro, touching at some intermediate stations in the West Indies and on the coast of South America. The arrivals and departures of the steamers, and the manifests of their cargoes, have been noted as encouraging signs of an increasing trade with the empire of Brazil—a trade which had supported a numerous fleet of sailing craft at the port of Baltimore for more than a quarter of a century, and which had given rise to regular steam communication between New York and Rio before the line here mentioned, commonly called John Roach's line, was put in operation. It is known, also, through the columns of the *Congressional Record*, that Mr. Roach's line was built for the purpose of obtaining subsidies from the Governments of Brazil and the United States, and that the subsidy from the latter was not secured in time to reward the enterprising owner in advance of the launching of his ships. It is stated, also, that the Government of Brazil refuses to commence paying subsidy until the United States does the same, the result of which unreasonable obstinacy is that Mr. Roach has been running steamers between New York and Rio ten or twelve months on the same terms as other people run steamers on other lines. In the way of dollars and cents this would not have been a losing operation, probably, if Mr. Roach had not been "running" other expensive things at the same time, and particularly a number of commercial conventions, so-called, whose highest idea of commerce turned out, after voluminous debate, to be an appropriation from the national Treasury to Mr. Roach. The cost of these conventions and of other assistance usually brought into requisition when money is wanted from Congress has probably eaten largely into the commercial returns of the steamship venture. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that redoubled exertions are put forth to secure the subsidy before the adjournment of Congress, because if Mr. Roach should be put to the expense of holding another series of commercial conventions, and supporting a corps of lobbyists during the long vacation, the entire receipts of his steamers and his ship-yard might be exhausted, and himself left in no better plight than the forty-six thousand persons and firms who, according to the reports of Dun, Barlow & Co., have fallen victims to bad trade and bad speculations since 1873.

During the session of Congress which closed in the month of June last, Mr. Roach's subsidy was tacked upon the Post Route Bill by the Senate after a vain effort had been made to pass it through the House as an independent measure. The usual methods of "log-rolling" were brought in requisition with cool effrontery. New Orleans, Galveston, and Norfolk were successively lugged into the bill as entrepôts of Brazilian trade, in order to gain Southern votes. Pennsylvania was supposed to be sufficiently paid by having the ships built within her limits, and most of the trades which have been "protected" into a condition of glut by tariff legislation fancied that they saw an outlet for their surplus products in Brazil, and had likewise a fellow-feeling for anybody who noisily asserted his right to lean upon the public taxes for support. This association of local and class interests finally commanded a majority vote in the Senate, but the opponents of the measure in the House raised a point of order or privilege that the Senate had no right to originate an appropriation bill—the Post Route Bill being merely a measure to establish lines of postal service, the appropriations for which are provided in another bill. Whether the point was well or ill taken it sufficed to defeat the scheme for that session, and Mr. Roach was left with two new steamers on his hands which he must either tie up to the dock or send out upon some ocean to take a share in the carrying trade of the world, on even terms with his neighbors.

Prior to this misadventure the cry of the subsidy-hunters had been for a steam line to Brazil. They now have that boon—have had it a long time—but, strange to say, they still talk as though the steamers *City of Rio* and *City of Pará* were non-existent, as though it were impossible to send a mail-bag or a pound of freight to South America by steam unless the Government of the United States shall vote $300,000 per year for ten years, and secure a like sum to be contributed by Brazil, in which case we shall presently see steamers of an approved pattern and tonnage take their place upon the proposed route, and ply with regularity between New York and Rio, and perhaps other ports. So long as there was no line of this sort in operation the usual subsidy argument, whether good or bad in itself, applied to the case in hand. All the force that there is in the supposed need of opening new channels of commerce by public contributions might be logically advanced in support of this claim so long as the channel itself remained unopened. If it were proposed, for instance, to subsidize a line from some American port to Lisbon, or Marseilles, or the Cape of Good Hope, the argument would hold—it would be good for something—it would at least furnish ground for debate. But in a case where steamers are already provided, where a line is in successful operation, where the mails are reaching their destination with regularity, and where berth-room is provided for all the freight offering, that particular argument ceases to have any value or pertinence. We are surprised that so eminent a logician as the Secretary of State does not see the rickety condition of his major premiss.

To bring this within the common understanding it is necessary to add that if Mr. Roach does not get a subsidy he will withdraw the line, and that nobody will step in to fill it. It is not pretended that he had any promise beforehand that he should have a subsidy from us, for Congress was the only authority capable, under our Government, of giving such a promise. What he has done he has done upon his sole responsibility, and he has no more claim upon the Government to reimburse him for his losses, if he has suffered any, than any one of the forty-six thousand bankrupts chronicled by Dun, Barlow & Co. But neither is it asserted that he has incurred any losses in running his steamers, and he is very far from being a bankrupt He has a prohibitory tariff to help him in his trade of

ship-building where other protected manufacturers have only a beggarly sixty or seventy per cent., and he has enjoyed, according to the report of the House Naval Committee, other great advantages in trading with the United States under the auspices of Mr. Geo. M. Robeson.

We can see nothing in this subsidy scheme but a return to the worst examples of legislative barter, which were supposed to have been for ever banished from Washington City when the Pacific Mail and Crédit Mobilier jobs were exposed to public indignation. When the secret history of these transactions came to light both political parties made haste to put the seal of condemnation upon all manner of subsidies in their national and State platforms. It was justly held that under our form of government, with its divided responsibility and its rotating administration and civil service, a system of public largesses to private individuals and companies would expose the Treasury to certain pillage, convert the halls of Congress into auction-rooms, and demoralize every department of the Government; and since no sure line could be drawn between one kind of subsidy and another kind, between a railroad and a steamship, between Mr. John Roach and Col. Tom Scott, between Brazilian steamers and Australian steamers, the whole system must be knocked on the head. This was the spirit in which both Republicans and Democrats attacked subsidies and subsidy legislation a few years ago. It is now pertinent to enquire what has become of the good resolutions to which both parties were so solemnly pledged? How does it happen that a majority of the Senate is found ready to reopen the offensive chapter which was closed by common consent when the Sergeant-at-Arms was pursuing the scampering rogues of Pacific Mail and Pacific Railroad from Texas to Canada? These questions ought to receive some answer when the honorable gentlemen who now vote for Mr. Roach's bill meet their constituents.

As for Mr. Roach himself, his perseverance at Washington is not without reason. If it be true that the Brazilian Government is pledged to commence paying him subsidy-money whenever the United States shall do the same, then every dollar which he gets from our Government counts two for himself, and leaves him an ample fund to pay the expenses of his rather protracted campaign. If he succeeds, others will be entitled to demand similar favors. There are other American shipyards capable of enlivening the ocean with the stars-and-stripes, and other ports besides those mentioned in the pending bill whose commerce might be enlarged by adequate appropriations of public money. Before a final vote is taken, however, it would be decent to enquire how much money is really needed over and above its own earnings from freight and passengers to keep the line going. Nobody has thought it worth while as yet to ask this question. We presume there are some honest supporters of this subsidy—some who believe in subsidies generally, and who think that this one is designed and calculated for the public advantage. Such persons will agree that it is desirable upon all grounds, and necessary to their own vindication hereafter, that no more should be paid than is clearly necessary; and since the data are now within reach for determining exactly what is necessary, we shall expect this class of supporters of the bill to call for an investigation of the receipts and expenses of Mr. Roach's steamers, and of the cost of steam navigation at the present rates of wages and supplies, before committing the Government to a ten years' contract at a lump sum.

THE WINTER EXHIBITIONS IN LONDON.

London, January 25, 1879.

ONE of the pleasantest incidents of the dusky London winter has for some years been the opening of the loan collection of works by deceased masters of the British and the foreign schools in the spacious rooms of the Royal Academy, the rooms which three or four months later are occupied by that very different and, it must be confessed, very inferior congregation of pictures for which they were especially designed. For the last two winters the entertainment of the art-loving and fog-smitten Londoner has received a notable addition in the institution of the loan collection at the Grosvenor Gallery. As this latter enterprise is supposed to compete with the Academy in May and June, so it attempts at the present season a harmless, but not ineffective, rivalry. It must be admitted, however, that this season the Academy has had no trouble in making the finer show. It has the great advantage of being able to draw upon the state collections. This year, for instance, some of its most valuable contributions are from the stores of the two universities and the great art-treasure belonging to the Crown. The Grosvenor Gallery is obliged to depend upon the good-will of individuals, and though the private art-wealth of England is enormous, it rarely happens that the Queen, whose liberality in sending up her pictures and drawings is extreme, is not able to lay down the trump-card. It must be added, on the other hand, that in the department of paintings the Academy shows marked symptoms of having exhausted the great field which it has laid under contribution. There are, doubtless, a great many fine old pictures in England which have never been seen in Burlington House; but from the moment their owners are unwilling to part with them for a couple of months they may be left out of the question. The available contributions are running thin; the cream of the affair has been drained off. There are some very poor contributions on the line, and, though there are some interesting things as well, there is almost nothing of really brilliant merit. The strong feature at Burlington House this year is the department of drawings, the Academy evidently having been put on its mettle by last winter's fine show of drawings at the Grosvenor. By the production of Raphaels, Michael Angelos, and Leonardos by the dozen it has done something to enfeeble the public recollection of that charming exhibition.

There are always a good many portraits at Burlington House, and for two or three years past there has been a successful attempt to gather together those of the British school. Sir Joshuas and Gainsboroughs, Lawrences, Romneys, and Raeburns have covered the walls, and have made on the whole a very brilliant show. But this year the portraiture is very feeble, and there is nothing enlivening in an assemblage of inferior specimens of the artists we have named. The painters of the first rank—the mighty masters—may be still impressive in their weaker hours, but there is little entertainment to be derived from a second-rate Romney, and an unsuccessful Gainsborough is not a profitable spectacle. It is hard sometimes to resist the impression that Gainsborough is an overrated painter, the number of his failures is so large and their quality is so very poor. His sketchiness and his want of science transcend the limits of the allowable, and, to keep him at all in favor, the memory needs to fix itself upon his few perfect works—the "Blue Boy," the "Miss Graham," the "Mrs. Siddons," the "Parish Clerk" at the National Gallery. Of the Romneys this year there is little to be said; they are the products of a very primitive degree of skill. The Sir Joshuas, in spite of an interesting and substantial portrait of Charles James Fox, which has, however, "gone off," as they say here, very much in color, are not of importance, and the single Lawrence, a portrait of a very pretty young lady with vermilion cheeks and chin and bead-like eyes, is an example of the least satisfactory phase of the painter's graceful ability. There is a charming head by Hoppner of a certain most sweet-faced Lady Elizabeth Compton; but it is difficult to feel much enthusiasm about Hoppner, and one's admiration here is for the delightful English beauty of the model rather than for the respectable sobriety of the artist. There are also, as usual, several Vandykes, but they are by no means first-rate examples—one of them in particular, an enormous portrait of the Doge Andrea Spinola, clad in crimson robes of extraordinary voluminosity, being, in spite of its showiness and the refined, distinguished head of the model, a light piece of painting. One of the three or four things in the exhibition which have given me personally most pleasure is an admirable portrait by Franz Hals, which is accompanied by a couple of portraits by Van der Helst, rather below this strong painter's usual high level. The Franz Hals is a truly delectable picture—a plain-faced, manly Dutch burgomaster, standing upright in his fluted ruff and his black cloak, and looking out at posterity with the most vivid sagacity and *bonhomie*. Such pictures as this excellent Franz Hals, executed with such a quiet mastery of the painter's means, such a keen enjoyment of them too and yet such an absence of *bravura* and coquetry, renew one's appreciation of good work. Such a picture, again, casts a rather edifying light upon those unfortunate specimens of the English school of which I just spoke—it makes their sketchiness and their want of science seem still more characteristic. The spectator feels that a fine Franz Hals, though it is not by any means one of the most beautiful pictures possible, is the product of a people among whom, at a certain moment, the sentiment of art reached a pecu-

liar intensity. The Romneys, the Gainsboroughs, even the Sir Joshuas, emanate from a society in which, at no time, the sentiment of art has been intense. One may say even that a general scrutiny of the matter throws a sort of ironical light upon these latter works. The English painters were fortunate; they were highly paid; they were patronized by a splendid aristocracy; their models belonged to the handsomest race in the world; their pictures suggest all the proper ideas of British gentility and morality, of that combination of luxury and propriety which is one of the most striking achievements of English civilization. But, as painters, they lacked the last initiation; it is only by courtesy that we call them masters. The Dutch painters, on the other hand, were limited and professional, vulgar and *bourgeois;* their models were for the most part extremely ugly, and their inspiration was homely and frugal. But with all this they are masters. One must add that they have never lacked recognition in England, and the most valuable part of the winter exhibitions at Burlington House is apt to be the small Dutch pieces. There are several capital ones this year—Gerard Dows, Metzus, Van Ostades, Jan Steens. There is a superb example of the last-named painter, a villager seated at table with his wife and child and saying grace over a simple repast of bread and cheese, in which the painting of the accessories—notably of a certain coarse, dirty towel which occupies a considerable share of the foreground—is a marvel of loving finish. One is sure that Jan Steen loved, as a painter, his dirty towel. There is a certain number of agreeable small landscapes—Ruysdaels, Claudes, Gaspres, Poussins—the Ruysdaels, indeed, include a large attributive specimen of the master on which its owner is not to be purely congratulated. There is a delicious little Hobbema, the property of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and there is a bad big Turner—"Schaffhausen"—in which the falls of the Rhine are represented with an energy which tempts one to dodge, as one passes the picture, to escape from the spray. The Italian room includes a couple of beautiful frost-bitten, slightly livid Botticellis, and a magnificent, genial, natural, devotional, tranquil Gian Bellini, of several figures.

The exhibition of drawings is preceded by a room almost filled with an array of miniatures, chiefly English, and lent by the Duke of Buccleuch. It is a princely collection, and arranged in a manner worthy of it; but the fatigue of looking at these diminutive works of art is such as to have prevented me from taking full cognizance of it. Over the drawings, on the other hand, one would willingly spend many a half-hour. Many of them are from Windsor; a great many others are lent by the Duke of Devonshire, and there are few distinguished Italian hands that are not represented. The most striking feature of the exhibition, however, is perhaps the magnificent series of heads in chalk by Holbein, lent by the Queen. The interest of this noble series of portraits (both of men and women) is that of all Holbein's work—a strong and incorruptible reality, a rendering of the individual outline, of the literal facts and idiosyncrasies of the face, that has never been surpassed. There is surely no one like Holbein for telling us how our forefathers of the early sixteenth century *looked.* It is more than a portraiture: it is almost a betrayal, and we cannot help wondering whether his models, had they apprehended it, would have consented to the unmitigated manner in which he was to perpetuate them. There is something in Holbein's ability that is singularly homogeneous. His process is not interpretation, it is simple rendering, and if in these extraordinary transcripts of strong, natural, simple, expressive faces there is a delightful delicacy, it is almost preponderantly delicacy of hand. The Michael Angelos and Leonardos at the Grosvenor last year were equal, if not superior, to the drawings by these illustrious hands exhibited at present at Burlington House; but there has never been seen in London such a collection of Raphaels. These very numerous sketches—in red and in black chalk, in pencil, in silver-print, in pen and bistre—vary in importance and interest; but they all have a touch of the artist's enchanting grace, and some of them are divinely beautiful.

I have left myself little space to speak of the Grosvenor Gallery. On behalf of the assemblage of modern water-colors of which this year the collection partly consists, this is not greatly to be regretted. The water-colors last year were by defunct masters, and the level of interest was certainly higher. A large number of drawings by Ingres have been lent very kindly by their French possessors, and they were expected, I believe, to form one of the attractions of the exhibition. They are perhaps a little disappointing; but they are nevertheless of interest. They are for the most part small portraits in pencil, marked by the painter's clean, pure, dry precision of outline; and they are characteristic of the artist, just as they are charactistic of the good ugly French faces, full of point and vivacity, which they represent.

Correspondence.

THE LATE MR. ORTON AND THE CIPHER DESPATCHES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your issue of the 30th ult., in referring to the evidence taken before the Potter Committee concerning the campaign telegrams, remarks that "Mr. Orton managed dexterously to avoid surrendering them to the House Committee, but handed them over bodily to the Senate Committee, of which the late Senator Morton was chairman."

In justice to Mr. Orton's memory, and in fairness to the Company of which he was the president, please concede me space to state briefly certain facts in this connection, which may be verified by reference to the *Congressional Record*, and which, I submit, fully meet the grave charge of improper political bias and partiality implied in your article.

The surrender of the messages to the Senate (Morton) Committee was not made by Mr. Orton, but by the Telegraph Company's Executive Committee—which was composed of Democrats and Republicans in about equal numbers—and was not so made until after it had been decided by a Conference Committee, composed of sub-committees of the Senate (or Morton) and House (or Proctor Knott) Committees, that the Senate Committee, under a prior subpœna, was *first entitled to demand and receive the telegrams.* Even then the surrender was not carried out until after the Company had offered to supply the House Committees with certified copies of all the telegrams which were to be delivered up to the Senate Committee—an offer which, with the safeguard its acceptance would have afforded, was not availed of.

On the 15th of January, 1877, Mr. Orton's answer in the House contempt proceedings against him was read in the House of Representatives, disclosing the fact that the political messages were then, and for a month had been, in the custody and control of the Company's Executive Committee, and that that body alone had capacity to produce them. That night the Senate (Morton) Committee sent its Sergeant-at-Arms to New York, and on the next morning (January 16) he served here the drag-net subpœna which compelled the attendance of the Executive Committee at Washington, and secured the surrender of the telegrams. The House Committee was less energetic, and did not serve any like subpœna until after the arrival of the Executive Committee in Washington on the evening of the 17th.

I am, very respectfully, etc.,

Clarence Cary.

Offices of the Western Union Telegraph Company,
New York, February 11, 1879.

THE CROW INDIANS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your Washington correspondence of December 28, relative to the transfer of the management of Indian affairs from the Interior to the War Department, you state twice as one of the principal causes of Indian wars "the tendency of the frontier white population to encroach on the lands of the Indians and to provoke Indian wars with a view to getting some of their lands." It is hardly possible to read an article in any Eastern paper without finding similar statements. On this point there seems to be but one opinion east of the Mississippi, however great the diversity is on every other point connected with the management of Indian affairs. Now, allow me to state a few facts bearing upon this subject.

I have lived nine years within twenty-five miles of the reservation of the Crows, and spent one year on the reservation, trading with the Indians; so that I have certainly had sufficiently good opportunities of observing the relations between the whites and the Indians. I do not think that the frontiersmen of Montana have a better reputation for gentleness and loving-kindness towards Indians than other settlers in the far West, and my observations at other points bear me out in the supposition that what I shall state about the character of the intercourse between the Crows and the whites is applicable in most other places. The Crow reservation embraces all that part of Montana lying east and south of the Yellowstone, extending east about twenty-five miles beyond the Big Horn. It embraces some of the finest agricultural and grazing lands of the Territory, and valuable mineral lands. It bars our front door, compelling us to make a detour of several hundred miles and enter through the back door by way of Ogden and the barren Snake River country.

Until the abandonment of Forts Phil. Kearney and C. F. Smith the bulk of the overland immigration took the route by these forts, in spite of hostile Sioux and not too friendly Crows; but since they were given up and this Crow reservation established, this road has been practically closed. During the last two years a chain of settlements has been formed along the north bank of the Yellowstone, which is comparatively barren, not being watered by the mountain streams so abundant throughout the reservation. The settlers have been compelled to float saw-logs hundreds of miles down the river to get lumber for their houses, while they could stand in their doors and see forests of pine opposite to them on the south bank of the river. You will see that this reservation is of importance to us, and we do not disguise the fact that we want it. We wish to see the Crows removed.

Furthermore, the Crows make hardly any use of their reservation. They visit it every spring to trade and receive their annuities, and the supplies issued keep a few of the laziest families around their agency the whole year to gain a scanty subsistence from the rations allowed them. The greater part of the year they spend on the plains and alkaline bottoms between the Yellowstone and Musselshell Rivers, where immense herds of buffaloes are yet found. The beautiful valleys and grassy table-lands of their own country have only passing attractions for them, while the whites look at it with longing as a veritable Goshen which they can only overlook from the summit of Nebo, without being permitted to enter. Further, until within the last three years continual depredations on the settlements were committed by the Crows. They stole horses, killed cattle, and occasionally a man or two; but then it was only a frontiersman less, perhaps a poor herder or trapper, and didn't amount to much. These depredations were traced to their door; but farther no one was allowed to go, and we could have no redress.

Now, you will admit that it would be difficult to find greater incitements to restless, adventurous men than the Montanians have had to "provoke Indian wars with a view to getting some of their lands," but not one instance has come to my knowledge of injustice being done to the Crows by the white settlers. One encroachment has been made on their lands. In the extreme southwest corner of their reservation, high up in the mountains of the Yellowstone, is a small mining-camp which was there before the reservation was set apart; but it has never caused any trouble, nor have the Crows ever complained of it, although some overzealous agents have occasionally threatened to have the miners removed by force. For several years no Crow has been within fifty miles of this settlement, and it can hardly be considered an encroachment.

Now the Crows are restless, their annuities have been frequently delayed, their supplies have been insufficient or not furnished at all; but, above all, the recent Nez-Percés and Bannock campaigns have instilled in them a great contempt for the power of our Government, and there may be trouble ahead. If it comes it will undoubtedly be said again that the cause was "encroachment by the frontier population"; but it will be utterly false in this case as it has been in so many others. The only real encroachment made has been by the army, when Fort Custer was established on the Little Big-Horn, and it was complained of bitterly by the Crows, but of course to no purpose, although it was very questionable whether it was a judiciously-selected site for a post, and whether the fort would not have answered its purpose equally as well or better if it had been built on the Yellowstone, outside the limits of the Crow reservation.

If our Eastern critics had lived for years on the frontier, exposed to continual raids, losing their stock, having their houses burned, carrying their lives in their hands, seeing their neighbors slaughtered, they would not so thoughtlessly accuse the population of the frontier of inciting Indian wars. Such has been our experience, and I will venture to say that no one who has lived through the Sioux troubles, and witnessed the devastation caused in Montana by the Nez-Percés war, would willingly provoke another Indian war, could he gain the whole Crow reservation by it. I am referring now to the actual settlers of the country. There is another class, hunters, trappers, adventurers, whiskey-traders, and the like, leading a roving life, and often coming in contact with the Indian. There is always some danger of their recklessness leading them into trouble and brawls; but their isolation and wandering habits make it so evidently their own interest to keep on good terms with the Indians, that their quarrels seldom go beyond braggadocio and loud talk.

Among the principal causes of Indian troubles are the following, which I shall state without comment, as my letter is already too long: A too frequent change of agents (the Crows have had four in less than two and a half years); incapacity and inexperience of many agents; too much centralization in Washington and too much circumlocution and red tape; no confidence is put in the agents, and they have no power to act promptly in case of an emergency; failure on the part of Congress to make sufficient appropriations, and restricting those made in such a manner that they are not available for the purposes for which they are needed; dilatoriness in making the appropriations, making it impossible for the department to ship supplies in time to reach the distant agencies before winter makes freighting impossible; failure of contractors to furnish supplies; occasional dishonesty on the part of agents and occasional bad faith on the part of the Government; the credulity and limited intellectual capacity of the Indians, making them easily seduced by other hostile tribes or renegade whites; pure "cussedness" on the part of the Indians.

Finally, the frontiers people are not, as a rule, in favor of a policy of destruction. They are in favor of civilization, if possible. But it is not possible with the present plan of large reservations, where the Indians are allowed to roam almost at will. It is possible only where the Indians are restricted and compelled to abandon a roving life. Such a policy the West favors; but it is opposed to allowing twenty square miles of fine land to each buck, squaw, and papoose in the tribe.

Yours truly, P. Koch.

Bozeman, Montana, Jan. 18, 1879.

Notes.

HARPER & BROS. will shortly issue 'Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates,' by Byron's granddaughter, Lady Anne Blunt.——J. B. Lippincott & Co. have in press a 'History of Princeton, N. J., and its Institutions,' in two volumes, by John Frelinghuysen Hageman.——Macmillan & Co. have become the publishers of Charles Kingsley's 'Health and Education' and 'Town Geology,' and of the 'Selections' from his writings. They also announce a uniform reduction of the price of the Clarendon Press Series of Shakspere's Select Plays to fifty cents.——Mr. James E. Munson, author and publisher of the 'Complete Phonographer' and the 'Dictionary of Practical Phonography,' has now issued, as the cap-sheaf of the series, a 'Phrase-Book of Practical Phonography,' which not only gives an alphabetical list (filling two hundred columns) of phrases, with the signs attached, but explains the reasonableness of them in an elaborate discussion of phraseography. The volume contains also exercises, with a key, definitions of law terms, etc., etc. Its usefulness cannot be doubted.——A 'Glossary of Biological, Anatomical, and Physiological Terms,' by Thomas Dunman, reprinted in this country by D. Appleton & Co., recommends itself as far as it goes (the botanical side of biology has been purposely neglected). The definitions are brief and clear, but the accentuation is either careless or eccentric.——The 'Technological Dictionary' in three languages, formerly published at Wiesbaden by C. W. Kreidel, is now being brought out in a third edition, improved and considerably enlarged, by J. F. Bergmann, of the same city, whose American agents are B. Westermann & Co., 524 Broadway. The first volume, German-English-French, is a large octavo of 744 pages, clearly printed and surprisingly accurate. Compound words are made separate articles, for greater ease of reference. For the first time nautical and meteorological terms have received adequate recognition and attention; and on this side particularly the general reader will find this work a useful reinforcement of the ordinary literary dictionary. Its long-established merit renders criticism unnecessary; but as the part is seldom better than the whole, it is worth remarking that the handy "pocket" abridgment of this Dictionary published in 1872 contains a large number of terms that have for some reason been dropped from the present edition, so that, while it cannot compete with its parent in freshness, it is not altogether superseded.——Part II. of Oncken's 'Allgemeine Geschichte' (B. Westermann & Co.) concludes the history of Ancient Persia, by Ferdinand Justi, agreeably written in a popular style, with deliberate suppression of reference to authorities, the author desiring his readers to find uninterrupted enjoyment in his pages. In his preface he satisfies them that he can be trusted with this license. The illustrations include a fac-simile of a page of the Avesta (Cod. K. V, fol. 40, Copenhagen), with transliteration and translation annexed; a marble tomb in Xanthos; the palace of Xerxes, with the lion and bull bas-relief enlarged; Persepolis, besides numerous smaller views, coins, etc., in the text. There are also two maps, expressly prepared under the author's supervision.——Mr. Wm. C. Gannett, of Minneapolis, Minn., has issued a convenient broadside chart, showing the "Growth of Hebrew Re-

ligion." It is creditably executed after Kuenen's 'Religion of Israel.' ——Alexander Duncker, Berlin, has begun the officially authorized publication of the Political Correspondence of Frederic the Great, drawn from the Prussian archives. This great work will fill thirty volumes, and will be annotated as well as chronologically ordered. Two volumes yearly will appear, and there will be two editions, 8vo and 4to. The first three volumes are to embrace the years 1740–45.——We commend to all who are interested in South American trade an article on the Commercial Routes (*Verkehrswege*—steamship service, railroad and telegraph lines) of Brazil in the double number, 76-77, of the Berlin Geographical Society's Journal (New York : L. W. Schmidt). It is purely statistical, and the information is not likely to be obtained elsewhere.——Koolman's Dictionary of the East-Frisian Dialect (Norden : Hermann Braams) reaches with Part 6 the letter G. The affinities of this dialect with our own language continue to be highly interesting ; see *fisk* (fish), *flappen* (flop and flap), *flint*, *flô* (flea), *flûrt* (flirt), *fögel* (fowl), *folk*, *försicht* (foresight), *fos* (fox), *fót* (foot), *fracht* (freight), *frê* (free), *frêsen* (freeze), *fründ* (friend), *fûst* (fist), etc.; and also the proverbial expressions—"hê is nêt fisk nog flêsk"; "so hard as 'n flint"; "he hed um 'n flô in 't ôr settd"; "ên fögel in de hand is bäter as twê up 't dak"; "försigt is bäter as nasigt"; "ên fründ in de nôd, ên fründ in de dôd"; "de de düfel to fründe hed, de kan ligd in de helle kamen." The ways in which the letter *g* is pronounced are amusingly various.——Mr. James A. McNeill Whistler's admirers are invited to subscribe to pure mezzotint engravings, by Richard Josey, under the painter's immediate supervision, of his portraits of his mother (an "arrangement in grey and black") and of Miss Rosa Corder (an "arrangement in brown and black"). Mr. Whistler, or Mr. Charles A. Howell, Chaldon House, Fulham, S. W., London, may be addressed. The proofs are, in each case, two and three guineas ; the prints, one.——We observe in the Spanish *Las Novedades*, published in this city, that Mr. Charles F. Bradford, of Boston, already a member of the Spanish Academy, has been honored by the King of Spain with the order of "Caballero de la Real Ordin de Isabel la Catolica." It will be remembered that Mr. Bradford was the author of a learned Index to Clemencin's Notes to 'Don Quixote.' He has also published occasionally verses of merit, both in English and Spanish.——In our notice of the Tanagra figurines a fortnight ago we omitted to give the exact address of Messrs. Feuardent & Co., who have them on exhibition. It is No. 30 Lafayette Place, where much else curious and precious is for sale.

—The libraries interested published in December, under the direction of Mr. Winsor, the first edition of "A List of Serial Publications now taken in the principal Libraries of Boston and Cambridge." It is a classified catalogue of 3,812 titles of newspapers, magazines, publications of learned societies, and other serials, excluding reports of public departments, boards, etc., is printed in a pamphlet of thirty pages the size of the Harvard College Bulletin, and is, we suppose, the first published instance of co-operative cataloguing. It is purposed hereafter to publish a list of the deficiencies of the different libraries under each title, or, perhaps, of the places where complete sets of the back numbers of each magazine, etc., may be had, in which case the one thing will be supplied now wanting to make the list of the highest value to investigators. We may say here that to the libraries containing "Paesi nouamente retrouati" and "Itinerariū Portugallēsiū," catalogued under Zorzi on p. 242 of the Harvard Bulletin No. 10, should be added the Public Library of Cincinnati. Another notable enterprise, which we announced some weeks ago, the *Index Medicus* of Drs. John S. Billings and Robert Fletcher, has appeared in a first number, dated January 31, 1879 (New York : F. Leypoldt). It really contains selections from the current medical literature of the past quarter, while the January periodicals, especially those from abroad, will be accounted for in the February number. The nomenclature and classification followed are substantially those adopted by the Royal College of Physicians, London, and the execution is beyond any praise of ours. The typography is clear, tasteful, and accurate. The mere list of periodicals indexed fills twenty-four columns.

—An article in the February number of the *North American Review* by Senator Hoar contains some excellent criticisms on the conduct of business in Congress. A curious question discussed is that of the privilege of the House of Representatives to originate all revenue bills, and what has come of it. In the Convention of 1787 the larger States endeavored to have the representation in both branches of Congress fixed according to population, but this arrangement was so strenuously opposed by the smaller States that a dissolution of the Convention was threatened. A compromise was finally arrived at by which the equal representation of all States in the Senate was conceded, but the power of originating bills of revenue was confined to the House of Representatives. Unfortunately, the power of amending these bills indefinitely was given to the Senate, so that, instead of being a privilege, the sole ability to originate money bills has turned out a limitation of the influence of the House. A measure of this sort coming from the House is treated with no more ceremony than if it had been brought forward by any member of the Senate. By the time it returns to the House, in practice a new bill, the session is usually so far advanced that it is impossible to consider the Senate amendments at length, and the bill goes through just as it is, or slightly amended by conference committees. Thus, although possessing the nominal privilege of originating money bills, the House has lost control over them, and has lost also the much more important prerogative—its freedom of debate. Were the Senate allowed to originate money bills, the House might share in amending them and so exercise its rightful power much more effectually than it can now.

—The House of Representatives has by various means deprived itself of that "freedom of deliberation, speech, and debate" which our early American constitutions declare to be "essential to the rights of the people." A member of a committee reporting a bill has the floor for an hour, and by demanding the "previous question" he has another hour to sum up, after which a vote must be taken. Thus all the time devoted to debate on the measure belongs to one person, who apportions it out to friends and foes, decides how long debate shall last, and if any amendment shall be offered. The House will rarely refuse the demand, for that would be tantamount to making the time for debate unlimited, which is very undesirable, on account of the great amount of business always before Congress. Another way in which the House abandons its freedom of debate and amendment, as well as all knowledge of its own actions, is by the motion to suspend the rules and pass. By this motion a measure known only by name may, without discussion or question, become the law of the land as far as the House of Representatives can make it so, and many important bills are, in fact, so passed at the end of a crowded session. A member of an appropriation committee reporting a bill always has precedence over any other committee, however urgent the business of the latter may be, and thus a bill the perfecting of which has occupied the attention of Congress for months is often lost altogether. The chairman of the Committee on Appropriations is unavoidably the enemy of all other measures to come before the House, because, money bills being indispensable to the conduct of the Government, they are considered immediately, while other questions are laid aside, and from the lateness of the session frequently precluded from further consideration. Mr. Hoar promises a future article which will deal with the question of remedy for these evils. Meanwhile he insists on the advantages of a Speaker independent of party, of a responsible leader for the House, and of a restoration of the House to the function of a deliberative assembly.

—If any proof were needed of the greatly improved standing of the stage in England of late, it might be found in the fact that a monthly magazine devoted to dramatic art has existed in London for now six months, and still shows signs of vigorous vitality. The stage in America never sank as low as it had got to be in England a dozen years ago. England had no tragic actor ; we had Mr. Forrest, Miss Cushman, and Mr. Booth ; and in comedy the influence of Mr. Wallack's Theatre here and of the Museum in Boston afforded a constant standard of comparison which was lacking in London in the days when the Haymarket was rapidly declining, and before the Prince of Wales's had become recognized as a home of higher dramatic art. But even among us the public taste in theatricals has greatly improved in the past five years, while in England the reaction has been still more violent. The interest in the stage which literature and society had lost was revived under the influence of the comedies at the Prince of Wales's Theatre with Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft, and of the tragedies at the Lyceum with Mr. Henry Irving. A new play at either theatre is now almost as much of an event in London society as a *première* of Dumas or Augier is in the Parisian world. And with the renewed feeling that the drama is an art and not a trade for sordid hucksters arose a demand for a journal of the higher dramatic art. The *Theatre* came into existence over a year ago as a weekly, and barely maintained itself. In August last it gave up its weekly issue and appeared as a monthly of nearly a hundred pages. The first number of the new magazine contained memoirs and photographic portraits of Mr. Henry Irving and of Miss Ellen Terry, and the general desire for pictures of these popular favorites rapidly exhausted the edition and assured the success of the new periodical. The first half-yearly volume is now

complete and the publication has at last got itself into shape. The monthly numbers contain a photograph of an actor and of an actress, with a memoir of each; a story and a poem or two on a theatrical subject; criticisms of new plays in England, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain; reviews of books bearing upon the stage (though this department is but meagrely kept up); paragraphs of theatrical news and gossip; editorial articles, grouped under the general heading "The Watch Tower"; and a collection of contributed articles by authors, actors, and critics, also grouped together and called the "Round Table." This last department is much the most important; it has embraced articles by Mr. Sothern, Miss Kate Field, Mr. H. J. Byron, Mr. J. L. Toole, Mr. Dutton Cook, Mr. Henry Irving; and for it Mr. Tom Taylor has written interesting accounts of his relations with two of the fine actors England has recently lost—Mr. Phelps and Mr. Wigan. Altogether, the magazine is creditable to the art it seeks to represent, shows a willingness and an ability to improve, and is likely to exert an influence for good. An index to new plays in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish, with the full name of the author and of the theatre where each was originally produced, may be suggested as a possible addition of permanent utility.

—A correspondent writes to us from London under date of Jan. 28:

"I may mention as a sequel to the brief account of the suit Whistler *v.* Ruskin, which I sent you a short time since, that the plaintiff has lately published a little pamphlet in which he delivers himself on the subject of art-criticism. This little pamphlet, issued by Chatto & Windus, is an affair of seventeen very prettily-printed small pages; it is now in its sixth edition, it sells for a shilling, and is to be seen in most of the shop-windows. It is very characteristic of the painter, and highly entertaining; but I am not sure that it will have rendered appreciable service to the cause which he has at heart. The cause that Mr. Whistler has at heart is the absolute suppression and extinction of the art-critic and his function. According to Mr. Whistler the art-critic is an impertinence, a nuisance, a monstrosity—and usually, into the bargain, an arrant fool. Mr. Whistler writes in an off-hand, colloquial style, much besprinkled with French—a style which might be called familiar if one often encountered anything like it. He writes by no means as well as he paints; but his little diatribe against the critics is suggestive, apart from the force of anything that he specifically urges. The painter's irritated feeling is interesting, for it suggests the state of mind of many of his brothers of the brush in the presence of the bungling and incompetent disquisitions of certain members of the fraternity who sit in judgment upon their works. 'Let work be received in silence,' says Mr. Whistler, 'as it was in the days to which the penman still points as an era when art was at its apogee.' He is very scornful of the 'penman,' and it is on the general ground of his being a penman that he deprecates the existence of his late adversary, Mr. Ruskin. He does not attempt to make out a case in detail against the great commentator of pictures; it is enough for Mr. Whistler that he is a 'littérateur,' and that a littérateur should concern himself with his own business. The author also falls foul of Mr. Tom Taylor, who does the reports of the exhibitions in the *Times*, and who had the misfortune, fifteen years ago, to express himself rather unintelligently about Velasquez. 'The Observatory at Greenwich under the direction of an apothecary,' says Mr. Whistler, 'the College of Physicians with Tennyson as president, and we know what madness is about! But a school of art with an accomplished littérateur at its head disturbs no one, and is actually what the world receives as rational, while Ruskin writes for pupils and Colvin holds forth at Cambridge! Still, quite alone stands Ruskin, whose writing is art and whose art is unworthy his writing. To him and his example do we owe the outrage of proffered assistance from the unscientific—the meddling of the immodest—the intrusion of the garrulous. Art, that for ages has hewn its own history in marble and written its own comments on canvas, shall it suddenly stand still and stammer and wait for wisdom from the passer-by?—for guidance from the hand that holds neither brush nor chisel? Out upon the shallow conceit! What greater sarcasm can Mr. Ruskin pass upon himself than that he preaches to young men what he cannot perform? Why, unsatisfied with his conscious power, should he choose to become the type of incompetence by talking for forty years of what he has never done?' And Mr. Whistler winds up by pronouncing Mr. Ruskin, of whose writings he has perused, I suspect, an infinitesimally small number of pages, 'the Peter Parley of Painting.' This is very far, as I say, from exhausting the question; but it is easy to understand the state of mind of a London artist (to go no further) who skims through the critiques in the local journals. There is no scurrility in saying that these are for the most part almost incredibly weak and unskilled; to turn from one of them to a critical feuilleton in one of the Parisian journals is like passing from a primitive to a very high civilization. Even, however, if the reviews of pictures were very much better, the protest of the producer as against the critic would still have a considerable validity. Few people will deny that the development of criticism in our day has become inordinate, disproportionate, and that much of what is written under that exalted name is very idle and superficial. Mr. Whistler's complaint belongs to the general question, and I am afraid it will never obtain a serious hearing, on special and exceptional grounds. The whole artistic fraternity is in the same boat—the painters, the architects, the poets, the novelists, the dramatists, the actors, the musicians, the singers. They have a standing, and in many ways a very just, quarrel with criticism; but perhaps many of them would admit that, on the whole, so long as they appeal to a public laden with many cares and a great variety of interests, it gratifies as much as it displeases them. Art is one of the necessities of life; but even the critics themselves would probably not assert that criticism is anything more than an agreeable luxury—something like printed talk. If it be said that they claim too much in calling it 'agreeable' to the criticised, it may be added on their behalf that they probably mean agreeable in the long run."

—Interesting features in the fifteenth volume of *L'Art* (J. W. Bouton) are a glittering plate in aqua-fortis by J. A. Mitchell, an American engraver, which we may characterize in the words of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*—"the 'End of the Act' is a scene in a theatre, grasped like an artist and executed accordingly"; and the included article, by Tardieu, on American art which appeared in the weekly number for December 1. The significance of articles such as this, and as the similarly respectful criticisms of MM. de Lostalot and Lefort in the *Gazette*, is something like the delivery of the freedom of Paris in a gold box. French criticism, heretofore so tranquilly exclusive, has now genially committed itself, both in the case of English and American art. The supreme arbiter cannot well again affect the distant "eye-glass" and "curious" manner; our painting will be now admitted to be a rival, not a curiosity and an exception. Duranty's rather famous article in the *Gazette* about English art displayed, indeed, the lingering remains of the old genteel supercilliousness, the polite wonder at the white teeth and healthy skins of English portraits; but the notices of American painting are of a different tone—kindly, recognizant, and feeling. American art is given full welcome as a pupil that will soon be able to wrestle with the master and is even now able to hold its own among the rest. Indeed, it would be hard to find even a compatriot who would say that Bridgman, for example, is of "prodigious" ability, and that his professor, Gérôme, has nothing more to teach him, as M. Tardieu declares in *L'Art*; nor, much as we all admire Mr. Quartley for his qualities of atmosphere and transparency, would it be natural for a home critic to set him on a full par with Vollon, as *L'Art* does not hesitate to do. What seems most to surprise M. Tardieu is our artists' versatility in method, or—shall we say?—their hesitancy between different styles. He desires evidently to adjust the American pictures at the Exposition to a consistent and logical line, constitutes Mr. Homer a laureate and portraitist of Uncle Toms, and is ready to believe that it is not the same hand which paints Eaton's "Harvesters" and Eaton's "Reverie." Very naturally, our critic goes most eagerly to those contributions in which he can detect a really national quality and accent. After lavishly praising Mr. Quartley's river scene—"a capital impressionist's effect, remarkable for accuracy of eye and exquisite in charm"—and giving Mr. Tiffany's "Duane Street" credit for nimbleness of execution, he observes, "Here are two more artists frankly American." The qualities of Mr. Homer, equally self-made ones, he finds to be "a method that is sincere, not exempt from a sort of clumsiness, but honest, serious, and strongly imprinted with local character; and directness in his drawing, frankness in his color, and sincerity in reading his types." M. Lefort, by the by, in the *Gazette*, credits Mr. Homer with "originality and independence, both in choosing or arranging subjects and in the choice and feeling of his color and design." Mr. Wylie, who never had a French master unless it was Barye, and who simply took his own American academy in his arms and planted it on Breton soil, is given due prominence as the commander and best of the modern "bretonnistes," though an error is made in accrediting him to the school of Couture, from whom he took no lessons.

—The notice of *L'Art* is scarcely less indulgent even when applied to those Americans who are least American. Mr. Shirlaw, recipient of an honorable mention only, "deserved something more"; the critic manifests a fascinated interest in Mr. Vedder, even while calling him bizarre; terms Mr. Dana's marine sinister and grandiose; Mr. La Farge's meadow bravely and candidly painted; Mr. Brown's urchins not good as a painting, but diverting as an illustration—avoiding here the singular coupling of Brown's style with Homer's into which Cherbuliez was betrayed last August in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Among the gentle hits given by M. Tardieu, though still encased in velvet, are the remarks that the painter of "Cerise" must have paid Manet a visit, and that Mr. Bunce's gondola strictly follows Ziem's. Altogether, however, the criticism is distinguished by a curious frank recognition of the appearance of certain new powers and directions in art, and a sort of formal introduction of our nationality into the world of painters. We should like to mend out, did space allow it, the notice in *L'Art* (still incomplete, though particularizing twenty-six painters) with notices in other French periodicals strictly in harmony with its own urbanity; thus, M. Lefort, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, distinguished half a dozen omitted from *L'Art's*

long list (Wyant, Richards, Gay, Sanford Gifford, Miller, and Bacon), while his appreciation of the "exquisite refinement and transparency" of Quartley and the "rightness and perfect impression" of Tiffany are equal in cordiality to anything *L'Art* has to offer; and M. de Lostalot, in the same journal, discovers a new candidate for favor in Mr. Abbey, whose "Stage-office" presents a "harmony in grey not without charm for all its austerity." But the recognition of so indefatigable a studio-frequenter as M. Tardieu is quite enough to show that Paris experts have recognized among their trans-Atlantic visitors certain originals, as well as certain "fidèles," who are to be watched henceforward. For the rest of the present volume, our recognition of the merits of its predecessors makes it unnecessary to say much. It contains some of the most interesting etchings ever published in a periodical, such as the "Mrs. Bischoffsheim," after J. E. Millais, three grand Rubenses, and Velasquez's "Spinners" and Moro's "Bloody Mary," the last two illustrating an interesting series on the pictures at Madrid. The editor's concluding notice is large in promise, and no doubt will be liberally carried out. Some final articles on the Exposition are intended; M. Tardieu, in a notice of the British school, is to heal the wounds made by the unsympathizing Duranty; Sidney Colvin is to resume his study of old engravers; and some decorative work is to be entrusted to an English designer, John Watkins, who already appears in a marginal ornament for a number issued since the binding up of this volume.

—Nicola Zanichelli, Bologna, has published 'La Vita e le Opere di Giulio Cesare Croce,' a learned and very entertaining monograph by Olindo Guerrini, of which we hope to give some account hereafter. In his preface the author, speaking of the *disonesta povertà* of the Italian libraries, says that in his country the only persons who can study are the rich, and they, ninety-nine times out of the hundred, have no desire to:

"Former governments did not love knowledge; the present one lacks the means to make it not only complete but available. From the beginning of the century till this very day the Italian libraries, with one or two exceptions, have not purchased modern books—formerly because they were not disposed to do so, now because they cannot. It is strange, for example, that in a student centre like Bologna, whence latterly have issued not doubtful proofs of laborious learning, the library has but four or five hundred dollars to spend, which do not suffice even for the continuation of the most necessary periodicals. In every branch of knowledge the freshest works are wanting, and they cannot be procured, although the rules direct the librarian to inform himself and keep complete the publications in all the sciences. When posterity sees the petty result of the magnificent things which the rules ordered in our libraries, I hardly know what they will think. Perhaps they may go so far as to suspect the honesty of the librarian, not dreaming that if he had appropriated to his own uses the whole endowment of his institution, he would not have had the means to live decently."

—The topographical survey undertaken in Attica by the Imperial German Archæological Institute four years ago included Athens and the surrounding territory, or a parallelogram bounded by lat. 37° 54′-38° 12′ N. and long. 23° 36′-23° 52′ E. This area was subdivided equally into six, the Peiræus and Hymettus sections lying south of the 38th parallel, and containing Athens and its port. All former surveys were disregarded, and Herr J. A. Kaupert, of the Prussian General Staff, was detailed by Count Moltke to establish a wholly new system of triangulation and levelling. He especially took upon himself the survey of the city itself, and in regard to the archæology co-operated in 1877 with Prof. Ernst Curtius, who had been sent out by the Royal Academy of Sciences. The first fruits of their labors have now been published in an elegant small folio Atlas (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer; New York: L. W. Schmidt), consisting of three maps and nine plates, and intended as the basis of a 'Hand-book of the Topography and Antiquities of Athens' now in preparation. While the scale of the series of sectional maps is to be 1:25,000 (about 2½ inches to the mile), the maps of Athens here given, and those of the Peiræus which have been prepared under the direction of Lieutenant Georg von Alten and will next be published, are on twice the scale. No. 1 shows the Athens of to-day; No. 2, ancient Athens superimposed on modern Athens, the latter being printed in a pale but perfectly clear tint; No. 3, the southwestern portion of the city, ancient and modern, from the eastern foot of the Acropolis to the Peiræus railroad. The last, being on a scale of 1:4,000, permit indications of architectural and sepulchral remains of every description. All the maps are executed with the greatest beauty and delicacy. They are followed by tinted drawings after photographs (from which extraneous details have been omitted) of the burial way before the Dipylon; the Pnyx, the Museum Hill, the Areopagus, the Hill of the Nymphs, the pool and caves of Callirrhoë, the Hippodrome, the Theatre of Bacchus; rock tombs, grottoes, fragments of sculpture, etc., etc.—views, elevations, sections, and plans. The letter-press is by Curtius and Kaupert. Altogether the work is one which should find a place in every institute of the higher instruction and in every public library.

POLITICAL FORESIGHT.*

SENIOR'S conversations are a satire on human wisdom. The most remarkable men of France—Guizot, Thiers, Mérimée, the late and the present Duc de Broglie, Chevalier, Montalembert, and a host of others—confided to him their opinions, their views of the world, their fears and their hopes for their country and for Europe. His pages, which reproduce with equal impartiality the sentiments of Monarchists, Republicans, Socialists, and Legitimists, afford a record of the sayings and speculations of French society during the ten years which followed the *Coup d'état*. The men who found it their interest to make a confidant of the English gentleman whose one remarkable gift was his insatiable curiosity to know what any celebrated person thought about anything, were almost all of them men far above the ordinary level. Many of them were versed in affairs. Some of them had played a leading part in European history. All of them were keenly interested in modern politics. From such persons one might reasonably expect to learn lessons of political wisdom or to receive remarkable forecasts of the future of Europe. As a matter of fact, the one impression which a careful perusal of Senior's book leaves on the mind is, that the most cultivated and most intelligent men of his time neither understood the age in which they lived nor were able to foresee what was about to happen within even a few years. The single fulfilled prediction which the book contains is the remark of Chevalier, that when the Suez Canal was completed England would make an effort to obtain Crete or Cyprus; and we may doubt whether this prophecy can be put down as more than a lucky hit.

If statesmen, however, may show wide foresight without being able to predict a single specific event, and if men like Thiers, Guizot, or Montalembert had shown themselves masters of the general course of European politics, there would be little reason to blame them for want of sagacity because they did not predict isolated occurrences. But the really curious thing is, these celebrated persons show themselves at every turn deficient in that grasp of the situation which popular imagination attributes to a statesman. The whole of French society spent their time in the dreary years between 1850 and 1860 in speculating on the durability of Louis Napoleon's power. Every act he did, his daily life, his associates, his policy and his want of policy, were the subject of hourly criticism. It is no exaggeration to say that at least a third of Mr. Senior's last two volumes is taken up with remarks upon Louis Napoleon. These criticisms lose a good deal of their point and form in passing through the hands of a reporter utterly incapable of understanding a witticism; but their substance is no doubt faithfully enough recorded, and a reader, however hostile he may be to the French Emperor, cannot fail to see that the criticisms of French Liberals are marked by a singular futility. This is the more striking because intelligent Frenchmen living at Paris soon saw through the pretence that the Emperor was a man of genius. His weaknesses, his hesitation, his administrative incompetence, which were hidden from the rest of Europe till 1870, were the common talk of Paris before 1860. Yet, in spite of the advantage possessed by critics who saw the Emperor without his mask, the pointed censures which they aimed at the object of their hatred have in them very little which is instructive. The problem to be solved by any one who wished to predict the course of imperial policy was in reality, What was the source of the Emperor's success? And the plain truth is that perfectly legitimate hatred and partially legitimate contempt for Louis Napoleon blinded the whole of French Liberal society to the fact that the Empire, hateful though it was, rested on foundations of permanent strength. No one of Mr. Senior's friends even suspected how widespread was the support which the imperial system received. We now know that the fiasco in Mexico, diplomatic failure in 1866, even the defeats of 1870, did not at once cost the Emperor his throne. He might, it would appear, had he not been taken prisoner at Sedan, have retained, even after the most crushing blows, the allegiance of the army, and possibly the submission, if not the support, of the peasantry. It is evident, on the other hand, that the wits and statesmen of Paris believed that the master whom they hated and despised would fall from power at the first shock of adverse fortune. Their mistake in this respect is connected with another curious error. French Liberals perceived and exaggerated the evils of universal suffrage. They

* 'Conversations with M. Thiers, M. Guizot, and Other Distinguished Persons during the Second Empire. By the late Nassau William Senior.' London: Hurst & Blackett. 1878.

did not perceive that the institution which they hated was the one article in the Constitution to which ordinary Frenchmen attached importance. This is not the occasion to examine the merits or demerits of a system which gives a vote to every man throughout the country; but we venture to assert that the importance attached by a French elector to universal suffrage can at any rate be vindicated under the present condition of France by very cogent arguments, and that there is something singular in the blindness of statesmen who could not feel that the greatest respect was due to the single political arrangement which commands the assent of the vast majority of the people, and has now remained unchanged for more than a generation.

The strong antipathy of good to bad may be urged as an excuse for the false estimate formed by French Liberals of the strength of the Empire. But this justification or excuse will not palliate their strange want of insight into the course of foreign affairs. In nothing is this more remarkable than in their attitude towards Italy. The war for Italian independence was, as a French Liberal expresses it, "the Emperor's war," and, being the Emperor's war, it was in the eyes of educated Frenchmen wholly and entirely hateful and indefensible. That Frenchmen should object to the loss of French blood and treasure in a cause which did not directly concern the interests of France, was reasonable enough. But Mr. Senior's friends went far beyond such legitimate objections. They totally disbelieved that Italian unity was possible. If it were possible, they did not think it desirable. At the outbreak of the war they believed Austria to be in the right, and, what is more singular, they clearly failed to see that Italy, and, to a certain extent, the Emperor as a friend of Italy, commanded the sympathies of Europe. Even the patriotism of Thiers, which, if narrow, was as sincere as it was intense, almost yielded to his hatred of Italian independence :

"Ten years ago," he said in 1859, "if any one had prophesied that a time would come when I should look with any feelings but those of the bitterest grief at the reverse undergone by France, how angrily I should have resented such an imputation ; and yet the time *has* come."

For a man who felt in this way it was, of course, impossible to measure the sentiments of the French nation towards the Italian war. The fairest estimate of their feelings which Mr. Senior records proceeds from the mouth of an Imperialist :

"The war," says Mérimée, "is unpopular in the salons, as everything else done by the Emperor is. . . . It is unpopular, too, with the priests and with those whose sons are affected by the conscription, but the bulk of the people approve it and even like it. The last three weeks have produced an enormous change in public opinion—that is, in the public opinion of the 'bourgeosie' and the 'peuple de Paris.' I have been absent for a fortnight. When I left Paris they dreaded the war ; on my return, a week ago, I found them reconciled to it—partly from the tendency of the French to accept and make the best of what is unavoidable, and partly from their belief that Austria is the aggressor."

These sentences contain the clue to half the errors of French statesmen. Mr. Senior's acquaintance had with all their merits the grave defect that they had breathed the air of the salons of Paris so long as to forget that the atmosphere of the salons was not necessarily the atmosphere of France. Men not really at home in the sentiments of their own country are not likely to appreciate the feelings of foreign nations. Yet, though we may be prepared for mistakes, there is something astounding in the perverse blindness of French politicians to the most obvious facts of English politics. Thiers, who after all must have known a good deal about England, laments that the English Government did not interpose to prevent the outbreak of the war between Austria and France. The ministry, that is to say, ought in his opinion to have forbidden the liberation of Italy. Montalembert cannot understand that England should sympathize with "Garibaldi's piracy," and believes that enthusiasm for Italy is the result of "mere Protestant bigotry, as blind and as stupid as that of the Puritans two hundred years ago, but without their sincerity and their undaunted courage," and obviously thinks, in common with Thiers, Guizot, and men far wiser and abler than Montalembert, that the natural policy for an English Government was to support the Pope, to keep the King of Naples on his throne, to maintain Austrian rule in Lombardy, and generally to keep Italy weak in order that France might be strong. There is something in Montalembert's position which has a peculiar absurdity of its own. He raves at England for not sufficiently detesting the Emperor, though he himself rallied to the hero of the *Coup d'état*. He is, in his own opinion, the devotee of liberty, yet deplores Italian independence, and, while making his religious views the standard of his secular policy, marvels that English Protestantism should not follow the course which commends itself to Ultramontane fanaticism.

Still, even callousness to the feelings of foreign nations is compatible with keen insight into the dangers which menace one's own country from abroad, and it might be expected that politicians whose whole attention was devoted to the errors of the French Government would see from afar off the rising of the storm which burst upon France in 1870. To a certain very limited extent men like Thiers may be said to have foreseen that the consolidation of strong states on the borders of France might menace the independence of their country, but none of the persons who conversed with Mr. Senior seem to have entertained in 1860 the very remotest suspicion that Prussian power might be a danger to France. The very few notices of Germany in Mr. Senior's book are now extremely curious. There are two or three references to French intrigues in the Prussian-Rhenish provinces, and the tone of the speakers obviously implies that the efforts to found a party in favor of annexation to France were likely to be successful. The question is more than once raised whether England will interpose to keep France from seizing the Rhine. That Germany can more than protect herself seems in 1860 to have been a notion which had never entered the mind of any Frenchman.

"France is a standing danger, sometimes to the freedom, sometimes to the good government of Europe. And what bulwark have you now against her ? Not Prussia. Her army, out of all proportion to her population or her wealth, is a militia. Our military men treat it with contempt. Sardinia, or by whatever name the new kingdom of Italy is to be called, is, at least for the present, powerful only for mischief. The Netherlands and Belgium could bring into the field two hundred thousand men, a force not to be despised, but they have no military reputation. Russia is *hors de combat*. Our troops have returned from Italy with a great respect for the Austrian soldiers, but they have enough to do to keep down Hungary and Venetia. Austria, while intact, supported by Belgium and Holland, and in case of need by Prussia, was a check to the ambition of a French despot or to the madness of a French republic, which was useful and, I might say, indispensable to you and to ourselves, and you have done and are doing all that you can without actual war to break her up."

These are the words of Guizot in 1860. As we read them we almost despair of human foresight. The forecasts of a learned historian and experienced statesman turn out, when put to the test, worth just a little less than the prophecy of the gypsy who foretold to Queen Hortense the fortune of her child. "She prophesied," said Mr. Senior's informant, "that he would rise to the highest eminence of power and fame, and would be killed by a bullet entering his forehead." The fortune-teller, it is true, erred as to the mode of Louis Napoleon's death. Her error is pardonable. She doubtless foresaw Sedan, and did not believe that even a Bonaparte could have left the field alive.

Six Months in Ascension. An Unscientific Account of a Scientific Expedition. By Mrs. Gill. (London: John Murray. 1878.)—In this pleasant little volume we have a very readable account of one of those expeditions to distant parts so frequently undertaken by astronomers for the purpose of scientific observations. Mr. David Gill is a Scotch astronomer, who has gained a high reputation within the last few years by his observations and investigations as well as by some ingenious inventions. As a scientific partner and assistant of Lord Lindsay he accompanied the latter to the Mauritius, in 1874, to observe the transit of Venus. He there became convinced that observations of the transit could not lead to entirely certain results, and wrote some articles on the necessity of finding a better method. The remarkably favorable opposition of Mars, in 1877, during which the planet approached nearer the earth than it had before done in our time, afforded him an opportunity to put in practice a plan of observations by which he believed a single observer could derive a more exact value of the solar parallax than it was possible to obtain from the transit of Venus. The result was an expedition upon which hardly any one but an enthusiast would have thought of embarking. It was necessary to find some accessible point not far from the equator where fine weather and a fine atmosphere would be tolerably sure to be found during the two months which were favorable for the observations. The point finally chosen was Ascension, a nearly barren island, only a few miles in extent, lying in the South Atlantic Ocean, west of Africa, and occupied by the British Government as a naval coaling station. The instrument which Mr. Gill took with him to make the necessary measurements on Mars was one excellently adapted to the purpose, a heliometer loaned by Lord Lindsay. The observations were entirely successful, and after their completion the astronomer returned home to compute the result, a work on which he is now engaged.

Mr. Gill was accompanied by his wife, an arrangement which has resulted in our having embodied in the book before us a much more detailed history of the expedition than would otherwise have been

possible. The work cannot claim attention on the ground of great novelty of scene or of striking adventure. The experience was little more than that of every voyager to equatorial regions at the present day, and the story has been told a great many times. Happily for the book-maker the reading world never wholly tires of hearing the tale of travel, and many readers who have circumnavigated the globe in their libraries may gain, through Mrs. Gill's nimble pen, some new glimpses of life at those numberless little military posts with which Great Britain has girdled the globe. A certain scientific flavor is given to the book by an introduction from the hand of the astronomer, in which is found one of the most complete and accurate histories of previous attempts to measure the sun's distance which has yet appeared in an English dress. This is the feature which will most commend the book to the scientific reader. He will notice with interest the curious mutations in the opinions of the astronomers of the present day respecting the true distance of the sun. First we had Encke's estimate of ninety-five millions and upwards. Then, about twenty years ago, this was proved wrong, and the distance suddenly jumped down to ninety-one millions. Much speculation was rife respecting the extraordinary error of the old determination, but few were found to dispute the new one. But new determinations have been going upward ever since, and Professor Airy's determination from the recent transit of Venus is ninety-three millions, an estimate as near to the old rejected value as to the one which first took its place.

English Plays, selected, edited, and arranged by Henry Morley, Professor of English Literature at University College. With illustrations. (London and New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin. 1879.)—This, the third volume of 'Cassell's Library of English Literature,' is, like its predecessors, wholly independent of the other issues of the series. Professor Morley has before now, in the 'Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair,' and in the 'Journal of a London Playgoer,' shown his liking for the stage and his qualifications as a critic of the acted drama. He has not here attempted that full history of the rise and fall of the ample dramatic literature of our language which we hope some day to see written with a due sense of its importance. To use his own words (p. 271, note), "The book is not a history, but a series of specimens, with no more narrative than is necessary to explain coherently when and by whom each piece was written." It is rather, it seems to us, a series of analyses of typical and characteristic plays, with abundant extracts, arranged in chronological order, and accompanied by brief biographies of the dramatists as they succeed each other on the stage of life. It is more than a series of specimens, especially in that it is philosophically planned, and is historical in its method; it is much more than a mere catalogue. It does, in fact, for the whole long line of English dramatic literature what Charles Lamb did for the Shaksperian period in his 'Specimens of English Dramatic Poets.' Lamb gave but little more than extracts with his own fine criticism. Professor Morley, as we have said, sets his specimens in a narrative of the plot of the play from which they are taken. His criticism is not as acute or as searching as Lamb's; but it is unpretending, direct, and, in the main, admirable. His style is simple and sufficient, his knowledge of his subject is evidently first-hand, and he writes with real liking for the drama. No better general view of English dramatic literature from its rude origin to its final wasting away—if, indeed, it has wasted away—no better introduction to the study of it, can be recommended than this volume of Professor Morley's.

The first play analyzed is one from the Wakefield Mysteries; the last is the "School for Scandal." While the supremacy of Shakspere is well brought out, the space devoted to him is wisely restricted, to the benefit of other and less familiar dramatists; Marlowe's "Doctor Faustus," for instance, has allotted to it twelve double-columned pages. The account of the English drama of this century is somewhat too slight and meagre; surely the poetic plays of the first quarter of the century which have survived until the last quarter deserve mention—"Damon and Pythias," the "Honeymoon," and John Howard Payne's "Brutus." Recognition might also have been accorded to some of the few true comedies of more recent date, such as "Masks and Faces," by Messrs. Charles Reade and Tom Taylor, and "Caste," by the late Mr. Robertson, and "Sweethearts," by Mr. W. S. Gilbert. In a minor point or two Professor Morley errs: (p. 429) Sheridan altered "Pizarro" from Kotzebue; he did not himself translate it, being ignorant of German. It might be fairly inferred from the paragraph (p. 424) including among the younger Colman's successful works "The Iron Chest," "a drama in which John Kemble played," that this actor had performed in the play with success. The fact is that the piece was damned when Kemble acted in it, and was only accepted afterward when the author brought it out at his own theatre with Elliston as *Sir Edward Mortimer*.

The book is well made, containing nearly four hundred and fifty double-columned quarto pages, with an ample index to plays and dramatists and another to the notes. It is embellished with nearly eighty woodcuts, fairly engraved, of which the subjects have been chosen with unusual aptness, and are, with a few exceptions, really illustrations to the text. They include portraits, views of theatres and of scenes, sketches of costumes, etc. Those accompanying Elkanah Settle's "Empress of Morocco," taken from the original edition, are most appropriate and interesting.

Coal; its History and Uses. By Professors Green, Miall, Thorpe, Rücker, and Marshall. Edited by Professor Thorpe. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 363 pp. 1878.)—This book consists of ten popular lectures on five important subjects connected with coal. They were given by the authors in the order named on the title-page, two lectures on each of the following topics: Geology of Coal; Plants and Animals of the Coal-Measures; The Chemistry of Coal; Coal as a Source of Warmth and Power; The Coal Question. Although not uniformly cast in a mould adapted to the comprehension of a popular audience, these lectures present in a sufficiently popular manner the different phases of a subject which, from every point of view, is most intimately interwoven with modern life. In the first four lectures the reader has spread before him the history of coal, beginning with the elements of stratigraphical geology, the special conditions of land, water, and vegetation that render possible the formation of coal in general, the special description of the coal-measures of the United Kingdom, and a description of the plants and animals of that period. The two lectures on the Chemistry of Coal treat of the nature of the changes from plant to coal; the differences between coals; of inflammable gas and safety-lamps, and of the principal products of coal, viz.: gas, oil, colors, and paraffine. The physics of the subject are treated in a very clear manner under "Coal as a Source of Warmth and Power."

The reader is led up to an appreciation of the intimate relation of this fuel to modern wealth and comfort, and to the realization of the enormous extent to which the wealth and power of Great Britain are conditioned by cheap coal; and in view of this, the last two chapters on the Coal Question would have an interest apart from the additional value they possess as a remarkably able and dispassionate discussion of the subject. The coal produced in the United Kingdom in 1876 contained the energy equal to more than 3,000,000,000 of adult laborers. This product—133½ million tons—when compared with the carefully estimated net available coal at a less depth than 4,000 feet, viz., 145,500 million tons, does not seem very significant till we realize that the production is increasing in a geometrical ratio at a rate that doubles the annual output every twenty years. This rate of increase would make the yearly product in 1936 equal to 1,003½ million tons, and would have exhausted the choicest and most accessible quarter of the available coal. If continued, it would exhaust the coal-fields in 125 years. But this rate could not go on till exhaustion, because, as Professor Marshall shows, long before that time the increased cost of extraction would do away with the cheapness which conditions the demand. The introduction of greater economies in the cost of production and diminution of waste will be at once discounted by an extension of consumption; and legal restrictions regarding waste, export duty, etc., would inevitably raise the cost. The conclusion arrived at is, that England's industrial wealth and power are built up on and maintained by cheap coal; and that this can be enjoyed only on the condition that this fuel be raised and used up as fast and as freely as possible; that as soon as it shall become necessary to save, it will not matter how large the store of unmined coal may be, the sceptre of manufacturing power will depart to more favored lands. The chief hope is that the change may be sufficiently gradual to admit of an adaptation to the new order of things. The author does not look upon the subversion of the manufacturing industry as synonymous with social or even material ruin.

The book is well illustrated and almost wholly written in an attractive style.

Sport and Work on the Nepaul Frontier; or, Twelve Years' Sporting Reminiscences of an Indigo Planter. By "Maori." (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1878.)—Nepaul, bounded on the north by the great range of the Himalayas, extends southward as far as the province

of Behar, a country rich in varied forms of vegetation and remarkable for the intelligence of its native inhabitants and the beauty of its forests and scenery. Plains yellow with grain and groves of plantain and bamboo extend to the south and east as far as the sacred Ganges, interspersed with the fragile villages of the natives and dotted at long intervals by the tall chimney of some indigo factory. Along its northern frontier are vast tracts of jungle, the home of the tiger, the boar, and the Indian buffalo, while in the rivers the alligator shows his black snout on the surface as he awaits the unsuspecting approach of an evening meal. In the midst of this country and among its black and uncivilized inhabitants the indigo planters have established themselves, and, living so far apart that only rare meetings are possible, they rule the villages under the control of their factories with an almost patriarchal sway. Their land is usually rented from the native owners, the working classes going with it and becoming the dependents of the factory. The Englishmen who control the planting and manufacture of indigo have little society except that of their native dependents. The national characteristics and customs are in no way lost by this isolation, however. Once a year, while the new plants are growing and the vats are dry, the English residents gather together at the Planters' Club on their horses or elephants, and, accompanied by their suites of dusky retainers, spend several days in the enjoyment of each other's society. The natives assemble in crowds to see the British sport of horse-racing and take their first lessons in the occult science of betting, while in the evening, among Indian jungles and almost within hearing of the tiger's roar, the company dance to the familiar strains of the "Blue Danube."

Except for these few days of relaxation the life of a foreigner is dull and hard. The natives try to cheat him in a hundred ways, and a ceaseless watchfulness is imperative. When an opportunity occurs hunts are organized on a great scale, tiger-hunting with elephants being the favorite sport. Our author's descriptions of these scenes are vivid and minute, but the stay-at-home reader must take them on trust. We were much interested in the fate of the greedy tiger who was choked while trying to swallow a bullock's knee like a pill, and still more in the fastidious alligator in whose stomach were found the bracelets of a dozen Indian maidens who had formed the *petits morceaux* of his varied *menu*. Many interesting facts are given concerning the habits of wild animals, and the mooted question of a tiger's maximum length receives much attention, but there is too much of "pig-sticking," and the slaughter of animals generally, for readers who are not moved by actual participation in the excitement of the hunt. The book is published in a very handsome form.

Russlands Geschichte und Politik, dargestellt in der Geschichte des russischen hohen Adels. Von Dr. Arthur Kleinschmidt, Docenten der Geschichte an der Universität zu Heidelberg. (Cassel. New York: L. W. Schmidt. 8vo, pp. xvi. and 560.)—Exhaustive books on Russia, on her history, social life, and economical conditions, are multiplying; and Dr. Kleinschmidt's work is one of the best among those known to us, not excepting D. Mackenzie Wallace's, which is probably the best in the English language. The latter contains an excellent chapter on the Russian "Noblesse," in which the peculiar features of the titled class of the Empire (for a real aristocracy does not exist there) are clearly drawn, in contradistinction to the nobilities of western Europe—of Germany France, or England. Dr. Kleinschmidt's introduction to his exceedingly rich collection of biographies of Russian nobles confirms and completes Wallace's statements by fuller historical touches, though he naturally leaves large gaps in the general picture, to be filled up by deductions from the individual sketches following.

The history of the Russian nobility—considering the whole of the history, even Wallace would not object to this term—begins with the year 1015, when the Grand Prince Vladimir, of the house of Rurik, at his death divided his realm between eleven sons and a nephew. Divisions followed divisions, and conflicts were numerous in proportion. Early in the thirteenth century the Mongols subjugated the country, but, instead of fostering splits and dissensions among the vanquished, they introduced a unity of power among them by making the Grand Prince of Moscow a supreme vassal. The Muscovite princes eventually felt strong enough to cope with their protectors, and Ivan III. (1462–1505) shook off their yoke. The smaller princes became his subjects, and were soon robbed of their appanages. The boyars, or great landed proprietors, of Muscovy were by him and his successors placed on a level with the formerly sovereign, princely descendants of Rurik. Ivan IV., the Terrible (1533–1584), bent on making his own favor the sole source of distinction, "madly worked the rope, the rack, and the axe against the nobles, and cut off their heads like poppy-heads." He completed the genealogical book of his grandfather, and made noble rank and precedence depend not upon degrees of descent from Rurik, Gedimin of Lithuania, or other high ancestors, but upon service at the court or in the army. The family which counted most officials of high rank thus became the most distinguished. This order of rank, the *Miestnitchestvo*, led to endless disputes, for which the weapons were drawn from jealously-watched records of service. These disputes were often ludicrous, and sometimes, as when the respective rank of commanders in a campaign was in question, grave and disastrous. During the civil wars caused by the Pseudo-Dimitris, after the extinction of the Rurik dynasty, the nobility, long degraded, showed itself mostly unpatriotic and selfish. When the house of Romanoff was in 1613 raised to the throne, chosen on account of its insignificance, an attempt was made to restore the influence of the nobles in the government, as it had existed in early times. Ukases were issued in the name of the czar, who "commanded," and of the boyars, who "determined." The latter became, however, only "privileged slaves in a land of universal slavery." They evaded the public service, spent their time in gluttony and profligacy, and quarrelled about precedence. Fedor III., disgusted with this state of affairs, burned the official records of service, had the golden book of nobility republished, and decreed the perfect equality of all titled families. His successor, Peter the Great, the most uncompromising of autocrats, in his eagerness to transform Russia, put the nobility under his iron heel, treating it to the lash and the knout, often with his own hand. To add humiliation to degradation, he made princes his buffoons. He ennobled foreigners, and even a Jew, Shafiroff; made the son of a peasant, Menshikoff, a prince; and introduced the new titles of count and baron. Nobility was henceforward to offer no advantages of promotion in the service, but service to lead to nobility, temporary and hereditary. The nobles were bound to serve, and by undergoing a degrading punishment lost their rank for ever. After the death of Peter the Great (1725) and his widow, Catharine I. (1727), the boyars regained influence under Peter II., and on his death (1730) offered the throne to Anna of Courland on specified conditions. On ascending it she tore the written compact, and then took bloody revenge on those who dared to limit her prerogative. Apraxin, a Prince Volkonski, a Prince Golitzyn, were among her buffoons. No change took place under Elizabeth. Peter III. exempted the nobility from corporal punishment. Catharine II. flattered, distinguished, and employed it in various ways, but preserved her absolute sway intact. Alexander I. and Nicholas acted like her in the main. Alexander II., by emancipating the serfs, struck the last blow at the prerogatives of the nobles, and plunged hundreds of titled families into comparative or absolute poverty, thus punishing them for their long grinding of the peasants, but leaving noble and peasant in equally abject submission to the behests of autocracy.

After thus sketching, in brief outlines, the course of the general history of the Russian nobility, a course so utterly unlike the changes of the feudal organizations in the Romanic and Germanic states of Europe, the author proceeds to give connected accounts of all the prominent noble families of the Empire of the czars, writing the life of every historical member. His main divisions refer respectively to "Extinct families" (of the houses of Rurik and Gedimin), "Still flourishing families descended from Rurik or Gedimin," "Old boyar houses not descended from Rurik," "Russian princely houses of foreign descent," "Russian count families of foreign descent," "Families raised to princely dignity from the ranks of the common nobility," "Families raised to the dignity of counts from the ranks of the common nobility," and "*Parvenus*." Some of the families are represented by single or few members; others, such as the Dolgorukis and Muravieffs, by an uncommon variety of characters, ranging from brutal executioners to sentimental revolutionists. The vicissitudes of some families and individuals are amazing. The sketches are crammed with events and dates, to a degree which renders the book much more valuable for reference—lists rendering reference easy—than enjoyable as reading matter, especially to those little familiar with Russian history and Russian names of men and places. Warriors, courtiers, and diplomatists whose influence has been important in shaping the grand destinies of the Empire, such as Pozharski, Suvoroff, Diebitsch, Paskevitch, Potemkin, the Orloffs, Golitzyns, Vorontzoffs, and Gortchakoffs, are presented in full portraits. The Princess Lieven is the most interesting of the female characters, besides the empresses regnant, who constantly appear in the background, with power and passions equally unchecked. The author narrates court events and draws personal traits with the frankness and impartiality of a man entirely remote

from the scene, and bent on giving unvarnished facts from which the reader may draw his conclusions. He has derived his information from ample materials, and his accuracy is striking.

Sketches of Animal Life and Habits. Pp. 208. *Leisure-Time Studies,* chiefly Biological. Pp. 381. (New York : R. Worthington. 1878.)—In two attractive volumes Dr. Andrew Wilson has brought together sketches, essays, and lectures written or delivered at intervals during a long life as a teacher of natural history. The 'Sketches' treat pleasantly of animalcules, deep-sea creatures, sea-anemones and sea-urchins, crabs, insects, and fishes, concluding with a brief account of some "foot-prints on the sands of time" more literal than were in the poet's mind. The reader misses the evidence of individual observation of the animals themselves, but the sketches are imbued with the spirit of a true lover of nature who perhaps has seen more than his modesty allows him to express. Indeed, the author lays no claim to originality, but aims to "afford to general readers, and especially the young, some popular and yet trustworthy ideas regarding some of the most interesting groups of the animal world." We wish we could say that all the statements "possess the merit of correctness," as they certainly should in a volume for the young ; but in the chapter upon "Some Odd Fishes" occur the following, which are, to say the least, misleading : The mucus or slime of fishes is twice spoken of as "*oily* matter." The author implies that with all living sturgeons the scale armor is only partial, whereas the "shovel-nose" of our Western rivers is completely mailed. Socketed teeth are denied to all fishes, and the "hag" is said to have but a single large tooth. Amphioxus is credited with a "hyoid *bone*," there being really no bone in its whole body. The outline of the hippocampus's head is said to resemble "exactly" that of a horse. The correspondence of the bony framework of the fins with that of the higher vertebrate limb is regarded as clear, whereas the precise homology is far from being ascertained. Most of the illustrations are both handsome and accurate, but that of the lamprey shows no sign of the seven spiracles on the side of the neck by which it is most readily distinguished.

The 'Leisure-Time Studies' are mostly discussions of important biological questions, although three of them, "Some Animal Architects," "A Summer's Day," and "What I Saw in an Ant's Nest," would have found more appropriate places in the smaller volume just noticed. The essay last named seems to be the only indication of our author's desire and ability to do what his writings purport to encourage in others, namely, "original observation of the habits of animals." But Dr. Wilson certainly thinks for himself, and his treatment of "The Genesis of Life," "The Law of Likeness," and "The Origin of Nerves" tends to induce a thoughtful consideration of topics which have a bearing outside the province of the professed naturalist. In "Biology in Education" occurs the following passage :

"That boys or girls should leave school ignorant of the grand facts of biology, unable to give any intelligent account of the constitution of the world in which they live, and unlearned in the phenomena of their own existence, is a fact in the present history of education for which the future will have good cause to blush."

Literary Essays. By William G. T. Shedd, D.D., Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary. (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878.)—The essays contained in this volume embrace a wide variety of subjects. One is on "The True Nature of the Beautiful, and its relation to Culture"; another, on the "Confessions of Augustine"; a third, on "The Influence and Method of English Studies." In all there are eleven, on subjects connected more or less closely with æsthetics or literature. Dr. Shedd is a fluent and versatile writer, but his manner of dealing with the subjects he writes of differs widely from that most in vogue nowadays with ordinary lay critics. With the empirical, artistic view of culture which judges all products of the mind by non-moral standards he has no sympathy. Like all theologians, he has a great belief in system, and he brings his system with him into whatever branch of human thought he enters. As he declares in his preface :

"Right or wrong, the opinions themselves spring out of one intuition. The fine art and the philology are kindred to each other ; the philosophy and the rhetoric are homogeneous in their spirit and tendency."

He adds that, so far as his own convictions are concerned, he "finds some reason for confidence in the general correctness of his views in the fact that they are thus interlocked with each other from the first, and that the growth of his own mind has only interlaced them more and more." The opening essay on the Beautiful was, it seems, composed in 1851, "and all of the writer's study of books and observation of man from that time to the present has only made him tenfold more certain that the theory of æsthetics then presented is the true one." It would be impossible in any small compass to give an adequate idea of the variety of opinions and ideas advanced by Dr. Shedd in this volume. The opinions are not always novel, but the arguments by which they are supported frequently are. Thus, the essay on the Beautiful is designed to show that "neither music, nor painting, nor sculpture, nor architecture, nor poetry can properly be made the main instrument of human development"; that what we need is mainly "the culture that comes from science and religion"; that what ought to be done is "to bring the Beautiful under the problem of the True and the Good." A great deal of this essay is interesting and valuable. Occasionally, in his zeal, Dr. Shedd advances an argument which strikes us as more novel than sound, as, for instance, when he urges the following, drawn from Roman history :

"Which," asks Dr. Shedd, "is the venerable period in her history ? Is it to be sought for in the luxurious and (so far as Rome ever had it) the æsthetic civilization of the empire, or in the intellectual and moral civilization of the monarchy and republic ? All the strength and grandeur of the Roman character and of the Roman nationality lies back of the third Punic war. Nay, if Rome had been conquered by Carthage, and had gone out of political existence, its real glory, its proper historic renown, would have been greater than it is."

So again, in the essay on "The African Nature," he makes the suggestion that what is needed to counteract the severity of the Puritan type is a new development in Africa, and he draws a sketch of this new sort of "coming man": "A mild, docile, musing, and recipient nature, which is to drink in all the influences that shall pour forth from the old and perhaps then declining civilizations of the other zones" ; the "*artist's* nature, open at every pore, sensitive in every globule and cell of tissue, pulsing with a warm and somewhat slumbrous life—a deep base for a high structure." It is proper to say that this suggestion dates from a period when African colonization excited more hopes than it does now. The essays on "Rhetoric" and "English Literature" will be found among the most valuable in the volume.

Short History of German Literature. By James K. Hosmer, Professor of English and German Literature, Washington University, St. Louis ; Author of "The Color Guard," "The Thinking Bayonet," etc. (St. Louis : G. I. Jones & Co. 1879. 8vo, pp. 591.)—"The effort of this book is to give the main configuration of the literary landscape ; to show it in its proper perspective—the great peaks illuminated, the less important summits in a shadow that deepens as they grow lower" (p. 476). By adhering to this maxim, Prof. Hosmer has succeeded in writing a very readable and valuable book, the best book for the general reader, on a subject extremely wearisome if treated in detail. Of mediocre authors German literature is full, and the memories of students and the general public should not be burdened with their names or characteristics ; these can be safely relegated to works not intended for continuous reading—to encyclopædias, dictionaries, and indexes. How high the line of shadow is drawn in this work may be judged when we find that no mention at all is made of Bürger, Chamisso, Hauff, Voss, or Zschokke, and that Freytag is mentioned, and nothing more, and then only as a dramatist. The author's picture of German literature would have lost almost nothing in clearness and unity if these figures and a few more had been inserted, and there would have been room enough gained and to spare by omitting some thirty-five pages on the Thirty Years' War, with a minute and interesting account of the Battle of Lützen, and incidental descriptions of the uniforms worn by Tilly, Wallenstein, and Gustavus Adolphus, together with the author's emotions on visiting the spot where the latter fell :

"I thought of the stain that had lain on the lichens there ; the cold mist charged heavily with the sulphurous reek of the combat. . . . At the inn my mind was too full for quiet sleep ; if my eyes closed, 'twas to dream of smoking torches in the hands of men covered with dust and blood, and shining on the king's body ; of the clatter of hammers driving coffin-nails, and of Wallenstein, red and spectral like the wild huntsman, swallowed up in the gloom and storm of the spectral night."

This passage is a very mild sample of a style which is too frequently pitched in a higher key than the subject warrants, and of the author's unfortunate fondness for taking us with him to towns and streets and professor's houses which he himself, at any rate, visited with pleasure. We are reminded now and then of General Scott's celebrated despatch beginning, "After a hasty plate of soup." Both these faults are easily accounted for, if not so easily condoned, in a work no doubt made up

from lectures delivered to the author's classes in the West, and both, as well as sins of omission and defects of proportion, may be corrected, it is to be hoped, in a revised edition.

About a third of the whole history—too large a fraction—is taken up with German literature before Luther. Here the student should have been told what Old High-German and Middle High-German are, and that it is not enough to know modern German in order to read them. Then comes a thoroughly interesting chapter upon Luther, with numerous brief translations. To the misplaced account of the Thirty Years' War succeed the headings, Lessing (53 pp.), Klopstock, Wieland, and Herder (29 pp.), Goethe (84 pp.), Schiller (59 pp.), the Romantic School (28 pp.), Heine (41 pp. !), and the Modern Era (22 pp.), the last being little more than the author's personal impressions of Hermann Grimm, Von Ranke, the historian Mommsen, the chemist Mommsen, the physicist Kirchhoff, the Emperor William, and a German gymnasium. An excellent chapter on German style and its obscurity closes the volume. The author's own style is clear and animated, and his statements are definite. It is hardly fair to the layman to use any German words whatever without translating them into English—and Mr. Hosmer does forget to translate in a few cases—or to tell the student that "Germans" means "Shouters in battle," and that Friederike Brion was the prototype of Gretchen in 'Faust,' without informing him at the same time that opinions are divided on these points. The definition of epic poetry, as this term is used by the Germans, is not orthodox. We notice the following misprints and slips of the pen: *Vorsehen* for *Versehen* (p. 537), Leipsig everywhere for Leipsic, Perseus for Persius (p. 569), and *laut* (loud) translated as if it were *lauter* (clear) (p. 574). "Taxed as cattle," p. 433 (of the Hessians sent to fight in our Revolution), seems to be a translation of *taxirt*, etc., which rightly means "reckoned as cattle."

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1879.

The Week.

FROM Thursday to Saturday the Senate had its turn with the Chinese question, and passed the House bill at last by a vote of 39 to 27, with some amendments of slight importance. By it neither foreign vessels nor native-owned will be allowed to bring to this country from any quarter more than fifteen Chinamen on a single voyage, and these passengers must regularly appear in the manifest as part of the cargo. Violation of these provisions is punishable with a fine of one hundred dollars and imprisonment up to six months for each Chinaman in excess of the prescribed number, and the amount of the penalties becomes a lien upon the vessel. Exception is made in favor of Government officials or attachés of the Chinese Embassy, and of temporary sojourners having an educational end in view; and masters whose vessels are driven into port by stress of weather will not be held liable. The two Republican Senators from California, Messrs. Sargent and Booth, the Democratic Mr. Grover of Oregon, Senator Jones of Nevada, indeed the Senators from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, were *ex officio*, as we may say, ardent supporters of the measure. They had as natural coadjutors their Southern colleagues, like Senators Morgan and Eustis, and this fact alone, in the eyes of a tolerably logical public, would have indicated Mr. Blaine's place to be on the opposite side. Other considerations prompted him to an ostentatious adhesion to the sand-lot view of the question. Mr. Hamlin and Mr. Matthews spoke ably and at length in opposition to the bill, on humanitarian grounds and on behalf of international courtesy and good faith. Mr. Conkling tried to reduce the measure to a simple giving of notice to abrogate the treaty if not modified by mutual consent before Jan. 1, 1880. Mr. Edmunds in disgust offered the following satirical amendment, which was rejected by the same vote that passed the bill:

"That the United States hereby recognizes a reciprocal right and power in the Government of China to regulate, so far as its own dominions are concerned, intercourse between the two countries according to its own sense of propriety, notwithstanding existing treaties with the United States; and the President is hereby requested to communicate a copy of this act to the Chinese Government."

Otherwise the Senate has been chiefly occupied with the bill to amend the Internal Revenue laws, another House measure, in which the main interest centred upon the tax on tobacco. That interest, which is charged with having bought Pacific-Coast support in return for anti-Chinese votes, succeeded at all events in putting back the tax to the low and uniform rate of sixteen cents a pound adopted by the House, in spite of the Finance Committee's recommendation to impose twenty-four cents on snuff. Mr. Bayard led the party of reduction, alleging the greater return of revenue in consequence. The House suspended the rules on Monday and summarily passed in succession the River and Harbor Appropriation Bill, the Deficiency Bill, and a bill which appropriates $26,852,000 towards meeting the arrears of pensions, and puts an economical interpretation on the bill creating these arrears. Mr. Sherman will need more than this amount to prevent a deficit, and Mr. Fernando Wood has proposed to his Ways and Means Committee to take the necessary twelve or thirteen millions out of the Treasury balance, arguing that the Treasury is amply provided against resumption and may as well use its idle margin in this way.

Secretary Sherman writes to the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations that the amount payable by way of arrears of pensions, under the Act of January 25, will, it is estimated, reach $41,500,000, and that the result will be a deficit in the revenue for the coming fiscal year amounting to $27,000,000 nearly. To provide this he recommends the imposition of some new tax adequate for the purpose, or the issue of four per cent. bonds. It is to be hoped that the latter expedient may be adopted. The passage of the Pensions Bill was a piece of demagogy of which a great many members of Congress saw the mischief. They hoped the President would veto the bill, which would undoubtedly have finished it. Its evil consequences, however, may not end with the expenditure of $41,500,000. It is to be feared that the necessity of meeting the deficit may again open the floodgates of financial folly.

Mr. Fernando Wood has done some service in illustrating the dangers of having the Treasury act as a bank of issue and keep great quantities of greenbacks afloat. One of the necessities of such a bank is the maintenance of a large coin reserve for the purposes of redemption; but this reserve will always be open to attack at the hands of two classes—those who think it too large, and those who do not want redemption at all; that is, persons with peculiar views about banking, and greenbackers pure and simple. The former, whenever there is a deficit in the revenue, will always say, as Mr. Wood does, Why not meet it with some of your coin, instead of putting more taxes on a sorely-tried people? You can have no possible use for more than half your present accumulation. The latter, on the other hand, will be constantly trying by making extraordinary appropriations like the Pensions Bill to create a deficit, and will then resist any mode of meeting it but an issue of fresh paper or the dissipation of the coin reserve, so as in the one way or the other to put a stop to redemption altogether. We may add that Secretary Sherman is indirectly fostering this spirit of mischief by confounding the greenbacks on hand with the coin assets of the Treasury, in his monthly reports, when they are in reality liabilities or due debts, and ought to be constantly and carefully treated as such.

There is a fierce contest going on before the Senate over the bill introduced by Senator Jones, of Florida, permitting the railroads to open their telegraph lines to general business. The main argument in its favor is that it would break down the monopoly of the Western Union, which is urged strongly by the railroads and the newspapers who do not belong to the Associated Press, while the Western Union maintains that it would be dangerous to give the same corporations control both of transportation and correspondence, and that the bill would throw open to State telegraph companies privileges on the railroads for which the Western Union has been compelled to pay; and that, anyhow, Congress has no right to legislate in the matter.

The President's letter to Mr. Merritt, the Collector, of which we spoke last week, has been published *in extenso*, and in the matter of civil-service reform is almost as good as the letter of acceptance in 1876. He instructs the Collector to manage the Custom-house on strictly business principles, and tells him he wants him to "be perfectly independent of mere influence from any quarter," and that "neither his (the President's) recommendation, nor that of Secretary Sherman, nor of any member of Congress or other influential person, is to be specially regarded." He also directs him to put in force once more the rules recommended by the Civil-Service Commission. It would seem as if the best way of preventing the recommendations of the President or of Secretary Sherman from having any influence would be the steady refusal of these gentlemen to give any recommendations. In this way the burden of the Collector would be lightened and a good example set to members of Congress. It would be very hard for Mr. Merritt not to heed letters coming from his superiors, and he ought not to be called on for any such

displays of virtue. In civil-service reform, as in many other good things, each officer, from the President down, must do his own share of the work. A temperance apostle who took an occasional dram himself, and warned his neophytes not to mind him when he invited them to "take a drink," would meet with but limited success.

One good result of the passage of the New York Custom-house into the control of the Administration has already been produced. Mr. Conkling has begun to show some interest in general legislation, and actually took part in the debate on the Chinese bill, and moved an amendment to it which would have greatly improved it. This is the more creditable because the destruction of the Arthur-Cornell question must have left a great void in his intellectual life. *That* he had thoroughly mastered. He was familiar with all the literature of it, ancient and modern. If an Arthur-Cornell Chair had been founded at a university he would have been the only man competent to fill it. That he should so soon, under the circumstances, apply his mind to new subjects shows great recuperative power. That the Custom-house will always be an object of tender interest to him, as the once happy home of many needy and devoted followers, is very likely, but nobody but a brute would find fault with this.

The physical condition of Mr. Samuel J. Tilden becomes every day more mysterious. The New York *Times* is the highest living authority on his history and his bodily and mental characteristics, and we quoted last week its account of his state when before the Potter Committee. From this it appeared that he was suffering severely from "palsy"; his hands were "transparent," and shook violently during his examination; his countenance was "expressionless," and was "seamed all over with physical decay," and he showed in his evidence that all his faculties were gone except his memory, with the aid of which he was enabled to "mumble" a large number of falsehoods, from which we conclude that his speech was also affected. The case, as thus described, has begun to excite a good deal of interest, with both the lay and professional public, on account of the extraordinary survival of the memory after the loss of the other faculties. The mystery has, however, become deeper since we last wrote, for he seems either to have rallied in a most singular way or to be able to carry on his wickedness with a curiously small supply of vitality. The *Times* of Monday called attention editorially to the fact that he was not only still intriguing for the Presidential nomination, but was taking an active part in the approaching municipal election in Philadelphia, where he was working to secure the election of one McMullin, a "notorious Squire" and a henchman of Samuel J. Randall, who, in return for Tilden's aid, is to send Tilden delegates to the National Convention. The *Times* added that it is "well known that Tilden has agents all through the State of Pennsylvania whose business it is to talk him up as an injured man." We think under these circumstances it is not too much to ask him to have himself reported on by a committee of experts in the interest of science.

Dunn, one of the members of the South Carolina Returning Board, has been examined by the Potter Committee, and he is the only witness since Mr. Tilden whose evidence is at all interesting. He testifies that he received proposals from one Hardy Solomon to buy the vote of South Carolina for Tilden. He says he gave Solomon at the very first interview a decided refusal to have anything to do with such a wicked scheme, but nevertheless continued to see him every day for several days, and to talk the matter over with him, in order to find out what "the plans of the Democracy" were, and what he heard he regularly communicated to Governor Chamberlain as "danger signals," just as Marble communicated the corrupt proposals he received to Pelton. The Committee are now trying to secure the attendance of Solomon, but that person is, it appears, keeping out of the way and will not be found till Congress adjourns. If so, he is more sensitive and timid than anybody else who was down there seeing to a "fair count," and must, we should judge, for this reason be rather an interesting man. Dunn also made on Tuesday the amusing addition to his testimony that Solomon was confederated with him in "playing it on the Democrats," Solomon intending "to get the money out of the Democrats if he possibly could." Dunn is a friend of Kimpton and Chamberlain, and now lives with the former in Boston.

A movement has been set on foot by Bishop Huntington, of Central New York, in conjunction with a considerable number of clergymen of various denominations, for the purpose of breaking up the Oneida Community, whose principal seat is at Oneida, in Madison County, N. Y. A meeting, to which leading ministers from all parts of the State were invited, was held at the Syracuse University on Friday last, with Bishop Huntington in the chair; but if the brief report of the New York *Times* be correct, the proceedings were not very effective. Professor Mears, who was called on for a description of the Community, was obliged to admit that the members "were good citizens, orderly and cleanly in the manner in which they conduct their home." We believe he might have added they were excellent and successful business men, and much esteemed as such by all who have dealings with them. The charge against them is that in the Community "men and women live in a state of concupiscence," and that there is an "impure emanation" from it, but all acknowledged that there was no outward cause of scandal. The lawyers present were called on for a remedy, and one of them suggested the insertion in the New York statute against "disorderly persons" the words—"all persons living in concupiscence or adultery." This is not very luminous for a lawyer. What is "living in concupiscence"? "Concupiscence" is a state of mind, and you cannot indict a man or woman for evil desires. Moreover, to prove adultery you must prove marriage, and the Oneida Community have no marriage. In fact, the subject is a most difficult one to deal with by legal penalties, and we think the clergy would do well not to attack it with the arm of flesh, lest they give the Communists the glory of martyrdom. Would "concupiscence" be discredited by the spectacle of men going to jail rather than surrender their peculiar views about it? The Oneida theory of the relations of the sexes is odious, no doubt, but it is the product of crackbrained biblical exegesis and is sincerely held, and the sheriff can hardly kill it.

A robbery occurred on Friday afternoon in broad daylight, in the most crowded part of Fifth Avenue, which shows with what moderation thieves on the whole behave. A well-dressed man seized one of two ladies who were walking together, put one arm firmly round her neck, and then tore out one of her diamond earrings, besides tugging sharply at the other. Having secured it he ran off, pursued by a few young men; but having a good start, he reached his coupé, which was waiting for him at a little distance, and was driven rapidly to his residence. The ladies were put into a carriage in a fainting condition, and one of the papers gives that touch of *bouffe* to the affair which is seldom wanting in criminal cases in New York, by saying that when a policeman arrived on the scene he was with difficulty prevented from arresting them and clubbing the bystanders. If the occurrence checks the silly habit of wearing expensive ornaments in the streets it will not be wholly regrettable. This habit has reached such a point that among the poorer women one often sees in the horse-cars a big gold chain and locket hanging round the neck outside a waterproof cloak. There is little doubt that half these things might be carried off by young robbers in good condition who had horses and wagons waiting for them within a reasonable distance.

Enough United States 4 per cent. bonds were sold during the week to enable the Treasury to notify the holders of $40,000,000 more of 5-20s of 1867 (6 per cents.) that they will be redeemed ninety days hence. This makes a total of $230,000,000 of the public debt on which the annual interest has been reduced one-third since the resumption of specie payments at the beginning of last month.

The continued redemption of 5.20s is bringing back from Europe an amount of these bonds which is sufficient, in addition to other demands, to keep the market for sterling exchange very strong, so strong that gold coin exports are expected in the early future. At the Stock Exchange the infamous proposal to use the coin reserve in the Treasury, held there for the redemption of legal-tender notes, to pay pension claims, was construed by stock speculators as an inflation movement, and it had the effect of rekindling the fires of speculation which, at the close of January and early in February, had begun to wane. The most notable event of the week, both as respects stock speculation and railroad management, was the sale, privately, of 100,000 shares (of the par value of $10,000,000) of Union Pacific stock, the seller having been Jay Gould and the buyer a syndicate of Wall Street and San Francisco operators who manage railroads and speculate in stocks. Whether the transfer of ownership will improve the management remains to be seen. That it improved the speculative position of the stock in the market is shown by an immediate advance of 14 per cent. in the price of it. The money market was fitful during the week, the common rates for call loans having been 2 to 3 per cent., but rates were run up on several occasions for a short time to 5 to 7 per cent. Ten or twelve of the leading banks agreed not to discount below 4 per cent.; the union lasted only a few days, as it was found impossible to keep the rate up.

The Marquis of Lorne has opened the Canadian Parliament with a speech in the nature of a message, which, however, differs from a message in being simply an exposition of the ministerial policy, and in large part a recital of matters already well known. He hints that the deficiencies in the revenue are to be made up by a readjustment of the tariff, with the view of increasing the revenue and at the same time developing and encouraging the various industries of Canada. In other words, he announces a policy of "incidental protection." The Princess Louise the same day held her first drawing-room in a way which dissipated the growing anxiety about exclusiveness and dress. The ladies appear to have worn high-necked dresses if they pleased, and nobody was shut out who was thought worthy of presentation to any previous vice-reine. But a line has to be drawn somewhere, and the task of drawing it in Canada must be a fearful strain on chamberlains. We are glad to notice that "Major Dom, M.P., wore a cavalry uniform which he had imported from England at a cost of $700."

The English Ministry have made no formal announcement of their programme for the session since the opening of Parliament, but it is understood that they will devote themselves to home affairs, so as to make some amends for the too vigorous foreign policy of last year. They have, however, succeeded in defeating the Liberals and Home-Rulers united in an attempt to extend to Ireland the low borough franchise established in England by the last Reform Bill. There is news from South Africa that things are no worse since the late disaster, and that some minor attacks of the Zulus have been repulsed. Reinforcements are being poured in from India and England which will probably double Lord Chelmsford's force, which is now 10,000 Europeans besides the native auxiliaries, who, contrary to the first reports, do appear to have behaved well. But the pluck of the Zulus in charging resolutely under the fire of breech-loaders is a serious fact, which makes a long and expensive war likely, and it is a war to which the colony itself can contribute but little in money or men. The peremptory order in Council forbidding the importation of American cattle on account of the appearance of pleuro-pneumonia among the beasts at Liverpool is exciting a good deal of feeling. The farmers, who have been very gloomy of late, are much pleased, but the meat-eaters are alarmed, as the trade has been growing rapidly, and has had a marked effect on prices.

The Bishop of Gloucester's explanation of his vote on the Afghan war has naturally excited a great deal of reprobation in England, and having been called to account for it by the Peace Society he has again rushed into print and made the matter worse. He says: "Regarding England as having become the trustee of India and of Indian interests, spiritual and material, I believe the war to be a just war, undertaken under motives of distinct ethical validity." This argument would, of course, justify any war which, in the eyes of those declaring it, might, if successful, improve the spiritual condition of the enemy. It would suit the Pope admirably. Self-constituted spiritual trustees are, in fact, as Voltaire said of Habakkuk, "capables de tout," and when they openly declare it to be their duty to execute the trust by force, they justify almost any form of resistance. The bishop's observations, however, are not only easily refuted, but they have furnished in England a good deal of material for unseemly jokes. People are not unnaturally amused by the notion of General Sam Browne and General Roberts being "spiritual trustees," and knocking Afghans on the head in order to save the souls of the Hindoos.

The light sentence on the directors of the Glasgow Bank—imprisonment from six to eighteen months—has called forth much surprise and some indignation. But it has been overlooked by many that the Crown lawyers withdrew the charges of theft and embezzlement in the course of the trial, and went to the jury on the charge of falsification of accounts simply. There was no proof that this was done by the directors for their personal advantage. They simply tried in a weak and criminal way to put off the exposure of the huge deficit created by reckless advances on worthless securities. Two of them, who are old men, will probably be killed by the sentence, lenient as it is.

In Germany the public mind is concentrated on the question whether Bismarck can succeed with his Parliamentary Discipline Bill, while the chances against his success seem to be increasing, owing to the union on this question of the National Liberals and Progressists, the National Liberals apparently regaining some of their old courage. The state of opinion in the Parliament on the bill is likely to be tested by the result of the pending debate on the demand of the Government for permission to prosecute two deputies accused of Socialism. Should this permission be refused, the defeat of the bill is considered certain. The spirit of resistance to the Chancellor is encouraged by the action of the courts in acquitting the editors of the Frankfort *Gazette* for publishing a spirited reply to the charge made in his place in the Chamber that the journal was in the pay or under the influence of France.

The plague shows a decided decrease in violence, probably owing more to improvement in the weather than to any of the remedies so far attempted. General Melikoff found the prisons in the infected districts overcrowded and filthy to a shocking degree, and has ordered a thorough renovation of them by the authorities on pain of death. He also ordered the formation of a military cordon extending the whole length of the Volga. Physicians have been despatched by France, Germany, and Austria to study the disease, and England intends to do the same. Italy seems to be more alarmed than any other nation; her line of steamers to Egypt has been discontinued, and a merchant vessel was warned off at Palermo by a cannon shot. The quarantine regulations in all dangerous places have been made very stringent, and letters from Russia are fumigated at the frontier. It is pointed out by Surgeon-General Woodworth, in a letter to the Congressional Committee on Epidemics, that should the plague appear in European countries with which the United States have direct communication, there will be serious danger of the disease reaching our shores. The board of yellow-fever experts unanimously recommended that United States medical officers should be stationed at Liverpool and at some point in the Mediterranean, in order to give prompt and reliable information to the authorities at our seaports. They should also be subject to orders to report on foreign epidemics.

THE CHINESE DEBATE.

HOW much the Republican party will put up with from some of its leaders in the way of insincerity it is, of course, impossible as yet to say, but the debate and passage of the Chinese Immigration Bill must, we cannot help thinking, have brought the more honest and intelligent members of the party considerably nearer the last limits of their patience. The bill, no matter what one's opinion of its object may be, is absolutely indefensible. It constitutes the sudden breach, with every circumstance of discourtesy, of a treaty solemnly contracted with a great and friendly Power, on our own motion. We propose to break it without notice, without discussion, without taking the trouble to find out whether the other party to the contract would or could remedy what we complain of in its operation. We have not yet asked whether the Chinese Government would consent to a revision of the whole instrument, although a joint resolution directing the President to do so was passed last summer, and we do not offer to relinquish any of the privileges which we ourselves have acquired under it, and now enjoy. We simply pick out of it a single provision which annoys us, and announce that we shall no longer be bound by it, and all this in language of the deadliest insult to the whole Chinese race. If the task of putting a stop to Chinese immigration had been entrusted to a committee of drunken miners or "sand-lot" agitators, they could hardly have executed their task with greater disregard to the decencies of international intercourse. The effect of the whole proceeding, too, is heightened by the fact that it is in form the protest of a very refined, very moral, very religious, and very civilized people against corrupting intercourse with ignorant and vicious barbarians. There is only one thing to be said in palliation of it—although it is somewhat ludicrous to offer it as palliation to a community which believes in truthfulness in public as in private affairs—and that is that many if not most of its promoters do not desire its passage, and believe the President will veto it. They do not expect it to stop Chinese immigration, and do not much care whether it does or not; but they want somehow to secure the support of the Pacific slope at the next Presidential election either for themselves or their party, and for this purpose are ready to hold any view, either on "caste" or "human rights," which seems likely to command most votes.

In saying all this we are not disposed to pooh-pooh the arguments of Senator Sargent in support of the bill. It is not candid to say, as many of us do, that the hostility of the Californians to the influx of Chinese is due simply to dislike of cheap labor, any more than it is candid to say that the hostility of the Southerners to negro suffrage is due simply to race prejudice. California is suffering, both socially and politically, from the multiplication of enormous fortunes managed with an inadequate sense of moral and social responsibility, and leading to immense land monopolies, which begin to bear a close resemblance to the *latifundia* which, Pliny said, "ruined Italy" by the extirpation of the free yeomanry. Nothing would do more to promote these great accumulations of wealth than a profuse supply of cheap and contented labor, and the result would soon be a form of society not unlike that which slavery created at the South, and which, whatever may be said in its favor, is one which is totally unsuited to the American system of government, and almost unmanageable by it. If such a form of society is growing up anywhere it is not bad politics to take early measures to check it. Measures intended to *shape* the social system are taken in nearly all the States of the Union by the laws of descent, and in this State by those relating to the tenure of land, as well as in other ways.

There *is* a distinction, too, between Chinese immigrants and other immigrants, and it is one which may be marked by American legislators without any repudiation of the theory on which foreigners have hitherto been invited to settle in the country. Foreigners have been invited and encouraged to come because it was expected that those who came would come to stay, and as a matter of fact this expectation has been realized. All but a handful of the millions who entered the United States since 1800 have rooted themselves in the soil, and their descendants are now Americans. It is not at all probable that the invitation would have stood very long in its unqualified form if it had brought simply a swarm of sojourners, intending to remain foreigners while here, and proposing to return home in a few years. Nor could the Government have stood the strain of the presence of a vast body of persons owing it no allegiance and feeling no interest in its safety or success. Some means would have been resorted to either to compel immigrants to cast in their lot with the country or to restrict their numbers.

The Chinese, too, are something more than foreigners who refuse to be naturalized. They are foreigners whose numbers are prodigious, and whose overflow into all the countries within easy reach of their own is exciting the hostility and alarm of all who find it impossible to enter into competition with them without seriously lowering their own standard of living. It is not the Californians alone who are hostile to them. The Australians and New-Zealanders, eager as they are for immigrants, are not willing to accept the Chinese in lieu of any other laboring population, because the ready reception of them apparently is likely to result in their extirpating all rivals in such callings as they follow. It may be creditable to the Chinese that they are able to do so, but it is not unnatural that their rivals should be unwilling to accept their fate or to acknowledge that the laborer is nothing but a machine, and valuable only for the small cost at which he can be made to produce. A state is after all not a manufacturing company simply. It is an association for moral and social ends, to which a man who remains in it all his life as a stranger, and spending nothing but what barely suffices to support life, contributes little or nothing. This objection, too, has a force as applied to the Chinese which it is far from possessing when applied to any other race. No people in the world is so impervious to foreign influences. Their civilization is not only older than ours, but older than our "ancient world." How after having advanced so far in arts and arms they came to stop where they are, and take upon themselves a yoke of custom so hard and fast that four thousand years have hardly left a mark upon it, is one of the problems of history which have thus far baffled all investigation. What is most extraordinary in Chinese civilization, however, is not that it has made Chinese society immovable and impregnable, but that it has given the Chinese population a persistence and vitality unknown among other races. They can live and work hard in all climates; they take and lose life with absolute indifference; their armies in Central Asia advance with such deadly perseverance that they plant and reap corn after one campaign in order to prepare for the next, and they kill the males of conquered districts with the same calm with which they throw a bridge over a stream. They are recently slowly adding European arms and discipline to the stock of their acquisitions, and if they can produce generalship, they will be a power which no other nation can safely attack and which all neighboring nations must dread. These things must be borne in mind by those who propose either to kick them out as barbarians or receive and try to educate them as barbarians. They are men of an older and, if not stronger, far more tenacious civilization than our own. We have evolved as yet no force or influence likely to make the smallest impression on them. If they were likely to come in great number to California—which we do not think is true—they would easily take possession of the State. That the very gelatinous religion and morality and customs of that region would supply an agency capable of absorbing or changing them, is an idea which sounds well in lectures on the rights of man and on the mission of the American Republic, but there is no basis for legislation in it. It somewhat resembles Mr. Burlingame's pleasing dream that the Chinese were ready to "plant the shining cross" on all their hilltops.

The debate on the bill was useful in one way. It forced some declaimers like Mr. Blaine, though to their own confusion, to approach the race question in a practical way. The Chinese problem in California has a very close resemblance to the negro problem at the South. The question which both cases present is, What is the

best mode under our American system of government of enabling two different races of different degrees of civilization to live peaceably together on the same soil? The natural method of solving this is the business method. We are bound to find out what is reasonable and remediable in the demands and complaints of *both* sides, and try and provide a *modus vivendi*, not with the view of carrying out the glorious principles of the *Contrat Social*, but of giving everybody the largest attainable amount of security and comfort. It is not right in dealing with California to listen only to the demands of the "hoodlums," as Mr. Blaine does, any more than it is right in dealing with the South to turn a deaf ear to the complaints of the whites. If it be reasonable in a Californian to threaten to burn and ravage unless he is rid of a class of laborers whose food and sleeping arrangements and religion are disagreeable to him, and who are not moral enough for him, even though they seek no share in the Government, it is not criminal or unreasonable in the Southern whites to object to be ruled by a majority composed of ignorant Africans just emancipated from a most degrading form of bondage. Mr. Eustis, of Louisiana, turned this obvious argument on Mr. Blaine and his Republican allies most happily, and the attempts of the latter to escape from his tormentor were pitiable. His only defence was that the negroes were born here; but if this be sound, he would put up with the low diet, the low morality, the low wages, and the heathenism of the Chinese if they had chanced to be born here. So it depends, after all, on the little accident of a man's birth whether we ought to expel him as a nuisance or make him governor of a province. The fact is that if the Southern whites are wholly irrational and unworthy of attention, so are the "hoodlums." There is, however, a great deal in the complaints of both which merits the serious attention of statesmen, and which ought to be dealt with in a practical and conciliatory spirit, making due allowance for prejudice and for self-interest, but none for cruelty and greed, and keeping the public welfare and the interests of our own civilization steadily in mind.

ENTRIES FOR 1880.

ALTHOUGH only two years have elapsed since the terrible struggle of 1876, and the Presidential conventions of 1880 are as yet distant by more than a year, the campaign of 1880 has evidently already begun. During the past three or four months it has raged in the columns of the *Tribune* with great violence; during the past fortnight it has broken out at the sessions of the Potter sub-committee at the Fifth Avenue Hotel; and since the adjournment of that committee the press all over the country has taken sides in it. Apart from its bearing on the campaign of 1880, there seems to be no reason why Congress should order an investigation into the cipher despatches. The persons whose acts are investigated in connection with them hold no official positions; Messrs. Pelton, Marble, and Weed may not be thoroughly good men, indeed they apparently are not, but why should the Congress of our common country care to know how far short of the "truly good" in character they fall? Mr. Tilden, too, is a private citizen—a man unquestionably of powerful mind and large means, but still a private citizen. The only ground on which the investigation is reasonable at all is its bearing on the cipher despatches as an "issue" in the campaign of 1880. The cipher-despatch question has even now all the marks of such an issue. The *Tribune* has got out an "extra" on the subject; a mass of testimony has been taken by a committee, which proves precisely what the public already knew from the newspapers; and all the material facts are denied by the person mainly implicated. It is noticeable, too, that all the newspaper reports of the testimony of Mr. Tilden contain marked indications of that increased moral temperature which is one of the most striking symptoms of the raging of a Presidential campaign. In the Democratic papers the witness takes the stand pale but firm, gives his direct testimony in a straightforward manner, and on cross-examination baffles and staggers his questioners with the astuteness of his replies. In the Republican papers he totters up to the stand, hardly recognizing his friends around him, and, trembling with palsy and guilt, repeats a story committed to memory in advance. In the end, however, his deep villany does not avail him, for under a searching cross-examination by the undaunted minority he winces, cowers, and evades answering the questions put to him, and leaves the stand overcome with exposure and shame. If the campaign of 1880 is not upon us, what does this mean?

On the other side, there is no surer indication of the beginning of a campaign than the appearance of the biographer. It is the duty of the biographer to clear up the obscurity which frequently darkens so sadly what should be the most famous passages in the life of the candidate; or, if he happens not to be obscure, to perform the closely analogous duty of chronicling the sayings, thoughts, and doings of his subject. In the case of a candidate like Mr. Hayes the biographer proper was needed, and Mr. Howard performed his duty so thoroughly that the leading facts of Mr. Hayes's career were brought within the reach of the meanest intelligence early in the campaign of 1876. In the case of General Grant, of course, a biographer is not needed; but in his progress through Europe and Asia the accurate chronicle of his speeches, thoughts, and movements, forwarded every week or so to the press, answers the purpose which biography serves in the case of an obscure man. We learn what he thought of Sumner and Motley, and Bristow and Belknap and Babcock, and all the other great men of his time; how he regards the European armies and their generals, and what he has to say about the battle of Shiloh. We have examined these reports of General Grant's table-talk with care, and have failed to find in them anything of any intrinsic interest or novelty, and, therefore, are forced to conclude that they too are indications that 1880 is upon us—a conclusion which is confirmed by the fact that General Grant, whenever asked his views as to his own candidacy for 1880, invariably replies that he does not mean to run, but qualifies this with the assurance that if "the people" want him very much he may be forced to reconsider his determination. Anybody who feels his duty to the people as strongly as this never, according to our observation, fails to sacrifice his inclinations to the public interest as soon as he is convinced that one or more powerful States will go into the Convention "solid" for him. As to this, General Grant is said to have already received positive assurances.

We may then fairly consider that the candidates for 1880, at any rate until the nominations are made, are to be Grant and Tilden, and it will be well to inure ourselves to the thought. It is already obvious that the campaign, when we are fairly embarked on it, will be one of no ordinary interest, and will turn mainly on questions rather of character than of policy. Between Grant and Tilden there can be no question as to hard money, and the Southern question does not promise to be as exciting in 1880 as it was in 1876, because there are no Republican returning boards in the South now, and no chance of any Southern State being carried by the Republicans. The election must, therefore, turn mainly on the relative character of the two candidates and their personal fitness for the position of President. We will endeavor to outline the course the campaign will probably take.

Both men have been before the public a good while, and the process of "exposure" has been applied to both of them with considerable thoroughness. Nobody, therefore, need allow himself to be placed in the unfortunate position in which many voters in the last campaign found themselves, of ignorance as to the past moral career of their candidates. Both General Grant and Mr. Tilden may be said to be distinguished for the eminence of their public services and the notoriety of their characters, and a large mass of documentary evidence on the subject is accessible to every one, in the shape of committees' reports, *Tribune* extras, *Times* supplements, and campaign text-books. The three most dangerous vices in public men are, of course, intemperance, dishonesty, and bad company; and in these respects it is easy to institute a pretty thorough comparison between the two favorites for 1880.

In the first place, it is in the power of the Republicans to prove that Tilden is an habitual drunkard, and that he, while Governor

of the State, being at the time drunk, drove into and seriously damaged the carriage of an inoffensive citizen on the public highway (*vide* the *Times*, *passim*, for 1876). One reply to the charge is that Mr. Tilden, at the time, was sober, and that his horses were being driven by another gentleman; but the most effective is that Grant is himself an habitual drunkard. The charges of intemperance may be said to offset each other. At any rate, it would be impossible to say which was the hardest drinker, or which would be likely to be most incapacitated from public duty by drunkenness, without some sort of competitive examination of the two candidates while under the influence of drink. This sort of a test, however, though it might be invaluable to the country, is probably too old-fashioned in character for modern taste.

With regard to integrity, Tilden's record is not all that a warm supporter could wish. We are not disposed to lay much stress upon the cipher negotiations with Republican electors in the South, for in these his favorite nephew was involved, and when integrity is subjected to a strain under the pressure of a warm family affection a man ought not to be judged too harshly. Besides this, when General Grant was accused of sacrificing public interests to the necessities of his family, the utmost he was charged with was Nepotism, and it is perhaps hardly more than fair to set down Mr. Tilden's unfortunate connection with the cipher negotiations to his warmth of affection for his nephew, and to call the account square. It must not be forgotten that Mr. Tilden did not profit by the negotiations any more than General Grant did by his jaunt to Boston with Jim Fisk and Jay Gould on the Fall River boat, or the subsequent remarkable rise in gold on "Black Friday," or by the post-traderships to which he helped his brother Orville Grant, or the San Domingo annexation scheme.

There are, however, other facts in Mr. Tilden's career which are not lightly to be passed over. The income-tax suit of the Government against him has never been brought to trial, mainly because whenever the case is called, the Government's counsel (if a political campaign is going on) answers cheerfully, "Ready for the plaintiff," while the defendant insists on a postponement; and when no campaign is raging defendant's counsel declares himself ready to proceed on his side, while the plaintiff urges the case on by filing a bill of discovery. Added to this, the thievish habits of the defendant, which lead him every now and then to steal the books of account necessary to the proofs in the suit, make the truth difficult to arrive at. Still, it is admitted that Mr. Tilden did refrain from making a declaration of his actual income for purposes of taxation during several years, and this of itself has very generally been regarded as sufficient proof of his criminality. We must add to this his plunder and wreck of the Terre Haute Railroad, and his circulation of bogus currency among the poor miners of Michigan, and the total destruction of the once smiling village of Brady's Bend. Finally, with regard to the men with whom he surrounds himself, and with whom he co-operates to further his political advancement, it must not be overlooked that besides Weed and Woolley, he was at one time a "coparcener" with Bill Tweed, and wrote him a letter addressing the Boss as "dear Tweed," and contributed, if we remember right, to his campaign fund.

With regard to Grant's integrity, there is no evidence that he personally profited by the operations which went on under his eyes in Washington; but as a "gift-taker" he is equalled by no one. In the campaign of 1880 the house at Long Branch and the other house at Washington will no doubt figure, and as a neglected subject of investigation we might throw out a suggestion that his transactions in horses would be worth looking into a little more carefully than has yet been done; and that the history of the $25,000 sent by Mr. Abel Corbin, General Grant's brother-in-law, to the White House in September, 1869, has never been made as clear as the people are entitled to have it made. In order properly to compare him with Mr. Tilden we must strike a balance, if possible, between the direct felonies of the one and the permissive plunder under the other. The Whiskey-Ring conspiracy, in which, after issuing his celebrated order to "let no guilty man escape," he communicated to the person chiefly implicated the Government testimony in order to enable him to prepare his defence; the District of Columbia Ring, headed by his particular friend, "Boss" Shepherd, whom he reappointed to help govern the District as commissioner as soon as he had been turned out for plundering it as governor; the safe-burglary conspiracy, a transaction so closely connected with the government of the District as to make it necessary for General Grant to invite one of the gentlemen principally involved to the White House while under indictment; the post-tradership and Black Friday scandals just referred to—all these incidents of General Grant's public career will be of use in 1880.

Not only will all these matters have to be reconsidered in 1880, but such is the acrimony of a closely-contested Presidential campaign that one of the most beautiful traits of the characters of both candidates—their warm adherence to their friends—will be pressed into service. In the Democratic campaign text-book of 1876, a compilation full of partisan venom, numerous instances of this trait are given, the facts being always distorted so as to make them out a case of the sacrifice of public interest to personal friendship. Why, the Democrats say, was Schenck kept at London after the Emma Mine scandal had become public? Why were Ackerman and Williams made Attorneys-General, and Williams nominated for the Chief-Justiceship? Why was the son of the American Minister at Paris allowed to make use of his position to effect engagements for circus-riders? Why was Mr. George Butler allowed the run of Egypt as a representative of the United States? Why was Dr. Newman sent around the world inspecting consulates of which he knew nothing? Why did General Grant write a letter to "Tom" Murphy, thanking him for the "efficiency, honesty, and zeal" which he had displayed as Collector of the Port in this city? It is sad to think that questions of this sort will be asked, but poor human nature is so constituted that the chief part of the art of government as at present practised among us consists in asking such questions and "pausing for a reply." In the present case undoubtedly the true replies are: Has Mr. Tilden ever paid his income-tax? Has he returned those bonds to the Terre Haute road? What are his relations with Mr. William T. Pelton?

Such, as we understand them, are the broad general outlines of the campaign of 1880 as it stands. We are unable at present to give a decided opinion on the merits of the rival candidates, but shall endeavor as the time passes on to keep our readers informed of the latest developments, trusting that it may all come out right in the end and the best man win.

THE RAILWAY DELUSION OF WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

WE recently expressed the belief that a National Law which shall compel Railways to make public all matters pertaining to their compensation for all descriptions of service, is an essential preliminary to any effective attempt at learning to what extent, if any, national regulation of railway transportation shall be required or permitted. No expert, however familiar with the general subject, can hope to drag to light those discriminations which all who have been concerned in them are so bent on, and have grown so wonderfully ingenious and skilful in concealing, unless assisted by a law not limited by State lines, not capable of long successful evasion, and provided with penalties that will carry more terror to official respectability than mere money fines, which the corporation will pay. To be effective the penalties must reach the persons and purses of offending individuals, as well as the coffers of the companies.

The same act should be so framed as to prevent farther ill-effects from the Wholesale and Retail delusion, which has already done great harm to the country at large, and to the railways themselves. The justification for this interference is to be found in the history of the rise and development of our railway system. We needed railways, and we got them in any way we could. City, county, State, and National Government means have been joined pell-mell with individual purses, poor and rich; while foreign coffers have been tapped by golden promises, and every sort of device which could coax or seduce money or labor into the creation of our railways has been resorted to. It is a curious and wonderful history. Such a mass of eager incompetents as have been selected to manage the "enterprises" projected in every locality—boards who knew nothing of

the business, and who were selected chiefly for their supposed influence in commanding money; presidents who did not differ in quality from their boards; engineers who, if skilled at all, were, as a rule, only skilful in the technique of their profession and were unfitted to adapt investment cost to the expected traffic. The result of such mad energy has been truly American. First we have the railroads; they are here, all alive, all useful, all improving. Next we have had almost universal railway bankruptcy. In the complete list of our railways now built there is scarcely one which has from the beginning, and continuously, paid a fair interest on its entire cash cost. Many of them have passed through a legal readjustment, which has reconciled their capital account with the trade-contributing power of their territory by the painful process of obliterating most of the former from their books. Amid all this, however, we have been receiving an education; some sort of system and much good knowledge have been already evolved, and the process is going on with rapidity. The costliness of the roads has prompted their managers to seek in every quarter for a commensurate revenue. It has been sought from trade in regions naturally tributary, and in regions altogether the reverse; it has been sought by exacting high charges on traffic which no rival road had access to, and by every sort of open and surreptitious tariff reductions where competition existed. This crude and violent struggle has bred a multitude of inequitable discriminations between localities and between shippers, but it has yielded to the country one useful result which will never be lost: it has trained transporters in the art of effecting great movements with almost inconceivable cheapness. It has also given an impetus to another important movement which will never rest until its perfect work shall have been accomplished: the movement, namely, toward unity and simplicity in the operations of our vast network of comparatively little railways. The shapes which this impulse have hitherto taken are some of them extremely undesirable; such, for instance, as the accretion under one control of many roads. It will be better for the country and better for the companies when for this method of effecting unity and controlling traffic is substituted an efficient National Law.

At present the drift of public sentiment, and perhaps the convictions of competent students, point to a union of the two agencies, Government and combinations of individuals, as better fitted to perform the great task of transportation than either by itself. The share which the Government should take, it is pretty well settled, should never be that of operating management, and rarely that of an investor or owner. It must lend its sovereignty to secure the land whereon the road shall be built, and it must endow the combination or corporation with suitable and sufficient powers. Thus far all parties are substantially agreed. The conviction is also growing that the National Government must so far join in the work as to give substantial operating unity to what is now in many respects a disjointed and contentious aggregation, and to prescribe such bases for the conduct of the service as shall ensure substantial equity to all localities and to all persons. It must begin by fixing an equitable limit to the Wholesale Rate. It is a judicious and well-founded commercial doctrine that transactions of large volume can be wisely made at a much less profit per any given unit than should be expected on petty dealings. But in the application of this law there are the two unwise extremes of either regarding it too little or applying it too extensively. The latter is just now much in vogue on railways, and has developed some grave evils—serious social disorders and business disaster to numbers of thrifty and enterprising people.

It is probable most transporters would promptly name the car-load as the proper limit of the Wholesale Rate. Omitting any reference to distance, it is a very natural unit or line of division. The expense of moving a half-loaded car practically differs but little from that of moving one fully loaded. It is also true that there is very little difference in the cost of moving a full or half train of cars, and that the full train of full cars entails the minimum expense per ton. But it is seldom that a single shipper can furnish a full train at regular periods; and when such is the case, that very power gives him a dangerous control over the income of the road. Full and regular trains will more surely follow a policy which creates a multitude of moderate shippers, as will always be the case when the conditions for creating trade exist, and the transporter adopts the car-load as the only unit for wholesale rates. Shipments less than a car-load are more costly to the carrier per unit of weight than larger ones. Higher or retail rates can justly be applied to them, and will not improperly burden the public.

If a manufactory of carpets had several valuable customers, who each purchased a good line annually, its manager would not look with favor upon a proposition from one of the number so to reduce prices to him as to enable him eventually to drive the others from the field. He would naturally ask whether the total purchases would be then increased; if not, what object there could be in such a step. It would help the customer—that would be evident; but how would it serve the maker? True, one man would then buy as much as six, and his trade being six times larger than any other person's had ever been, he should, according to some current railway practice, be given a wholesale rate. If a wholesale price is to be based simply on the element of quantity then the supposed single buyer should have the desired concession, but if other elements properly enter into the question those elements should have their due consideration and influence. A seller who reduces his price per unit does so chiefly because he is reasonably certain thereby to increase his total profits in any given period of time; or, to put it in a different shape, not only his total business, but his total profits in a month, or a year, or a decade should be greater than they would have been under the policy of a smaller trade with a larger profit per unit. Moreover, if he is a prudent man, he will wish to guard carefully against the probability of finding his own business drift into the control of any single wholesale customer. Any one who, when making wholesale rates, disregards these two important matters is building his business house on a sandy foundation, and it will certainly come to harm.

The unwise use of wholesale rates is peculiarly injurious to a railway. The probabilities of a foolish resort to it are much greater when the ability to employ it, instead of being vested, as in the supposed case of the manufacturer, solely with the watchful, well-trained, and alert proprietor, is placed in the hands of a single officer, frequently possessed of little commercial experience, not interested beyond his salary, and wielding the power inherent in an investment of millions almost without any practical supervision by its actual owners. The evil effects of any such folly are multiplied to a railway by as many times as the sources of its revenue are varied. The carpet-maker, whatever he may do, has but one fountain of profit to be damaged, and that is the gain on the carpet he may sell. But a railway company which by a well-known, uniform, equitable, and apparently assured policy, has attracted many forms of industry to the line of its road, carries not only their products but the people connected with them, and all the material which those people use. Should it reverse that policy, and, by employing the destructive power of discriminating rates, concentrate into a few hands the control of any one of its large tributary industries, it will subject itself to the monopoly thus created, and blight everywhere within its influence the chief portions of the incidental traffic which its juster course had brought into being. Perhaps the most striking instance of this which America has yet seen was described in a recent address of the petroleum-producers to the Governor of Pennsylvania. Many small refineries formerly lined the railways along the valleys of the Allegheny River and its tributaries. Under equal rates of rail carriage they enjoyed a moderate prosperity on small profits. They have mainly disappeared; the works have been dismantled; the owners are bankrupt; the laborers and all dependent upon them are gone. They have given way to one huge concern, whose factories are chiefly elsewhere, whose annual net revenues are computed by millions, and who can dictate not only what rates the railways may charge, but what proportion thereof they themselves shall receive.

It is remarkable that in the case of the oil-traffic the real object of the roads was totally foreign to all questions properly involved in the consideration of wholesale and retail rates. That object was Combination. They had fought over the oil-trade, as over every other sort of traffic, to the point of mutual ruin; and their contests had been ingeniously stimulated by the very party which aspired to the profitable rôle of peacemaker, and finally secured it. Its method was so to apportion its own shipments among the competing roads as substantially to assure to each a previously agreed percentage of the whole oil movement. Its price for this service was a secretly paid share of the liberal rates which the roads were thus enabled to charge—a share which has ranged from one-fourth to something in excess of one-half. Armed with the crushing power of this monstrous discrimination, it at once entered upon a course avowedly designed to destroy or acquire all other property engaged in the same business as itself. In the execution of this purpose it has been painfully successful. The disastrous effects of the whole procedure are slowly coming to light through investigations now making by Congress, and under the auspices of the Supreme Court and other authorities of the State of Pennsylvania. They fully account for the well-restrained but bitter and seething temper of the oil regions in the same State, which has at times almost reached that consuming stage when, despair-

ing of justice through the regular tribunals of law, a rude equity is wrenched from unjust power by a spasm of destruction and terror.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC BEGUN.

PARIS, January 31, 1879.

I CAN with difficulty realize that I have within the last twenty-four hours seen the opening of a great historical epoch and the closing of another, which I may be allowed to term a long period of eclipse. The Republic which up to yesterday was a prisoner, but not a despairing one by any means, is now free and triumphant, and has committed the direction of her affairs to a citizen whose whole life has been spent in combating, sometimes actively and with militant vigor, sometimes passively, and at all times earnestly and ably, the one-man system of government which nowhere was more deeply rooted than in France. We have a President who is the enemy of the office which he fills, and who is sincere in his enmity. There is no more faithful servant in all France of universal suffrage. He voted against the institution of the Presidency in the Constituent Assembly to which, thirty years ago, he was returned by his native department of the Jura. He again refused to vote for the constitutional pact proposed by M. Wallon, which assured a regular status to the Third Republic. His reason was that it did not abolish the principle of personal government, which he had ever combated. It is in virtue of this pact that he was himself elected yesterday President for seven years in the room of MacMahon, who, overborne by the march of events, found himself obliged to "go out," as he had been forced to "give in" upon the 14th of December, 1877. Gambetta in his Lille speech, for which he was prosecuted by the 16th of May Government, laid down the alternative of *soumission ou démission*. The 24th of May, incarnate in the person of the Marshal, has done both. Nothing MacMahon ever did in an executive capacity became him so well as his exit from the political stage, for which he was so ill-fitted by temper, frame of mind, prejudices, and profession. He has returned with dignity to private life, and, in quitting the Presidency, has retrieved the fair name he had won as an honorable soldier, which was compromised by the intriguers of whom he was the blind, the obtuse, and the inappropriate tool.

The liberation of the Republic was in one very striking respect unlike every great event that I ever witnessed in France which was accomplished amid universal satisfaction : it was marked by no sustained outburst of gladness. The electoral ceremony was imposing, and soon gone through, but without indecent haste. On Wednesday night "the resignation" was felt to be inevitable, and M. Émile de Girardin, to be ahead of the event, announced it as an accomplished fact. His paper containing the news was cried about the Boulevards. Next morning those journals of the throne, the altar, and the alcove which have supported reaction at the Élysée gave out that MacMahon, yielding to the instances of the Duc de Broglie and his son Patrick, was going to add another word to his motto. Henceforth it was to have been "J'y suis, j'y reste, et je résiste." Small heed, however, was given to this piece of bravado, and the deputies and senators, who were convened for ten o'clock at Versailles, went there anticipating victory, without being elated by the favorable turn the tide of politics had taken in favor of the Republic. Very few Reactionists left Paris by the early train. They did not wish to be spectators of the prologue to their own discomfiture, and they met in the bureaux of the *Gazette de France*, a fusionist journal, to confer with each other on the line they were to follow at the presidential election which they felt was imminent. General Chanzy was their man. The principle of authority was best represented by a sabre. It was better to hold completely in reserve the Duc d'Aumale and not to compromise his dignity by putting him forward in a struggle in which he must be beaten. The army, which was the last hope of the Monarchical parties, would also be flattered by the preference shown to a military man, and it was to be hoped it would be irritated at seeing a *pékin*, *i.e.*, civilian, invested with executive power.

Few journalists or sight-seers went by the ten o'clock train. In the greater number of instances they travelled to the parliamentary capital by the half-past twelve express. When they arrived there they made for the Senate, and were not long in learning that the Marshal had come from the Élysée in his fast brougham, seen Dufaure at the Presidency, and handed him his resignation. MacMahon, the rumors ran, was unnerved from the emotions and excitement of the last three days, but comported himself with dignity, and appeared glad to be done with the high office which he had occupied for more than five years. He had appointed to meet his wife, children, and a party of intimate friends at dinner in the evening at his private residence in the Rue de Bellechasse, which servants had made ready two days previously for the reception of the now ex-presidential family.

Early in the morning he sent to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to know if any untoward incident had arisen in that department owing to the crisis ? None, was the answer given by a head clerk to the aide-de-camp who took the message. M. Waddington had come to Versailles with the other ministers, and was prepared to state in the Senate that he had not the slightest cause for apprehending that any of the great Powers would interfere with a question of internal politics, or that the transmission of power from MacMahon to Grévy would be attended with any consequences of a nature to endanger the peace of Europe. The joy caused by all this intelligence, which circulated from mouth to mouth in the lobbies of the Chambers and the Gallery of the Tombs, was too profound to be demonstrated. The Bonapartists, when M. Rouher appeared, grouped themselves around him, and, whether because gladness is contagious, or because the election of Grévy, Gambetta's rival, was certain, gaily chatted among each other while awaiting the sitting of the Upper House, which was to begin at three o'clock. M. Edmond About was the most radiant and excited of any of the Republicans. He ran about rubbing his hands and repeating to every acquaintance whom he met the tidings which his sub-editors and reporters kept bringing him from the rooms in which the bureaux were deliberating.

Before the Senate opened everything that took place during the opening hour was as well known as if we were awaiting the rising of the curtain at a play, a very complete bill of which was furnished to each spectator. All that was not known was the text of the Marshal's letter, which was to be read to both houses. It amused people to hear of M. Gambetta being relegated to the Speakership of the Lower Chamber. The project was thought ingenious. Grévy said at Tours that Gambetta would die "dans la peau d'un factieux," and was one of the most systematic enemies of his dictatorship. The two men are out of sympathy with each other. If Gambetta had been elected yesterday he would have worked for a revision of the Constitution "in an American sense"—that is to say, giving the power wielded by Mr. Hayes to the head of the Executive, *plus* the command of a vast standing army and the enjoyment of splendid palaces which were luxuriously furnished for kings, emperors, their wives and their ministers. With the authority derived from this position there would not have been the checks of sovereign States, State legislatures, American independence of character in the people, and the practice, time out of mind, of free institutions. It is also a well-known fact that Gambetta hoped to get Dufaure returned by the National Assembly successor to MacMahon, and he industriously put him forward as the best man to give a conservative gloss to the Republic. The timid would find in his election a guarantee of order, and the Powers a security against France becoming a centre of international agitation. Secretly Gambetta flattered himself that the aged jurisconsult's mistrust of rapid progress would have enabled him still to make his voice heard as a tribune and an agitator, and keep his name prominently before the public. Publicly he proposed Grévy at the Circus, when he spoke there ; secretly he manœuvred against him. When Dufaure's resolution to quit public life was made known to Gambetta on the memorable 30th he hid his feeling of bitter disappointment, and went with the Republican tide at the meeting of the bureaux where the claims of candidates were looked into. Gambetta's position as chief of the majority would have been an awkward one if he remained a simple deputy. His prestige would have rusted from inaction. If he attacked or became the rival of a government whose honesty and moderation have won the confidence and gratitude of the nation, he would have risked his popularity and alienated the best Republicans. As President of the Chamber he will be placed above the disputes which may be carried on hereafter between Right and Left, and sections of these two great divisions. A handsome salary will be quietly earned, and Gambetta is by no means indifferent to his monetary interests. Being Speaker of the Lower House will enable him to avoid the defeat which awaited him if he again dictated to his colleagues to elect him president of the Budget Committee. But the most important considerations are that M. Gambetta is precluded from becoming a disturbing element at the bidding of M. Allain Targé, who provoked the crisis at the beginning of the session, and that as Speaker he will be trained to listen patiently to his adversaries' discourses and to sit in the chair in a becoming attitude. And in a public man in France attitude goes a long way. Gambetta in his place in the Chamber rolls about, dictates silence in laborious pantomime to his followers if he wants to hold them back, and when he is at rest spreads his arms on his desk and leans his chin on his hands at the point where they cross each other. Since yesterday he can no longer

hope to be President for seven years. Grévy's is a better life than his, and the actual chief of the Executive, if he do not die before the close of his septennate, may be re-elected.

The public sitting of the Senate only lasted ten minutes. It was in the highest degree an impressive one. Martel, the President, whose election was the first check Gambetta's ambition has met with this year, rose, pale and visibly tremulous from emotion, to read the Marshal's letter, which was not the least dramatic feature in the great chapter of French history which posterity will know as "the 30th January." A thrill ran through the hall and galleries. MacMahon wrote in a simple, unvarnished, manly style, and in the closing sentence, in which he declared that love of country had been his governing motive, there was a tone of sincerity which drew tears from the eyes of many who were no friends of his. A solemn silence was maintained while Martel read. A few timid "très-biens" were emitted on the benches of the Right. The *revanche* of the 24th May was accomplished.

The rising of the curtain—everything was so dramatic that I may be suffered to use theatrical phraseology—was followed by the entrance of a Ministry which has deserved better than any anterior one the gratitude of the nation. The venerable Dufaure was the hero of the moment, it being known to all how he had refused the high office proffered him. Lepère, Under-Secretary of State for the Interior, has the physiognomy of an undertaker. He ascended the tribune. What could he want to do there—to read the last dying words? No; it devolved on Grévy to perform that duty. M. Lepère merely wanted to place a bill upon the table. He disappeared when he had accomplished this formality. Grévy, with the cold dignity which is natural to him, arose in his place and read MacMahon's letter and the articles of the Constitution providing for the election of a new President. He therefore announced that the two Chambers would meet in the House of Deputies in a National Assembly at half-past four to fill the vacancy. At the close of the Assembly's deliberations the Lower Chamber was to reassemble to fix the order of the day for the morrow's sitting.

How yesterday's proceedings condemn the Carlyle school of historians! The Presidential vote was a nominal one, and appeared, the result being known beforehand, tedious. Each member of the Assembly advanced as called by an usher in alphabetical order and deposited his bulletin in a ballot-box. A thunder of applause greeted Dufaure in his advance from the Ministerial bench to the ballot-box. A shout of laughter marked the dropping in of M. Numa Baragnon's vote. It was he who said that the moral-order Government "ferait marcher la France," and he was the noisiest among the victors on the 24th May. Baragnon is thought to have given the single vote for the Duc d'Aumale. At 7.40 the bulletins were counted and the result proclaimed by Martel, who presided over the National Assembly. Victor Hugo's description of the Neva emancipated by the sun from its icy bonds and rushing into the Bay of Cronstadt applies to the aspect of hall and galleries when Grévy was proclaimed. The delight many experienced was enough to have sent them back weakly invalids to Paris.

C.

Correspondence.

THE ARREARS OF PENSIONS BILL.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I would like to give a word of testimony bearing on the recent "Pensions Bill," and I have no doubt that my experience has been that of hundreds of others. I served three years in an infantry regiment, and being the only commissioned officer in my company when we were mustered out, I have since that time received many applications for sworn statements which should serve as the basis for pension claims. Of course, all those disabled by wounds and those discharged from hospital during the war, if they were deserving cases, received pensions from the time of discharge, and would in no way be affected by the recent bill. I have invariably made it a rule to state nothing in these affidavits which I could not swear to of my own personal knowledge, but, so far as I know, every applicant has received a pension, though in most cases I could only testify that "—— was borne upon the 'muster rolls' as 'absent, sick,' from —— to ——." In almost every instance that I can now recall the applicant was a comparatively worthless soldier, either from cowardice or laziness or previous ill-health, and, as a rule, received far more from the Government than he ever earned while in its service. It is for this class that the recent demagogic bill proposes to take untold millions from the United States Treasury. I do not say that *none* of this money would be worthily bestowed, but I do affirm that for the *most part* it will go to a worthless set of shirks and "bummers," instead of to those by whose labor and hardships the country was saved in that life-and-death struggle.

Veteran.

Albany, N. Y., Feb. 10, 1879.

"TRADUTTORE TRADITORE."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In Section VII. of Lalor's recently published translation of Roscher's 'Political Economy' occurs the following:

"In estimating the resources of a whole people it is, of course, necessary to make deduction of the debts due by the individual members of the nation to their fellow-countrymen."

This absurd proposition I referred to a friend who, in addition to being an erudite economist, is also an excellent German scholar, with the following pertinent conundrum: In a community composed of two persons, A. possesses one hundred bushels of wheat which he owes to B., who possesses on his part one hundred bushels of oats which he owes to A. What are the resources of the "whole people" according to the text, and what are they in fact?

My friend very shortly disposed of the objectionable text by furnishing me the following literal translation:

"Who would sum up the national wealth must naturally deduct the debts owing to foreigners; those of the inhabitants between each other (he must), on the other hand, leave out of consideration."

What ought to be done to a translator who not only obscures but absolutely inverts the teachings of his defenceless author, I leave for your reviewer to determine when he shall come to pay his attentions to the butchery of this noble work, of which the above is an example.

Economist.

Philadelphia, February 15, 1879.

Notes.

Porter & Coates publish immediately 'Voices from Babylon; or, The Records of Daniel, the Prophet,' by Joseph A. Seiss, D.D.——The sale of the library of the late George Brinley, of Hartford, is announced to begin on March 10 in this city at the Messrs. Leavitt's. No collection of equal value has ever been offered here at auction. Part I., comprising about a third of the whole, numbers 2,619 titles in the catalogue, and consists of general Americana and works relating to the early history of New England and Canada. The competition for these rarities will, no doubt, be highly spirited.——Macmillan & Co. send us Mr. Frederick Martin's 'Statesman's Year-Book for 1879,' an invaluable manual of reference always kept abreast of the time.——R. Worthington is the American agent for the new edition of Pryde's handy 'Mathematical Tables,' consisting of logarithms of numbers 1 to 108,000, trignometrical, nautical, and other tables (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers). The logarithms are carried to seven decimal places. A clear explanation of the tables precedes them.——The 'Middlesex County [Mass.] Manual' is recommended by the publishers (Penhallow Printing Co., Lowell) as containing the first history of the county ever printed. Judge Cowley, who has written a 'History of Lowell,' is the author of it. As Cambridge is situated in this county, "Were Middlesex people thus minded," says Judge Cowley, "they might boast of the first printing-press in the United States," as well as of several other important "first things." The typographical appearance of this Manual would not suggest the first-named distinction.——The Fourteenth Annual Report of the State Agricultural College, New Brunswick, New Jersey, contains an interesting account by the Vice-President, Prof. Geo. H. Cook, of his observations last summer, while commissioner to the Paris Exposition, on European methods of agricultural experiment, practice, and training in England and Ireland, France, Switzerland, Italy, Bavaria, and Holland.——The summer expeditions are already sending out their prospectuses. From Boston we receive that of the "Educational-Vacation Tour," managed by Thomas W. Bicknell, and embracing the regular European round by the usual conveyances; from Irvington, Indiana, that of the "Fourth Summer Tramp," of which Prof. David S. Jordan is the chief director, and which invites those willing to "'rough it' somewhat" (ladies included) to Switzerland, Italy, and Normandy.——The *Academy* states that Mr. G. P. Healey's portrait of the explorer Stanley is to be engraved by M. T. de

Mare, under the auspices of the British and Foreign Artists' Association. ——Gen. Sir Arthur Cunynghame, says the same paper, who was commander-in-chief and lieutenant-governor in South Africa from 1874 to 1878, has prepared an account of his travels in that country, of which Macmillan & Co. will be the publishers.—— From Chicago there come to us three Norwegian books by Prof. R. B. Anderson, of the University of Wisconsin. The written language of Norway, as is well known, differs widely from the spoken dialect, and 'Den norske Maalsag' (1874) gives an interesting account of the efforts that, since the separation from Denmark in 1814, have been made by an ever-growing number to supplant the Danish of the press and literature by the "Almuemaal." To the book is appended a story in Norwegian by Kristofer Janson, one of the foremost champions of the movement. 'Amerika ikke opdaget af Columbus' (1878) is a translation for the benefit of Scandinavian readers of Professor Anderson's 'America not discovered by Columbus,' which has been before the public for some time and is now in its second edition. Its object is to establish the Norsemen's claim to priority of discovery. The 'Julegave,' or 'Christmas-gift,' (1878) of fairy tales and stories to the children of the Norwegian settlers on our continent consists of selections chiefly from the charming collection of Asbjørnsen and Moe, and owes its existence to a desire to provide the little ones with entertaining reading in the language of their fathers. Among the tales we recognize such common property of the Aryan race as "Little Red Ridinghood," "Faithful John," and "The Master Thief," while others bear a more distinctively Norwegian stamp. We can heartily recommend them to both young and old.

—We have received from the Hydrographic Office the 'Report of the Telegraphic Determination of Longitude in the West Indies and Central America during the years 1874, 1875, and 1876,' by Lieut.-Commander F. M. Green. This is an instance of the good work that is being done by the military branches of the Government service without any display and without special appropriation. Under the intelligent direction of the Navy Department and Hydrographic Office, advantage has been taken of the extension of submarine telegraph lines in the West Indies to establish secondary meridians by the most exact method known to science—that is, the exchange of time-signals by telegraph, the time being accurately determined by simultaneous astronomical observations at the two stations so connected. The geographical positions of twelve different points have been determined with an accuracy beyond question, and a further extension of this important work on the east coast of South America is now in progress. It is worth remark that the work, with the instruments and methods used, is strictly national, and that probably no astronomical field-work equals in accuracy that of the United States Government expeditions, while the importance to navigation of this special undertaking cannot be too highly estimated. The ascertained position of Morro light-house, Havana, by the way, is lat. 23° 9′ 20″ .98 N., long. 82° 21′ 30″ .0 W.

—*Lippincott's Magazine* for March contains hardly a dull paper, even though we might not affirm the necessity of reading a single one of so many that are readable. For our own part, however, we confess to being the wiser for Mr. H. M. Robinson's 'A Day with Hudson's Bay Dog-sledges,' which is to be highly praised for its humorous and graphic qualities, and gives one a realizing sense of sledging in the frozen North. Never before have we caught such a glimpse of the pangs which the humane voyager suffers in consequence of the infernal cruelty practised by the half-breed drivers upon their teams. Mr. Edward King's account of Vienna does not rise very far above the guide-book level. The biographical sketch of Richard Realf, by Mr. Rossiter Johnson, is more interesting as a picture of human misery and vicissitude than as a suggested rehabilitation of a neglected poet. Realf, who was very humbly born in England, was one of John Brown's men not at Harper's Ferry, a good soldier in the war, a journalist, and an indifferent writer of verses. As his portrait shows, he had an attractive face, but he was by nature changeable and unstable, and half the tragedy of his life at least he prepared for himself. Mr. Howard M. Jenkins writes agreeably on a subject that has any but pleasant associations, the whipping-post in Delaware. He traces the history of it to the present time, apologizes, as is proper, for the original appearance of it in the only State which has retained it, shows what humane sheriffs do to mitigate it, and meets the objections of those who think its abolition would be a premium on wrong-doing. Miss Annie Porter begins a semi-romantic series of articles describing "My Village in the South," and promising to be one of the most entertaining features of the magazine.

—Mrs. Kemble's interesting 'Records of a Girlhood,' which we reviewed at length on its appearance in England, has been reprinted here by Henry Holt & Co. The two volumes of the English edition have now become a single stout octavo of more than six hundred compact pages. The cloth binding is stamped with a design in blue and silver as artistic as it is novel, and the only fault to be found with it is that it is somewhat too delicate for frequent handling. The book, too, is likely to be far more often handled in the present edition than in the original, for the American publishers have added an ample index of thirty columns of fine type, an indispensable adjunct to any book as rich in anecdote and criticism of celebrities as this. They have also adorned the book with a new steel engraving of Mrs. Kemble as she looked in early womanhood. A certain portion of the 'Records of a Girlhood' originally appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* as "An Old Woman's Gossip," three or four years ago, at which time we recalled the fact that the writer was also the author of a 'Journal of a Residence in America,' which, when published forty-five years ago, raised a terrible turmoil. The last entry in the 'Journal' was dated July 17, 1833; in the 'Records' we have letters written at the same time as the 'Journal,' and brought down to April 24, 1834. The book before us closes with the brief statement of Miss Kemble's marriage, in 1834, to Mr. Pierce Butler. To this event we owe that 'Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation in 1838–1839' the publication of which in England, in 1863, was a blow in the cause of freedom struck at the right time. It is sincerely to be hoped, and indeed there seems every reason to believe, that all of Mrs. Kemble's diaries have not seen the light, and that another store of recollections may some day be thrown open to the public. In the 'Records' (p. 572), under date of April 16, 1833, Mrs. Kemble relates that Washington Irving answered a complaint of hers about the little leisure her dramatic drudgery left her for other intellectual work, with: "Well, you are living, you are seeing men and things, you are seeing the world, you are acquiring materials, and heaping together observations and experience and wisdom, and by-and-by, when with fame you have acquired independence and retire from these labors, you will begin another and a brighter course with matured powers." Mrs. Kemble has lived and gained the experience and the wisdom, and she has set forth some part of the result in these 'Records of a Girlhood.'

—In 1862 Francis Fry published the first of the works which has placed him at the head of the bibliographers of the English New Testament. It was a fac-simile reproduction of the unique copy of "The first New Testament printed in the English Language (Worms, 1525), translated by William Tyndale," preserved in the Baptist College, Bristol. This was followed soon after by "A Description of the Great Bible, 1539, and the six editions of Cranmer's Bible, 1540 and 1541." In the preparation for this work more than two hundred and fifty copies of the different editions were compared verse by verse, and such complete tables of various readings are given that "every leaf of the Great Bible and the six Cranmers can be identified." Mr. Fry's latest publication is in some respects an advance even upon this in bibliographical excellence, as it certainly is in the sumptuousness of its typography and the beauty of its plates. It is a critical examination of forty editions of Tyndale's New Testament printed between the years 1525–1560, the time when it gave place to the Genevan version. All these editions have been examined by Mr. Fry himself with the exception of two which are to be found only, if we are not mistaken, in the Lenox Library, of this city—a library which Mr. Fry refers to as containing "probably the largest collection of rare Bibles and New Testaments, in all languages, in the world." The most interesting result of his critical labors in an elaborate comparison of these various editions is the discovery that the edition of 1534–35 (known as the G. H. version, from a monogram on the title-page) was the last revised by Tyndale just before his death at Vilvoorden. Following the tables of various readings are seventy-three plates of titles, colophons, pages, and capitals. The work is a noble monument to the memory of Tyndale, whose portrait is given, together with a fac-simile of the only specimen of his handwriting known, a letter written in his prison just before his end. A peculiar feature is a page of "slips for cataloguing," inserted at the end of the volume. These are a main title under Fry, with an elaborate collation and two slips for cross references under Tyndale and Testaments. They are intended to be cut out and pasted upon cards, and are the first practical application of a suggestion made originally, we believe, in this country some time since.

—Mr. John E. Owens has just completed a very successful engagement at the Park Theatre, where he has appeared in Tom Taylor's "The Victims," and in "Solon Shingle." Mr. Taylor's plays are already be-

ginning to have an old-fashioned flavor, though it is hard to tell what this comes from, inasmuch as they in one respect resemble the works of the greatest dramatic writers, namely, that they belong to no particular age or country. Mr. Taylor has a thorough understanding of the stage, and he has had the good sense, instead of trying to invent original characters, of borrowing them; and the result is that he is the author of a good many successful plays. In the "Victims," the characters of *Mr.* and *Mrs. Merriweather*, the jealous husband and the sentimental wife; *Mr. Herbert Fitzherbert*, the impecunious and selfish poet; *Miss Crane*, the strong-minded woman; and *Mr. Joshua Butterby*, the dissipated friend of the poet, who in the end marries the heiress—all these are types that have been used over and over again, and which Mr. Taylor found ready to his hand. He has shown his good sense in the discretion with which he has used them. The whole atmosphere of the play is decidedly farcical, particularly the *conversazione* at Mrs. Merriweather's, and Butterby's "great presentation scene," as it is called on the bills, in which *Butterby* gives *Miss Crane* the wrong parcel. Mr. Owens as *Butterby* was very good, but somewhat monotonous. He is hardly a comedian, but excels in extravagant and farcical parts, such as this and *Solon Shingle*. Of the two, the latter is by far the best. It is his own; he is thoroughly at home in it; and low and meaningless as this part is, it is a wonderfully good piece of acting. Indeed, *Solon Shingle* may be taken as a proof of the possibility of making any character, however unpromising in itself, theatrically good. In this case there is nothing put before the audience but the external peculiarities of an aged drunken Yankee loafer, such as may be seen on any winter's day at the village store in New England discussing the condition of "trade" with the proprietor, or making enquiries as to the comparative acumen and ability of leading "cow-lawyers." *Solon Shingle* is not a dramatic *character* in any proper sense of the word at all. He has nothing to do with the development of the play in which he appears, and is throughout a mere comic intruder, who creates a laugh at his peculiarities of speech and action, and his drunken condition. Still, the external representation of this peculiar American type is perfect, and will continue, no doubt, to draw audiences together as long as Mr. Owens acts it.

—Mr. Dion Boucicault's appearance in Irish melodrama at Booth's last week was one of the notable events of a theatrical season quite as much marked by the production of old plays as by new "hits." The "Colleen Bawn," the "Shaughraun," and "Arrah na Pogue" all owe their popularity—and there are few more popular plays on the English stage—to the talent of Mr. Boucicault, who not only wrote them, but long ago identified himself with the leading parts. Indeed the Irish school itself as a branch of the drama may be said to be the creation or invention of Mr. Boucicault; no one else has ever succeeded in producing dramas of the sort, and probably no one else ever will, though we are inclined to think that his plays will hold the stage long after his time for appearing in them has unhappily gone by. There are, of course, many criticisms which may be made upon such a play as the "Colleen Bawn." It is, in the first place, properly a tragedy; no amount of clever construction can ever thoroughly reconcile us to a tragedy distorted into a melodrama. The foundation of the plot is essentially tragic. A marriage between *Hardress Cregan* and *Eiley O'Connor* is clearly out of the question, and hence she must die. So, too, the part of the mother, *Mrs. Cregan*, after she has once resolved on having her son's wife murdered, is essentially a tragic part. The resurrection of *Eiley*, the sudden revival of her husband's affection for her, and the very handsome apology made by her prospective mother-in-law for having ordered her killed, are simply preposterous; they make the play after passing through a tragic phase end like a burlesque. All this is heightened by the part of *Danny Mann*, who has no business in a melodrama at all. *Myles na Coppaleen* is an excellent comic character, and in what we have said of the plot we do not mean to imply any criticism of him at all. He is the stage Irishman of Mr. Boucicault's Irish world, an amusing, shiftless, warm-hearted vagabond, with a lively Celtic wit and a great fondness for whiskey. There is no one who understands how to put this character on the stage as does Mr. Boucicault. Mr. Dominick Murray's *Danny Mann* is a remarkable piece of acting, particularly the death-bed scene. Of Mrs. Boucicault all that can be said is that she looks and acts precisely as she did ten, and we have no doubt twenty, years ago; her voice is perhaps hardly strong enough for the "Cruiskeen lawn"; but she has preserved in the most extraordinary way her youthful appearance and charming manner on the stage.

—The success of Mr. Boucicault's week at Booth's is due, we take it, to two causes—the genuine attractiveness of the pseudo-Irish world into which he takes us, and his thorough mastery of the technical business and machinery of the stage. The Ireland of Mr. Boucicault is an Ireland of the fancy which never existed, as has been over and over again pointed out by exasperated Irishmen, except in the imagination of Englishmen. We do not meet with it at Castle Garden in this city nor in the pages of history. For all that, it is a picturesque and interesting country. These lovely and witty girls; these brave and noble lovers of theirs; these clansmen, faithful to imprisonment, exile, suicide, or murder; these men of God, too, holy enough to give us a little glimpse of a more genuine religion than we are accustomed to meet with in every-day life, yet not too absorbed in their calling to deaden our sympathies; these valiant young patriots who rouse the country against the hated Sassenach; this atmosphere of poetry and sentiment against this effective background of English oppression and tyranny—it may not be true, but it is all thoroughly agreeable. Any one of these plays would be entertaining without any sensational theatrical adjuncts. But when we have in addition the most cunning artifice to help out the interest; when the murderer drowns his victim before our eyes in what is startlingly like a marine cave; and when the patriot prisoner, escaping from the window of a dungeon keep, is by an ingenious mechanical contrivance immediately brought before us on the outside of the ivy-covered wall of the castle, round which a sentry is passing, and we are permitted to watch him clambering slowly up to the top, where ensues a terrific struggle between himself and the villain of the piece, ending, of course, in the headlong descent of the villain into the abyss below—when all this is "thrown in," with genuine dramatic interest to boot, any spectator who goes away dissatisfied must be very hard to please.

—The extracts from Busch's 'Bismarck' have hardly disappeared from the French papers when the first volume of the great Frederic's Political Correspondence comes to furnish copious new illustrations of the Prussian character. The Berlin correspondent of the Paris *Temps* sends that paper a batch of letters ranging from June 11, 1740, ten days after Frederic's accession, to October 25, the day on which he learned of the death of the Emperor Charles VI. The correspondent rightly describes them as "realism in politics," and finds in the *roi philosophe* the predecessor and model of "a statesman of our own time who had been supposed unique of his kind." To see things as they were, to dupe with their own illusions and fictions the rulers and ministers of rival nations, to prick contemptuously at the right moment the pretences which the rest of the world respected or feared, and all the while to pursue steadily the substantial ends of glory, power, and territorial aggrandizement—such was the policy already revealed in these letters of the wonderfully active summer of 1740. In the midst of these intrigues with France and Russia, and against England and Austria, the reader must recall Frederic's correspondence with Voltaire and first meeting with him by appointment; an episode, by the way, whose known dates do not agree as to place with those of some of these political letters. Almost all the contents of vol. i. are in French, to which the editors, Droysen, Duncker, and Sybel have only given a modern orthography. Frederic's duplicity (which was merely that of contemporary diplomacy) is especially apparent in his direct communications to Cardinal Fleury, whom he flatters outrageously while instructing Camas (Carlyle's "fat, sedate military gentleman of advanced years, full of observation, experience, and sound sense") to penetrate his designs, fill him with jealousy of England, "amuse" him with the notion of Frederic's lending himself to French ideas, "leave no stone unturned to cajole and win him over," study his expression as he reads Frederic's professions of devotion, "pay velvet words with velvet words, *and realities with other realities*," etc. His kingship was but ten days old when he thus commissioned his envoy extraordinary to France, Camas:

"The increase in my army which will take place during your stay at Versailles will give you occasion to speak of my quick and impetuous way of thinking. You can say there is reason to fear this increase may kindle a fire that will set all Europe ablaze, that it is characteristic of youth to be enterprising, and that heroic ideas trouble and have troubled the repose of an infinity of peoples in this world. You can further say that naturally I am fond of France, but that if I should be neglected it might be for ever and past repair, etc."

The fifteen years which the publication of this voluminous correspondence will cover will be enlivened by such excerpts, and it will not be Frederic's fault if his history be at the end "left chaotic, enigmatic in a good many points," the military part excepted, as Carlyle found it when he wrote his Life.

RECENT BOOKS ON RHETORIC.*

THE three treatises on rhetoric whose titles are given below do not confine themselves by any means to rhetoric strictly so called. Mr. Adams Hill states in his introduction that for the purposes of his book "Rhetoric may be defined as the art of efficient communication by language." The first part of his manual treats of composition in general, and under this head he begins with a chapter on grammar. The second part deals with "those principles which apply, exclusively or especially, to narrative or to argumentative composition—the two kinds of prose writing which seem to require separate treatment." Punctuation Mr. Hill would himself scarcely contend for as a branch of rhetoric; but he has given it a place in his appendix. Mr. David J. Hill's book is designed "as a practical introduction to English composition," and "to furnish a compendium of rules for guidance in the art of writing." He introduces chapters not only on punctuation and capitals, but one on criticism as well. Mr. De Mille points out that there is an important distinction between rhetoric and composition; the latter being "concerned with practical exercises by which the student acquires skill in writing"; the former embracing "that wide field of survey by which he makes himself familiar with the qualities of literature." In this treatise the author has endeavored "to consider everything that can properly be regarded as belonging to the province of rhetoric, and its contents embrace the subjects of style, method, the language of the emotions, and the general departments of literature."

We shall not attempt to criticise in detail the method pursued in these three books. Mr. De Mille's is the most elaborate and fullest. Mr. Adams Hill's is perhaps the most original in arrangement and treatment. They are all good and could be used with advantage by teachers—the object which seems to have been held in view by all three authors. But we shall venture to offer a few considerations regarding rhetoric which all readers of them will do well to bear in mind.

It should be observed at the outset that in no proper sense of the word can the acquirement of what may be called the mechanical use of language be considered as having any proper connection with rhetoric. Grammar and spelling, like the art of speaking itself, must be taken for granted before we arrive at the point where rhetoric begins; for rhetoric, as we understand it, is the art not, as Mr. Adams Hill would say, of "efficient communication" by language, but the art of employing language in the most efficient way to influence action or to convince the reason. It is not, in modern times at least, identical with the art of oratory, for it includes written language as one means of influence and of conviction. In ancient times rhetoricians' rules were framed and classified for the benefit of orators, because, before the invention of printing, the only way of affecting the minds of large numbers of people was speech. Every one, however, who has given any attention to the subject knows that the art of printing has had a most important effect on the art of rhetoric, and that it is no longer possible in considering the subject to confine ourselves to the art of oratory. There is another point also to be borne in mind which is often lost sight of, that the art of declamation, or the efficient use of the voice (with the aid of bodily movement and gesture), though it may be regarded as belonging to rhetoric in the old sense, is not a necessary part of it, for so long as written language is employed as a medium of persuasion, although the laws of rhetoric must be followed, the most delicate branch of the orator's art is not called into existence at all. If the whole world was suddenly to become dumb, the rules of rhetoric would have just the same meaning as they have now, but the arts of oratory and declamation would disappear.

In discussing the question of rhetoric in schools and colleges these distinctions, it seems to us, ought to be remembered. It is frequently said by those who think the art of declamation an important thing for young men to learn, that if you teach writing there can be no reason for not teaching speaking. But there is this difference between the two, that in writing, the object is chiefly the formation of a correct habit of expression, an exact habit of thought, and a pure style, and it is a peculiarity of writing that it does not require an audience to give reality and interest to the work. The mere acquisition of the power of expressing on paper thoughts definitely conceived by the mind is enough. With speaking it is entirely different. The whole object of speaking is the direct persuasion of an audience, and this cannot be learnt except in real debates. The recitation of speeches learnt out of a book to an audience which looks idly on, is not oratory. If it is anything at all it must be acting, which is a wholly different thing. If these premises are correct, the conclusion inevitably follows that declamation as taught in our schools and colleges is a waste of time, and even worse, for if it has any result it will be to produce a theatrical or affected manner. In France declamation is taught from an early age; but French oratory is always felt by Anglo-Saxons to be rather a spectacular display than a genuine and moving appeal to the audience. We do not mean by this that the art of speaking should not be made a subject of careful study for those who desire to excel in oratory. But it should be real speaking, not declamation. And we can see no reason why the debating societies of schools and colleges, which are a natural growth of the desire to learn how to speak, should not be assisted by the colleges in which they spring up to become real schools of debate, instead of being, as they are now, left entirely to themselves. But in all cases the wise words of Lord Bacon in his "Advancement of Learning" should be borne in mind:

> "Scholars in universities come too soon and too unripe [in his day, of course, young Englishmen went up to the universities as mere boys] to logic and rhetoric, arts fitter for graduates than children and novices; for these two rightly taken are the gravest of sciences, being the art of arts, the one for judgment, the other for ornament; and they be the rules and directions how to set forth and dispose matter, and therefore, for minds empty and unfraught with matter, and which have not gathered that which Cicero calls 'sylva' and 'supellex,' stuff and variety, to begin with those arts (as if one should learn to weigh, or to measure, or to paint the wind) doth work but this effect, that the wisdom of those arts, which is great and universal, is almost made contemptible, and is degenerated into childish sophistry and ridiculous affectation."

To put the thing in another way, oratory is the art of persuasion, and the study of this art has led to the use of all sorts of devices for the purpose of carrying the audience with the speaker. What these devices are and the names that have been given them it is, of course, perfectly easy to learn; but does any one suppose that the repetition of the speeches of other persons, real or imaginary, in which these devices have been successfully used (as in the familiar case of Antony's speech to the Romans over the dead Cæsar) will give any learner the slightest power of appeal or persuasion? If it taught him anything, it would teach him to imitate Antony's speech in the first street-row he saw going on—the consequences of which would probably convince him that he was not an orator. It is said that the habit of speaking even speeches learned by rote gives an ease and assurance that may be useful in after life; but this seems to us very doubtful. It is difficult to see how familiarity with the faces of an audience made up of school-fellows or classmates can possibly give a man much self-confidence in addressing a public audience when he knows he must win it to his side or lose his object.

The art of rhetoric differs from some others in having arrived long ago at perfection. The rules are the same to-day as they were in the days of Quinctilian or Demosthenes. The art, however, has now two distinct branches, writing and oratory. The multiplication of newspapers has made the art of persuading people by written language almost as important as that of persuading them by oral arguments; and there is this difference between the two, that the orator is at liberty to make a much greater use of appeals to the passions and emotions, while the writer's primary object is to reach the *mind* of his reader. Hence a great deal of the most effective writing has been of a very quiet order. The newspaper has one great advantage over all orators—its power of *iteration*, or repetition in new forms of the same arguments to the same persons. It also has an advantage of no mean order in being professedly a reporter of facts; for facts assume a wonderfully different value and importance from the manner in which they are reported or commented on. The reader of a newspaper goes to it for facts, but will insensibly be affected by the manner in which the facts are laid before him. From an orator facts are not expected.

To sum up what we have said, we see no reason why the study of rhetoric—that is, the analysis of the laws which govern the use of language for the purposes of moving the feelings or affecting the understanding—should not be considered a very important branch of education. It is not by any means true that a rhetorician's rules only enable him "to name his tools"; they enable him to understand the use of language as an art; provided he has a bent in that direction, the comprehension of them must be of great value to him; if he has none, he is a wiser and more educated man, and at one further remove from the savage, for understanding the nature of the machinery by which those primitive human

* 'The Elements of Rhetoric and Composition. A text-book for schools and colleges. By David J. Hill, A.M., Professor in the University at Lewisburg, and author of 'The Science of Rhetoric.'' New York: Sheldon & Co.

'The Elements of Rhetoric. By James de Mille, M.A.' New York: Harper & Bros. 1878.

'The Principles of Rhetoric, and their Application. By Adams S. Hill, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College.' With an appendix, comprising general rules for punctuation. New York: Harper & Bros. 1878.

forces, the feelings, are called into play at the will of one who understands how to manage them. The art of using written language, also, so as to convey and enforce ideas, is of course a necessary part of a liberal education, and may be considered a proper rhetorical study. The study of declamation, however, or the art of repeating by rote the speech of other men, not to persuade or convince any one, but to come as near as possible to a representation of the probable manner of the person whose speech is delivered, does not seem calculated to train the speaker in the art of expression or persuasion, and is open to the serious objection that so far as it is successfully pursued the result will be likely to be purely theatrical.

John Lothrop Motley. A Memoir. By Oliver Wendell Holmes. (Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1879.)—Dr. Holmes has expanded the memorial of Mr. Motley which he prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society into a handsome volume. "It is still but an outline," he says, "which may serve a present need and perhaps be of some assistance to a future biographer"; and more than once he remarks, in the course of the work, that the time is not yet come to publish Mr. Motley's correspondence in full, or even very copious extracts from it. He was a man so ardent in his feelings, and so frank and positive in the expression of them, that the printing of his entire correspondence may well, as his biographer says, "be in a future year and after it has passed into the hands of a younger generation." In these qualities, no doubt, is to be found the cause of the cruel blows that he received in his diplomatic career. We, whose feelings toward him are those of entire respect and confidence, may still understand how a man of his temperament might easily give offence to well-meaning statesmen who lived in the chilly political atmosphere, and under the artificial standard of public decency and morality, which prevailed at Washington.

Mr. Motley was born April 15, 1814, and died May 29, 1877 (the date of his death is nowhere given in the body of the work). He graduated at Harvard College in 1831; afterwards studied in Göttingen, and was for a short time Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg. His first historical work, 'The Rise of the Dutch Republic,' was published in 1856; 'The History of the United Netherlands' in 1860 and 1868; 'The Life of John of Barneveld' in 1874. From 1861 to 1866 he was minister at the court of Vienna; in 1869 and 1870 at the court of St. James. This was a busy and varied life. In his early years Mr. Motley gave promise of literary brilliancy, although it would seem no especial promise in that particular field in which he afterwards gained distinction. "I did wonder," says Mr. Wendell Phillips, "at the diligence and painstaking, the drudgery, shown in his historical works. In early life he had no industry, not needing it. All he cared for in a book he caught quickly—the spirit of it, and all his mind needed or would use. This quickness of apprehension was marvellous." And, as all know, his first literary ventures were novels—historical novels, to be sure. It was not until 1845, in an essay upon Peter the Great in the *North American Review*, that his historical bent showed itself in a marked manner. When he decided to write history it was no chance, neither was it any conscious seeking, that led him to his subject. "I had not," he says, "first made up my mind to write a history, and then cast about to take up a subject. My subject had taken me up, drawn me on, and absorbed me into itself." Naturally enough, learning that Mr. Prescott was at that time contemplating his history of Philip II., he feared that his project might seem to come into collision with that of the distinguished historian; he sought an interview with him, therefore, and laid his plans before him. Mr. Prescott met him in the most cordial and generous spirit. When he spoke of the danger there might be of the crossing of their paths, with its probable ruin of his own enterprise, "I recollect how kindly and warmly he combated this opinion, assuring me that no two books, as he said, ever injured each other, and encouraging me in the warmest and most earnest manner to proceed on the course I had marked out for myself. Had the result of that interview been different—had he distinctly stated, or even vaguely hinted, that it would be as well if I should select some other topic, or had he only sprinkled me with the cold water of conventional and commonplace encouragement—I should have gone from him with a chill upon my mind, and, no doubt, have laid down the pen at once, for, as I have already said, it was not that I cared about writing a history, but that I felt an inevitable impulse to write *one particular history*" (p. 64). The testimony of another coworker of Mr. Motley, the Dutch archivist Groen van Prinsterer, will be found interesting. Mr. Motley called upon him August 8, 1853, at the Hague, having been previously announced by a letter from a friend. "How shall I picture my surprise," writes the archivist, "in presently discovering that this unknown and indefatigable fellow-worker has really read—I say read and reread—our *Quartos*, our *Folios*, the enormous volumes of Bor, of Van Meteren, besides a multitude of books, of pamphlets, and even of unedited documents. . . . Not only is he acquainted with my Archives, but it seems as if there was nothing in this voluminous collection of which he was ignorant" (p. 144).

In spite of the delicate relations touched upon by his correspondence during his residence at Vienna, Dr. Holmes has succeeded in selecting some graphic passages which he could insert. He writes February 26, 1862:

"I say, then, that one great danger comes from the chance of foreign interference. What will prevent that? Our utterly defeating the Confederates in some *great* and *conclusive* battle; or, our possession of the cotton ports, and opening them to European trade; or, a *most unequivocal policy* of slave emancipation. Any one of these three conditions would stave off recognition by foreign powers until we had ourselves abandoned the attempt to reduce the South to obedience. The last measure is, to my mind, the most important. The South has, by going to war with the United States Government, *thrust into our hands against our will* the invincible weapon which constitutional reasons had hitherto forbidden us to employ. At the same time it has given us the power to remedy a great wrong to four millions of the human race, in which we had hitherto been obliged to acquiesce. We are threatened with national annihilation, and defied to use the only means of national preservation" (p. 113).

September 22, 1863, he wrote:

"At last when that little concentrated telegram came announcing Vicksburg and Gettysburg on the same day and in two lines, I found myself almost alone. . . . There was nobody in the house to join in my huzzas but my youngest infant. And my conduct very much resembled that of the excellent Philip II. when he heard of the fall of Antwerp, for I went to her door, screeching through the keyhole 'Vicksburg is ours!' just as that other *père de famille*, more potent but I trust not more respectable than I, conveyed the news to his Infanta" (p. 123).

And this is the man whom McCracken called an "un-American functionary."

Wanderings in South America, the Northwest of the United States, and the Antilles, in the years 1812, 1816, 1820, and 1824. By Charles Waterton. New edition. Edited, with biographical introduction and explanatory index, by the Rev. J. G. Wood. With 100 Illustrations. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1879.)—The republication of Waterton's 'Wanderings,' pure and simple, would perhaps not have been prudent as a commercial venture. Apart, therefore, from the value of his own contributions to the present volume, Mr. Wood is sure of the gratitude of those for whom this classic book of travel has a permanent charm, and who would gladly see its life indefinitely prolonged. The pictorial explanatory index finds a ready apology in the fact that Waterton disdained the scientific nomenclature, so that the vegetable and animal species to which he alludes by their local names often cannot be identified without help. The biographical introduction, on the other hand, is open to the objection of doing less fully what has been done before, of relating little that is new except about the editor's acquaintance with the naturalist, and of making insufficient mention of the work beside which Mr. Wood's biographical sketch seems almost or quite superfluous. From the manner in which (p. 6) Mr. Norman Moore's edition of the 'Essays on Natural History' is spoken of, the inference would naturally be that it was worth consulting only or chiefly in regard to Waterton's school experiences at Tudhoe; while the sentence on p. 81—"It is much to be regretted that he would never sit for his portrait"—implies a suppression of Waterton's own statement that he "did sit for the late Mr. Peale, of Philadelphia," and of the fact that an engraving after this portrait forms the frontispiece of Moore's edition above mentioned. Mr. Wood might even be reproached with a certain disingenuousness in offering as novel his crude drawings of the nut-tree lifting the millstone, of Walton Hall, and the Grotto, all of which are to be found represented more skilfully in Moore.

The charm of Waterton's narrative lies partly in its style, so unlike that of the traveller or explorer of to-day; and partly in its revelations of a very rare and lovable character—modest, tender, absolutely fearless, uncompromisingly loyal to truth and to his own convictions. Who can resist the beauty of such a passage as this?

"Heedless and bankrupt in all curiosity must he be who can journey on without stopping to take a view of the towering Mora. Its topmost branch, when naked with age or dried by accident, is the favorite resort of the Toucan. Many a time has this singular bird felt the shot faintly strike him from the gun of the fowler beneath, and owed his life to the distance betwixt them."

That is all the information vouchsafed as to the height of the mora, but the idea conveyed by it so poetically is more forcible than the tape-measure explanation of the index. Waterton wrote not for naturalists but for the public, and suppressed details with the arbitrariness and also with the discrimination of an artist. Instead of the modern diary, in which each station and almost each meal are accounted for, he gives us a delightfully or provokingly vague itinerary, as for instance :

"The Indian place you are now at is not the proper place to have come to in order to reach the Portuguese frontiers. You have advanced too much to the westward. But there was no alternative. The ground betwixt you and another small settlement (which was the right place to have gone to) was overflowed ; and thus, instead of proceeding southward, you were obliged to wind along the foot of the western hills, quite out of the way."

Waterton's fourth journey landed him first in New York, in 1824, a date when a visit to Niagara was synonymous with a trip to "the Northwest of the United States." Never was English tourist more magnanimous toward us. The classical names which disfigure the map of New York seemed to him "a pretty thought," for did not Utica remind him irresistibly of Cato ? "Our western brother . . . . has certainly hit upon the way (but I could not make out by what means) of speaking a much purer English language than that which is in general spoken on the parent soil." He admired the gentleness of the Broadway throng, and remarked the scarcity of dogs, cats, and fat women. "Words can hardly do justice to the unaffected ease and elegance of the American ladies" whom one meets at the falls of Niagara. "From the shores of the Atlantic an immense column of knowledge has rolled into the interior. . . . It now seems as if it were advancing toward the stony (*sic*) mountains ; and probably will not become stationary till it reaches the Pacific Ocean." He concludes his praise of the republic with the prayer that it may never be divided by intestine feuds.

One peculiar distinction of Waterton's is not brought out in his 'Wanderings.' He personified that reconciliation of science and theology which is still the object of so much pious endeavor. He repeats certain stories of a nation of Indians with long tails, and a canoe-devouring river-monster, and pronounces them "ludicrous extravagances ; pleasing to those fond of the marvellous, and excellent matter for a distempered brain." At the same time, as a good Catholic, he believed in winking Madonnas, the miraculous liquefaction of a saint's blood, the miraculous removal of the Virgin Mary's house from Nazareth to Loretto, and the like. From the Protestant point of view it would be interesting to enquire why this intellectual dualism or dimorphism is more respectable than Hugh Miller's juggling with the first chapter of Genesis.

Washington Irving. By David J. Hill. (New York : Sheldon & Co. 1879.)—The most striking feature in Irving's career is its felicity. His genius was of a simple order, but he fell in with the experience best fitted to cultivate it, and the social conditions most opportune for its immediate and widespread recognition. He was in a true sense popular, dear to the people ; he won their hearts by describing the old home, the places and customs for which the freed colonies still retained a lingering attachment, before the traditions and mental habits of a province gave way in a new generation to the consciousness of separate and independent nationality, and still more, perhaps, by revealing the imaginative historic interest in their own familiar fields and mountains with which he also blended a legendary charm. He touched them, too, through national pride ; the young and ambitious country hailed eagerly one who had won for the republic literary glory, which even to the vulgar mind is the noblest ornament of a state. After years of absence he returned with a fame as well established abroad as at home, with the medal of the king and the diploma of the university, a historian as well as a story-teller, and his countrymen, who might not have been satisfied that the stamp of their own criticism assured the genuineness of the coin, received him with such a welcome as has seldom been extended to any citizen, and cherished him with an affection only less, so it is asserted by men of that time, than the love they felt for Washington. They had produced writers in many fields, but he was their first man of letters. This civic pride counted for much in his popularity, and since it passed away in a great measure as it became clear that we were not an unlettered people, one support of his extraordinary reputation fell with it. The lingering tradition of his contemporary fame, transmitted from father to son, wil remain somewhat longer, but essentially he stands now upon the merit of his own actual performance, and his name continues to be a password into every critical camp.

His aim, he said, was to put the world into good humor with itself ; and he succeeded at least in putting it into good humor with him. He is a companionable friend; that is a good deal, but he is not much more than that. He has no counsel to give, he reveals no truth, he has not influenced the conduct or the thought of the world. He put aside moralizing and reflection in his books as he exiled political interests from his life ; he sought only to delight his readers ; he was an artist for art's sake before the phrase had become the cant of an unprincipled school ; at last he told a pleasant tale by nearly every English fireside, usually neither very witty nor very gay, but always kindly, and he went away leaving grateful remembrances behind. The artistic sense, indicated by his content with simply securing delight, was strong in him ; it ordered and arranged his work, grouped his figures, suffused his ideas with the light and shadow of harmonizing fancies, moods, and images, gave him that power of stroke and sureness in detail which make his delineation of natural objects kin with pictorial art, and was the secret of that justness in literary form which, a survival from Goldsmith and Addison, is worthy of such companionship, and is, indeed, what alone makes his work permanent. Form, however, will sometimes preserve what has no other merit ; and there is fear that one who examines the contents of Irving's work, its intrinsic value, will feel Carlyle's sneer rising to his lips about "the pretty-story-telling Sir Walter Scott."

The biography of such a man throws but little light upon his work. In this book he is seen as the peaceful, lovable, large-hearted man he was, leading a calm life amid troops of friends and "descending the mossy track to age." It contains, we believe, no new material, but is compiled from easily-accessible sources, like Irving's 'Life and Letters,' essays, published reminiscences, and literary encyclopædias. It is, on the whole, a depressing book, because it is the first of a series upon American authors similar to that called 'English Men of Letters,' and it is impossible to avoid comparison. The events of an uneventful life are here collected with industry and assigned their proper places, and some of the critical remarks are just ; but an idea of Irving is not to be got by reading how much he was paid for each book, or what the English magazines said about him. To make an author live again some imagination is needful, and the absence of that quality is the fatal lack of this volume.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1879.

The Week.

THERE has been a good deal of what the reporters call "antagonizing" in Congress—that is, offsetting one measure proposed to be taken up with another. The order of business arrived at in this fashion is about as follows: The Senate has passed the Post-Office Appropriation Bill after a prolonged struggle over the Roach subsidy, and the Army Appropriation Bill after summary rejection of the most important sections agreed to by the House, and an interesting debate on a section of its own relating to the conversion of railroads into telegraph companies. Neither Mr. Beck, with his point of order that the Brazilian subsidy was not germane to the bill; nor Mr. Edmunds with his, that it was new legislation and therefore contrary to Senate rule No. 29, was sustained; nor were amendments limiting the term to five instead of ten years, and reducing the rate to $10 a mile instead of $30, and making the service alternate between New York and Baltimore, successful. The bill passed by 25 to 15. From the Army Bill was struck all that related to reorganization, and the section prohibiting the use of Federal troops at elections. Authority was given railroad companies which *have* telegraph lines (not which may construct them—that was voted down by 35 to 26) to transmit messages for the Government and the public at rates to be fixed by the former. The opponents of this hasty and irrelevant legislation succeeded in imposing the condition that the roads should first file a written acceptance of the restrictions and obligations to which telegraph companies are subjected by statute; but the Constitutional question raised by Mr. Conkling's amendment requiring that a road should first obtain the right of telegraphic service from the State which chartered it, was decided by rejecting this requirement. The final vote on the section was close—31 to 28. Its special champion was Senator Jones, of Florida.

The House has been engaged on the Legislative Appropriation Bill, and the statute regulating the Southern jurors' test-oath was abolished on Wednesday week, though opposed as new legislation. The Republicans made a more determined stand against the section repealing the law providing for supervisors of elections, under which numerous convictions, North and South, have been and are being daily made; and Mr. Garfield caused an ingenuous excitement among the majority by declaring that they were rather servilely obeying the dictates of a party caucus; a just rebuke, by the way, but Republican servility to caucuses is not altogether unknown. The Democrats made a great point of the economy contemplated—actually $200,000, with the Arrears of Pensions liabilities fresh in mind. Butler doubtless spoke the truth when he said that New York, and not the South, was the prize in view, with reference to the next Presidential election. The Republicans were unable to carry out their intention to filibuster, and the section was repealed over their heads, and the bill passed, on Tuesday. In the intervals of the debate the House was robbed of valuable time in order to listen to Mr. Ewing's reasons for taking up and passing the Anti-Resumption Bill with the Senate's amendments. But it showed its sense of chronology if not of humor, for it killed the measure again by 141 to 10. An effort to table the Anti-Chinese Bill failed, 140 nays to 95 yeas; and the bill passed with the Senate's amendments. Passage over a veto appears to be impossible. On Monday a committee of conference was ordered on the Internal Revenue Bill, and the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill was passed under a suspension of the rules by 181 to 79.

The rapid passage through both Houses of Congress of a measure to confer upon railroad companies in the several States powers in respect of the use of the telegraph which presumably they do not now possess—being in effect an amendment of their respective charters—is one of those not unfrequent surprises which illustrate either the great recklessness on the part of Congress or very sudden changes of opinion among legislators and political parties. The question whether Congress can grant or enlarge or curtail the powers of State corporations has been under discussion more or less since the beginning of the Government, and at times has given rise to very warm controversy. It was debated at great length in 1863, on the bill to authorize the Delaware and Raritan Bay Railroad, of New Jersey, to carry freight and passengers between New York and Philadelphia, the bill being finally rejected by the Senate. It was discussed incidentally but with much carefulness on the clauses of the Pacific Railroad Bill which related to the Kansas and Central Pacific divisions, whose lines ran partly through States; and the determination of Congress to assume no doubtful powers in the matter was the very circumstance which led to fixing the eastern terminus of the main line within the Territory of Nebraska instead of in the State of Kansas. Now the whole question is disposed of in one day by the House, and in a few hours by the Senate, on an amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill, not germane to the bill itself, but as far as possible foreign to any military subject whatever. And what is still more surprising is the fact that this weighty change in public policy has been accomplished by an overwhelming majority of the Democratic votes in Congress, that party priding itself on having had its origin in resistance to Federal encroachment upon State rights, and having hitherto fought against such encroachments with the utmost tenacity and bitterness.

The Geneva Award Bill passed by the House has been considered by the Senate Judiciary Committee, and a substitute reported to the Senate. It provides for a revival of the Court of Commissioners of *Alabama* Claims, repealing, however, the provision of the law relating to the old court which excluded insurance claims unless the companies could show that their losses during the war exceeded their premiums, and admitting all insurance claims as claims "of the first class"; directs the court to consider and allow "all properly proved claims not included in the first class directly resulting from damage done on the high seas by Confederate cruisers during the late rebellion, including vessels and cargoes attacked and taken on the high seas, or pursued by them therefrom, although the loss or damage occurred within three miles of the shore, and whether such claims be made by the original property-owner, or by an underwriter who paid for such loss or damage, which claims shall be considered as claims of the second class"; orders judgments of claims of the first class to be paid first, and that other judgments, if there is not money enough for all, shall be paid ratably. As it is notorious that the Geneva Award Fund is larger than all the legitimate claims upon it, the practical result of this bill, if passed, would be that the insurers would be paid in full, and that the balance of the money would probably be divided among the other claimants, who have not, as a matter of right, a shadow of claim to it. If, however, after paying the legitimate claims the Government chooses to *give away* the remainder of the money to the classes somewhat vaguely described in the bill, there is certainly no reason why it should not be done, except that the money belongs, properly speaking, to England. But England is not likely to make any demand for it, and her demand, if she made one, particularly after the Halifax Award, would hardly be listened to at Washington with much attention.

In the first session of the Forty-fourth Congress an examination was made by a House Committee into the administration of ex-Secretary Robeson, and a majority report presented to the House containing specifications of fraudulent actions and extravagant expenditures on the part of the late head of the Navy Department.

The minority disagreed with these conclusions, and presented a contrary report. A resolution subsequently introduced by the majority, and adopted, referred the whole matter to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report articles of impeachment against Mr. Robeson if they found ground for so doing, or other necessary legislation. The Judiciary Committee decided that no fraud or wilful violation of law was shown, and took no further action. The next step was an investigation by the Committee on Naval Affairs in the present Congress, covering the same ground as the committee of the last Congress, and followed by a majority report containing the same accusations made by the former committee, with some additional ones. A summary of the minority report of this committee appeared in Monday's despatches, and is another attempt to exonerate Mr. Robeson by general denials of the facts brought forward by the majority, and by ignoring some of their most important accusations.

It was alleged, for instance, that although during Robeson's administration there was appropriated for the Department the enormous sum of $182,409,033, the Navy only possessed forty-three vessels fit for service. The minority report replies that so much of the one hundred and eighty-two millions went for other purposes that little was left for building ships, which is the very kernel of the charge. Notwithstanding the large appropriations and the sums derived from the sale of old material, there existed at the close of Robeson's administration an indebtedness of over seven millions of dollars for which there was no authority of law. The minority do not explain how, with such great sums at its disposal, the Department was obliged to run into debt, nor is the illegality of the proceeding considered, nor are any reasons suggested for the poor condition of the Navy. There is no refutation, either, of the definite accusations in regard to the illegal disposal of Government property to favorites at ruinous rates, or of the advances paid to contractors for work not done, or of the making of contracts and involving the Government in expenditures for which no appropriations had been made. Still, it must be allowed that a minority exculpation is, as reports go, just as good as a majority inculpation, if the latter is not followed by any action; and that Mr. Robeson may, therefore, now be looked upon, according to the taste and pleasure of the observer, as an innocent victim of the malignant fury of partisan persecution, or as a new instance of what Mr. Charles O'Conor and other disgusted reformers would call "peculation triumphant."

General Barlow's experience of the results of trying to "see a fair count" down in Florida is very ludicrous, or would be if it were not likely to give him and his friends some annoyance. The elder Chandler gave what we may call the keynote of the count to all the workers on the second day after the election, before the returns were in, by a telegraphic announcement that Hayes was elected without any manner of doubt. This was, of course, fair notice to the counters in the doubtful States as to what was expected of them, or rather as to what the result of "a fair count" was to be. The despatch of "Visiting Statesmen" to the disturbed districts by General Grant in no way changed this impression, as they all belonged to the same political party, and all except General Barlow were either office-holders or office-seekers. General Barlow seems to have been the only simple-minded one of the lot, for he undoubtedly went under the influence of the idea propounded in one of General Grant's letters, and held by the best Republicans, that the Republicans were bound to see that no stain should rest on their candidate's title if he got the place, and bound, too, to see that he did not get it unless clearly entitled to it. The duty of a Republican "Visiting Statesman" under this theory was plain enough. He was to urge all that could fairly be urged on behalf of Hayes, but see to it also that Hayes got nothing which Tilden might rightfully claim. But the Chandlers, Bradys, and the rest took no such ethereal view of the situation. Their simple duty—as they saw it—was to take care that their man was elected, and seeing a fair count was, as Brady described it before the Potter Committee, urging the Returning Board to give the Presidency to the good man, and assuring them that "the Republican party of the United States would stand by them."

General Barlow seems not to have understood all this, and besides presenting the Republican case in instances where he thought it was sound, foolishly laid down rules for the government of the Board which in other instances would be sure to tell against it, and even went so far as to counsel some of them privately to throw out votes which the Republicans needed. This "advising contrary to our interests," as Brady called it, was "treachery" in their eyes, and was not "seeing a fair count" at all. Accordingly they have got together before the Potter Committee, and accused him of having been their "counsel," though without pay, and having committed treason against them—by advising the Board not to give them certain votes. Mr. William E. Chandler made this charge before the Committee with his accustomed brass, and it was called by one of the Republican members of the Committee, very appropriately, "improving the occasion." The idea of giving testimony in any political matter, for any other purpose than "improving the occasion," is something which probably never entered Chandler's head. We presume the occurrence will be a warning to General Barlow to be more particular about the company he keeps. Going to "see a fair count" with such moralists as Chandler was very like opening a faro-bank with John Morrissey for the benefit of the Home Missionary Society.

The plan of avoiding the payment of municipal debts invented by the city of Memphis has received, it is to be hoped, a lasting check by the recent decision of Judge Baxter, of the United States Circuit Court, by which the Act of the Legislature depriving the city of its charter is declared invalid and a receiver appointed. The judge replied to objections by a plain statement of the case. The State of Tennessee created a municipal corporation, and that corporation created debts and acquired assets. The Legislature abolished the corporation and appropriated to the State its assets. This act impairs the obligation of contracts, and is a violation of the Constitution both of the State and of the United States. Of course the decision has been ill-received where it applies, and the Memphis *Appeal* remarks that "perhaps in a few days even Judge Baxter may realize that there is a State of Tennessee, whose orders are superior to his, and whose sovereignty is beyond his despoiling touch." This is unhappily true of the State's fidelity to its own obligations. The proposition of Tennessee bondholders to compromise their claims by accepting new six per cent. bonds for sixty per cent. of the face-value of the old bonds and accrued interest, or new four per cent. bonds at par and accrued interest, has been reported on adversely by the legislative committee on finance. The report, which was accepted by the State Senate, recommends that the proposition be not farther considered by the present Legislature. A resolution to compromise the debt at fifty cents on the dollar, with four per cent. interest, was tabled by a large vote. Such obstinate repudiation by a people whose State tax is only one-tenth of one per cent. may well have its comic side. A clergyman in Nashville, who preached against it and pointed out with great moderation the dishonor and the folly of it, was censured by a vote of the Legislature; but this was afterwards rescinded.

The celebration of the anniversary of the foundation of the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore on the 22d was marked by an address by President White, of Cornell, who dwelt at considerable length on the crying need of political training and education in public bodies. Having been four years a member of the Senate of this State, he speaks from experience, and the picture he draws of the business of legislation as he saw it at Albany is not an encouraging one. He says that he has "seen laws for the repression of crime discussed with an utterly inadequate knowledge of principles that in some other lands have been carefully settled"; in questions relating to the taxation of four millions of people he has "seen the settled experience and simplest reasonings and conclusions of

thoughtful men in various nations pass for nothing"; in regard to pauperism he has "seen means taken similar to those which in England, over three hundred years ago, began the creation of a permanently pauperized class." He has "seen codes made and millions voted with no real discussion," and has "seen the relations of education to industry, the problem now occupying every other great nation of the earth, argued with far less care than the location of a canal bridge." This, we think, will be recognized as not an unfair picture of much of the legislation which goes on at Albany. The important question is, What is the root of the difficulty, and how can it be reached? Mr. White declares that he is convinced that it lies in the want of training among political leaders in "political and social science." This he thinks colleges can supply by insisting on close study of the "political and social history" of the leading nations of the world; political economy; social science, so called, including the best theories and plans for the amelioration of human conditions; the "general principles of jurisprudence," and of international law.

Few people will differ from Mr. White in thinking that these subjects, or at least most of them, ought to be taught by colleges; but it is a curious suggestion for Mr. White, of all people, to make, that any instruction in them, however thorough, will have any direct effect in producing a class of educated political leaders. After Mr. White has caught his young men and instilled all this useful knowledge into them, and qualified them to be wise and thoughtful statesmen, two very important questions will always remain to be disposed of: Whether politics is a sufficiently attractive career to induce them to enter it, and whether, if they wish to do so, their acquirements will be of any use to them in securing an admittance? With regard to the first, the attractiveness of politics may be largely a matter of taste; with regard to the second, we can imagine no more serious obstacle to a man's successful entrance into politics in this State than a careful preparation in political economy, law, and social science. If he is a Republican, what he needs to understand is the exact relations of the Administration to the Custom-house; what will advance him in power and influence is an accurate knowledge of the secret prejudices, friendships, social political relations and ambitions of half a dozen Custom-house politicians, combined with the capacity to use them; if he is a Democrat, the subject he must make himself a master of is, not jurisprudence or comparative legislation, but the organization of the General Committee of Tammany Hall. These are subjects, too, of great intricacy, which only years of patient effort can make a young man at home in. Mr. White gave his own students far better advice, if we remember right, a year or two since, in holding up to them as a model Mr. Conkling, and advising them to emulate him.

The sales of U. S. 4 per cent. bonds have been sufficient during the week to enable the Treasury to notify the holders of $20,000,000 more U. S. 5-20s of 1867 that they will be redeemed ninety days hence. This makes $250,000,000 of 6 per cents replaced with 4 per cents since the beginning of the year. The buying of the 4 per cent. bonds at the commercial centres has fallen off, and purchases come mostly from the country. At the Stock Exchange the week was marked by great speculative activity, and the prices of stocks fell from ½ to 9 per cent. Money in London continued easy at about 3 per cent. Here the rate advanced spasmodically, but did not rule above 3 per cent., although the reserve of the New York banks has been steadily falling in the last three weeks on account of payments into the Treasury for bonds taken. The net reserve is down to $9,212,650, against $13,633,750 a year ago. Sterling exchange ruled below the specie-exporting point. Silver in London early in the week advanced to 50¼*d.* per ounce, but fell to 49¾*d.* at the close, when the bullion value of the 412½-grain silver dollar was $0.8391.

A significant stand has been made by the Reichstag against the Government's pretensions to arrest its members. The occasion was a request on the part of the Prefecture of Police that the Reichstag would sanction the arrest and prosecution of the well-known Socialists, Fritzsche and Hasselmann. Herr Lasker declared that the anti-Socialist law was never intended to cover this class of prosecutions; that it was the duty of the two inculpated deputies to obey the Emperor's summons to the meeting of the Reichstag; and that it was a waste of time to ask the latter for consent to legal obstructions to the fulfilment of this duty. A resolution to this effect was adopted by a large majority, and the Reichstag's consent to the proposed arrests refused. The commercial treaty between Austria and Germany has been approved. In the course of the debate on it Bismarck renewed his protectionist profession of faith, and, while admitting that he had changed his views, expressed his determination to stick firmly to his present convictions. The newspapers are plied with addresses, chiefly from agriculturists, approving Bismarck's position; and the National Liberals, who are divided on the question of the tariff, dread the effect of a dissolution on their existence as a party. The new Administration in France has been receiving deputations of shipowners asking for discrimination of duties in behalf of the flag and of home manufacturers, complaining that the lowering of wages in England caused a like lowering in France. Both President Grévy and Minister Lepère replied that the Government was open to conviction. The reason for this revival of protectionist ideas, not only in the countries just named but also in England, we shall discuss at an early day.

The results of the last French census, taken in 1876, have been published, by which it appears that the population is increasing very slowly. On December 31, 1876, the number of inhabitants was 36,905,788. In the month of May, 1872, when the last preceding census was taken, the number was 36,102,921. The increase during this period has therefore been only 802,867, which corresponds to an annual gain of 0.49 per 100. It must also be borne in mind that this increase of 802,867 is not entirely due to the normal growth of population resulting from an excess of births over deaths. By this means the gain would only have been 601,287. For since the census of 1872, 201,580 persons, both French and foreign, many of whom were from Alsace and Lorraine, emigrated or returned to France. Notwithstanding the gains in population during the last few years, the census of 1876 is not as large as that of 1861, which shows that during the intervening fifteen years there was a positive falling off of population, largely caused, of course, by the loss of Alsace and Lorraine. In the rural districts the excess of the birth over the death rate is two per cent.; in the cities it is one per cent. But a continual emigration from the country into the towns has afforded the latter considerable growth. The census tells us that almost nineteen million persons live by agricultural pursuits, and almost four million by commerce; the arts and trades support over six million, manufactures over three million, while there are one million and a half in professions, which include the police. Of persons who live exclusively on their revenues there are more than two millions. The army is not included in any of these figures.

There has been an émeute at Cairo growing out of the economic reduction of the army, which might have been borne by the disbanded officers if they could have got their back pay. The mob surrounded the palaces of the Premier, Nubar Pasha, and the Minister of Finance, Mr. Rivers Wilson, and hustled both of them as they came out, and paid so little regard to the Khédive's personal remonstrances that an exchange of shots ensued with his body-guard. Nubar Pasha was wounded in the hand, and the Khédive himself had a narrow escape. Still, it is suspected that a *coup d'état* was contemplated, as the Khédive insisted on the retirement of Nubar Pasha and a reorganization of the Cabinet to suit himself. This led at first to the resignation of Mr. Rivers Wilson also, but with the help of the Powers a compromise was effected by which the English financier remains, and the Khédive becomes President of the Council. The Minister of War has resigned.

LEGISLATIVE COERCION.

CONGRESS is apparently approaching a deadlock, or rather a pair of deadlocks, growing out of the attempted coercion of the Senate by the House and of the House by the Senate, by means of amendments attached to the regular appropriation bills. The House has incorporated into the Army Appropriation Bill a measure for reorganizing the Army generally, and also provisions for amending the Federal election law, and for enabling railroad companies to become telegraph companies. The Senate, on the other hand, has added to the Post-Office Appropriation Bill a ten years' subsidy to a steamship line, having for this purpose reversed one of its own standing rules; and while it has cast out two of the interpolations of the House from the Army Bill, it has inconsistently accepted the third. The House is expected to expunge the John Roach subsidy from the Post-Office Bill, but to stand bravely by its own parasites on the Army Bill. Crimination and recrimination are freely indulged in. Private interests and partisan animosity are stoutly arrayed in attempts at legislative coercion, and it is not impossible that one or more of the necessary bills for carrying on the Government during the next fiscal year may fail by reason of the refusal of one or the other house to give its assent to measures of general public policy which it does not approve of. It is to be hoped, indeed, that each, however bent upon coercing the other, may refuse to be itself coerced, and that the battle for legislative responsibility and independence may be fought out to a conclusion at the expense of any appropriation, however needful.

It is not very long since the introduction of Mexican methods into the American system of government was the leading topic of discussion and conversation. When the question of the disputed Presidency was uppermost, and later when the Potter Committee began to be talked of, the public was edified by a most elaborate setting forth of the superiority of regular and legal methods of settling all controversies over the irregular and summary forms of procedure prevailing in the Spanish-American republics, and known under the generic name of *pronunciamiento*. The idea of the *pronunciamiento* in all cases is that *our* side, or, as it often happens, *my* side, of the controversy in hand is absolutely right, and that whatever stands in its way, whether a popular majority or a legal principle or a religious scruple or a constitutional provision, must be put down instantly by force. It sometimes produces enough bloodshed to be called a revolution, but usually takes the form of bushwhacking, stage-robbing, church-burning, and street-brawls. It is the pestilent enemy of civilization in the countries south of us, and it is a mere truism to say that no progress toward the accumulation of wealth and social amelioration can be made there until the *pronunciamiento* as a mode of settling differences of opinion is completely stifled and got rid of. The example of Mexico was put to a good use when it was held up as an awful warning to the American people not to resort to arms while any peaceful means of adjusting the dispute over the Presidency remained untried.

The practice, not now attempted for the first time, of coercing one branch of the legislature to pass a measure which it does not approve, under penalty of stopping the wheels of government, is essentially Mexican in character and intent, and ought to be resisted in every case to the last extremity. It bears no analogy to the precedents of English history in which the House of Commons withheld grants of money from tyrant kings supported by obsequious Lords. The struggle for liberty of the people has long ceased in both countries. There is no question raised, or possible to be raised, of the subversion of free institutions among us. It was expressly to put that class of questions out of the category of politics that both the legislative and executive powers in the new republic were made to depend upon frequent elections, and that the right of voting was confined to no class. The struggles of the House of Commons were struggles against a fixed element in the constitution and government of England—against evils which could not have existed but for the feature of permanence which hedged the crown. That feature does not exist here; it was ruled out as a matter of course when independence was secured. The necessity of curtailing the king's power to do harm by putting him on short allowance was never felt on this side of the water, because the executive himself might be constitutionally put out of the way within the space of four years, or sooner by impeachment. Still less has there ever been need that one branch of Congress should throttle the other, and demand the passage of a law under penalty of starving it and everybody else into submission. The House says virtually that unless a new and particular method of grouping officers and enlisted men together shall be adopted the Army shall be disbanded altogether. The Senate says that unless a ten years' contract shall be made with a certain shipbuilder to carry the mails to Brazil, without a scrap of evidence that any public money is needed to secure the service, no mails shall be carried either on sea or on land. Even the poor excuse is wanting, as regards the majority in the House, that the Senate is likely to remain for a long time opposed to Democratic notions of army organization, since the latter body will pass under their control politically before the end of the present year. Nor can the Senate plead that the country is so urgent to pay somebody a subsidy that it cannot wait till that measure shall come up in the regular way. On the contrary, the obvious reason for fastening it upon an appropriation bill is that the country will not sanction it as an independent measure.

It is impossible to characterize this species of legislative coercion too strongly. Assuming that *our* way is the right way and the only way to carry on government, and that it must be made to prevail at all hazards, is neither the American nor the British conception of representative government, but is Mexican to all intents and purposes, differing from it only in the mode of its attempted enforcement. Under the English system the House of Commons is the Government, the Ministry being its executive committee, the Crown the keystone of society, and the Lords representing the historic gradation and stratification of the past rather than any separate political force of the present time. The independence of political divisions is not known there, has not been dreamed of since the passage of the great Reform Bill, and if sought to be asserted now would plunge the country into turmoil, being at war with the fundamental principles of the constitution. But the independence of the different parts of our Government is the very thing which makes up its distinctive character, and, whether it be better or worse than any other type of free institutions, it is our type and cannot be successfully assailed without putting the whole fabric in jeopardy. It is apparent from the current debates in Congress that these facts and principles are well understood by both Houses, the respect of lip service being abundantly accorded to them, but that each hopes and expects that the other will not be too strenuous in asserting its prerogative at this juncture. It is to be regretted that the Senate, in rejecting the army reorganization clause, put its action on the ground that there was no time to consider a measure of so much importance. The proper ground would have been that the bill was no place for considering such a measure at all. This would very likely have been the answer if the Senate could have taken hold of the matter with clean hands. The statutes are much disfigured with general acts imposed as "riders" on appropriation bills, sometimes germane to the bills where they are found and sometimes not, sometimes annexed for purposes of mutual coercion and sometimes for the convenience of lobbyists and private speculators. Nothing more slovenly or more subversive of the sense of legislative responsibility can well be conceived. Probably the present difficulty will be resolved in due time by the withdrawal of the obnoxious provisions from the bills in question. But the occasion ought not to pass by without engrafting upon the rules of both houses—by a joint rule, if possible—the principle of rigorously excluding from appropriation bills everything in the nature of general legislation, whether such legislation be agreeable to both houses at the same time, or to one only. In the absence of such rules, and of their strict enforcement, it happens that after repeated attempts at coercion the important business in hand is consigned

in the closing hours of a session to a conference committee, where it is buried under phraseology so obscure that nobody can unravel it in the short time remaining, and members must make a hasty decision whether they will vote to disband the Army and stop the mails, or give their sanction to something which they do not in the least comprehend. In such cases legislation ceases to be a science, and becomes a game of "bull-dozing," ending in a game of chance.

SAND-LOT RATIOCINATION.

MR. BLAINE has felt it to be necessary to defend his course on the Chinese Bill in a letter to the *Tribune*, which is marked by the same want of candor as his speech in the Senate. He says that there has been no "voluntary immigration" of Chinese to California, that the Chinese immigrants have all come "under contract"; but immigration "under contract" is voluntary immigration. Willingness is of the essence of contract. A man who contracts to go to a place goes voluntarily. The mere power to contract implies free agency. The reprobation of other than an entirely "voluntary immigration," which he cites from the Burlingame Treaty, must mean reprobation of the forced immigration of persons who are not allowed to contract. The only objection we can in decency make to the mode in which the Chinese reach this country is that it provides for their return to China. It is the going back under contract, and not the coming, which constitutes, as far as this point is concerned, the difference between them and European emigrants. If Irishmen or Germans contracted for a passage to this country in return for certain payments to be made after their arrival, it would never enter any one's head to propose their expulsion on that ground, and if this were all the Chinese did it would be absurd to censure them. They do this, but they also stipulate that they shall be carried home. But if they generally go back, half of Mr. Blaine's objections to their coming fall to the ground.

His second objection is that they have brought only seven thousand women with them, and that these are "impure and lewd beyond the Anglo-Saxon conception of impurity and lewdness." But we never heard till now that the "Anglo-Saxon conception of impurity and lewdness" was at all limited. The Anglo-Saxon imagination has at all times shown itself equal to all demands made upon it in this field. There never before has been a case, however, in which an Anglo-Saxon government was so overcome by "the impurity and lewdness" of seven thousand women that it was obliged to meet it by prohibiting the entrance of the males of a nation of 400,000,000 on its soil. The usual and proper remedy for the evil Mr. Blaine complains of is a police regulation preventing the landing of this class of Chinese women. Since when did it become necessary for the United States to break a commercial treaty with a great Power to keep out foreign prostitutes, and was there ever a more curious spectacle than an American Senator justifying this step by the allegation that the foreign prostitutes were worse than those that his constituents were used to?

Mr. Blaine's third objection is that the Chinese quarter in San Francisco, as described by the health officer of that city, is squalid, unhealthy, and a hiding-place for loathsome diseases, and that the Chinese live in it separate and apart from the rest of the community. But this is really a charge of neglect of duty against the municipal government. The poor quarters in New York are as foul and loathsome and pestilential as the police will permit. The fourth is that the Chinese laborer, owing to his low standard of living, will "crowd out" the free white laborer. This is an argument, however, in favor of legislation against all laborers who live poorly and are willing to work for low wages. It calls for no refutation beyond the simple statement that we actually find it in the mouth of a prominent Republican orator of the "bloody shirt" persuasion. He draws from the fact that the Chinese Government has allowed the Chinese laborers to come to this country "under contract," and that they are apt to be "abjectly poor" persons, or broken-down gamblers, or "scapegraces of the country," the inference that we are justified in breaking the Treaty ourselves; and he coolly disposes of the objections to the abrogation of the Treaty by Congress without communication with the other party to the agreement by relegating the question of the *modus in quo* to "the schools of taste and etiquette," which is a name he has invented for the usages of civilized intercourse. There is, however, such a thing as insult between nation and nation as well as between man and man, and the desirableness of refraining from insult in international discussion and action is well settled—as well settled as the impropriety of somebody's abusing Mr. Blaine in the Capitol grounds because he thought him a demagogue.

The point by which the Republicans of Mr. Blaine's school who supported the bill are most embarrassed, is the contrast offered by their attitude towards the Chinese to their attitude towards the negro at the South. Mr. Eustis, in the debate in the Senate, as we observed last week, drove him into a corner here, in which he in vain tried to defend himself. All he has to say now in reply to the charge of inconsistency is that the negro was born here, and we have, therefore, to put up with his presence. This is true, but when Mr. Blaine was asked why he used the "hoodlum" outrages on the Chinese, which are more shocking than anything which occurs at the South, as an argument for driving out the Chinese, while he used white Southern discontent under negro rule as an argument for martial law, he calmly replied that "we must take the state of things as we find it." This reply is really as applicable to the one case as the other. The misfortune of Mr. Blaine and his kind is that they are trying to ride two horses. They defend negro suffrage with all its consequences, no matter what they may be, on the "human rights" theory, while they attack the Chinese, who are also human, on the expediency theory, and the result is ridiculous. The arguments he uses in favor of expelling the Chinese drawn from their character and habits would be just as strong if the Chinese had been born here as they are now, and the objections to negro rule at the South lose none of their force because the negroes have been born here. Both cases have to be dealt with. Each requires different treatment owing to difference in circumstances, not owing to difference of symptoms.

In their frantic efforts to cover over the undeniable difficulties of the race question at the South, many Stalwart Republicans—the New York *Tribune* among the number—have laid down the monstrous doctrine that a majority, however ignorant or brutal, has a right to work its will with the civilization of any society it gets under its control, and that resistance to it would be wrong. This is democracy run mad, and, whatever the outcome of the Chinese question, it is pleasant to find that it is serving as a solvent of some of the absurdities begotten by the conflict over negro suffrage. The Stalwarts are forced to acknowledge in California that we ought not to sacrifice our civilization to any theory of rights, and that no superiority of numbers can give any race or class the right to rob and cheat and practise beastliness with impunity. We agree with some of them in thinking that a powerful immigration of Chinamen would constitute a strain to which we have no right to subject our institutions, but they have as yet furnished no evidence that such an immigration is likely, or that it has as yet reached proportions which justify frantic or hasty action. We agree with them, too, in thinking that the Chinaman has no "Divine patent," to use the language of one writer, to come here and ruin or damage American society, even if he is willing to labor; and we hold also that the negro has no "Divine patent" to wreck any machinery of civilized government there may be at the South, or the Irishman a "Divine patent" to appropriate his neighbor's property under forms of law in New York. No man, race, or class has any divine right to work mischief; but when a race or class is working mischief, or is likely to work it, the relief or safeguard is not to be found in the repetition of sounding phrases, but in the calm recognition of the facts, and in appropriate and practicable remedies. The phrase "human rights" is no more an excuse for folding our hands and perishing than the Mussulman's phrase that "God is great."

BULL-DOZING IN 1844.

PUBLIC interest in the doings of the Teller Committee has long since given way to complete indifference, while the Potter Committee bids fair to hold its audience to the end. The significance of this might be disputed ; but even Mr. Edmunds would hardly contend, that the complicity of Presidential candidates with frauds committed on their behalf is not more properly a national concern than the fortunes of individual voters or the purity of local ballot-boxes. It is true that the falsified returns from a single polling-place might under certain circumstances determine a Presidential election ; but this is a part of the general risk of universal suffrage and majority government, and, whatever feeling it might give rise to, could never excite such alarm for our system as would the conviction that the *tone* of the ballot-box-stuffer had infected the class from which Presidents are selected. For more than a generation the popular vote, in State and National contests, has been more or less tainted with fraud, and nobody lost heart about the republic ; yet who will deny that Mr. Hayes's reward of the disreputable officials in Louisiana and Florida who gave him the Presidency, and Mr. Tilden's connection with the cipher dispatches, have opened up a new and painful vista to those who watch our political horizon ?

If the testimony, however, taken by the Teller Committee is not likely to make a deep or lasting impression on the popular mind, it will have its uses in giving the Senate Judiciary Committee some idea of the job assigned it by Mr. Edmunds's resolutions. It will appear, unless we are greatly mistaken, that the question is not of protecting Republican voters, black or white, at the South, but of establishing toleration of difference in opinion, which has never existed in that region. We say advisedly, has never existed ; for though down to the rebellion there were always parties there, on one main question no division was permitted, and sometimes, as we shall show presently, a single phase of that question asserted its authority over all dissentients. Just as secession stamped out Southern loyalty to the Union, so, earlier, the furor which ended in the war with Mexico stifled all opposition. In December, 1844, the Clay Whigs of Louisiana viewed with entire approval the intimidation of a brother Whig, Henry Hubbard, sent by Massachusetts to New Orleans, as Samuel Hoar was to Charleston, to protect the liberties of the colored seamen in those ports. No doubt they would cheerfully have mobbed him if their representations of his imminent peril had not persuaded him to leave the State. Yet only a month before they had themselves been victims of intimidation and violence, simply as members of a party which was striving to prevent the annexation of Texas.

The frauds in the parish of Plaquemine did not, as is sometimes asserted, make Polk President ; the votes of New York and Pennsylvania did that. When, therefore, the news of the result in Louisiana came dragging along through the slow mails, it was a fresh surprise and grief to the Whig party, which had been confident of carrying the State ; but victory or defeat no longer hung upon it. The thought of the mode in which Louisiana was lost to them merely heightened the bitter smile with which they read shortly in President Tyler's message of the "great moral spectacle" of the election, and how "the great and inestimable right of suffrage has been exercised by all who were invested with it, dictated alone by a desire in the selection of the agent to advance the interests of the country, and to place beyond jeopardy the institutions under which it is our happiness to live." Censure for overlooking the naughty doings in the amphibious extremity of a Gulf State would have been wasted on a President blind to what Webster had just been denouncing in Faneuil Hall as "the abominable frauds, the outrageous, flagrant perjuries, which are notoriously perpetrated in all the great cities." "Pennsylvania," he continued, "if, as they say, she has given 6,000 for our adversaries, has done so through the basest fraud. Is it not so ? And look at New York. In the city there were thrown 60,000 votes, or one vote for every five inhabitants. You know that fairly and honestly there can be no such thing on earth."

They managed these things somewhat better, however, down in Plaquemine, whose swamps in 1840 contained only 1,351 whites, men, women, and children ; and which polled that year a total vote of 290. In 1842 the vote had fallen to 272 ; in 1843 it had risen to 340 ; in 1844 it was brought up to 1,014. The Locofoco majority was 970 ; Polk's majority in the State at large was 684, which the Whig Returning Board of that day would doubtless have reduced below zero by throwing out the parish altogether, for good and sufficient reasons. It was, in fact, argued that Clay was fairly elected by 76 majority, taking the vote of 1840 as a basis ; but the hypothetical method of conducting elections was not so well understood then as now, and there were no returning boards. The Whig and anti-annexation senator in Congress, Mr. Barrow, said in his place that "he knew full well that the late Presidential election in Louisiana had been carried by the most infamous frauds. He knew full well that *if there was any legal mode of purging the poll* of that State, it would be found that a majority of the people had cast their suffrages in favor of Henry Clay." To this Mr. Slidell replied, in the House, that Mr. Barrow was not a "responsible" person—we suppose, in the fire-eating sense of the term ; that there might have been and probably were illegal votes cast for the Democratic ticket ; that this sort of thing always occurred in warmly-contested elections, and especially in districts where parties were nicely balanced. He denied that the leaders of the Democratic party in Louisiana had encouraged or sanctioned frauds, and gave it as his "solemn and deliberate conviction" that nine-tenths of all the election frauds ever perpetrated in the State were of Whig origin and in favor of Whig candidates. Whether because of this handsome disavowal, or of the investigation ordered by the Louisiana House on motion of a member from East Feliciana (against which every Democrat voted but two), or because of his subsequent appointment as Minister to Mexico, Mr. Slidell's name has come down to us as directly associated with the Plaquemine frauds. Certainly the arithmetical appearances were opposed to the correctness of his denial, and the sworn affidavits made before the New Orleans Clay Club Committee were strongly corroborative of the Whig charges.

The Presidential election occupied more than a week in 1844, most of the States voting on the 4th of November, but some as late as the 11th and 12th. Louisiana began with the earliest, but, owing to her sparse settlement, kept the country polls open for three days. This custom was not lost on Judge Leonard, the Locofoco representative of the parish of Plaquemine in the Louisiana legislature. He chartered a couple of steamboats at New Orleans, the *Agnes* and the *Planter*, put on board some 350 voters, mostly Irish and Germans, some of whom could not speak a word of English, kept them well supplied with liquor, and so took them down river to the three polling places in the parish, the first being just below his own home. On the *Planter* there was great activity during the trip in filling up tax-receipts—a task which was incomplete when the first landing was reached, and which proved quite superfluous, as the Sheriff, Charles Dutillet, threw away the receipts when offered him, though the law imposed a property qualification. The tickets were taken as fast as they could be shoved into the box, no questions being asked, and every folded ballot being opened. The boatmen themselves, from pilot to engineer and cabin-boy, were made to step up and vote for Polk, and when this great moral spectacle had closed at one landing it was repeated at the next, so that each of the excursionists enjoyed the inestimable right of suffrage from one to three times. Meantime the Whigs of New Orleans, getting wind of the affair, had despatched a boat to witness the proceedings, but the sheriff would not let it touch at the pier, on the ground that he was expecting voters by boat. By this he meant that the honest fellows in question would not brook delay, for elsewhere, when taken to task by a Whig voter for having opened the polls an hour before the advertised time, he declared that the people were clamorous to vote, and he had gratified them. With equal considerateness, when a stranger was challenged to be sworn as to his qualifications, the sheriff snatched the Bible from the clerk's hands and forbade the administering of the oath. When the Clay voter had succeeded, after the greatest difficulty, in making his way through the throng to deposit his ballot, contrary to what was required of the non-resident aliens and minors he was regularly sworn ; but his ballot too was unfolded, and if sometimes received, was sometimes thrown upon the floor, and sometimes a Locofoco ballot was substituted for it. One Whig, who tried in vain to reach "the table on which was the box of the Secretary," prudently retired from the cabaret and "went out on the road, where the crowds were hurrahing for Polk and Dallas on all sides, and crowing like cocks." There having seen a friend menaced, he tried to persuade one of his neighbors not to go in ; but his advice was disregarded, and in a few minutes out came this unfortunate, "without his hat and wounded, his shirt covered with blood. . . . He told me that the sheriff had struck him with a stick, and had inflicted a severe wound on the head, and he showed me a severe bruise on the right shoulder. Then I and all my friends who wished to vote were obliged to leave and go to our homes, fearing that if we remained we should be assassinated."

The bull-dozing aspect of the Plaquemine outrage attracted public attention least—at the South doubtless because violence to opponents

was perfectly familiar, and generally because no one, either North or South, dreamed at that time of seeking a national remedy for such disorders. All saw in it rather a part of the same villany that had, on a tariff issue, carried Pennsylvania, and on the Texas issue carried New York, against the Whigs, by drawing more votes from the ballot-box than ought to have gone in, chiefly by means of fraudulent naturalization. Many Locofoco counties in Pennsylvania, like Plaquemine, polled more votes in 1844 than they had white male inhabitants in 1840, "boding unfair play," as the Philadelphia *North American* temperately remarked. It was notorious that the Locofocos resisted all attempts to diminish the opportunities for fraud. "Every Whig American," said the Alexandria *Gazette*, in the election month, "ought to go for a registry law. And it is somewhat remarkable that the political opponents of the Whigs are always opposed to such a law, and repeal it if passed, in whatever State they may get into power." Gerrymandering, too, they practised with such good success that in Ohio they carried two-thirds of the Congressional districts, although their majorities were to the Whig majorities as 12,817 to 18,864. Their perversion of the civil service to party ends was an old story. In New York, to quote the words of the *National Intelligencer*, they had "the vote of the mass of that class of persons who even in monarchical governments [and so *à fortiori* in a republic, Mr. Corneli !] are precluded from interfering in elections in any manner whatever—that is to say, the dependents upon executive patronage, such as postmasters, contractors, custom-house officers, soldiers in the army, seamen in the navy."

A partial remedy for these evils, within the province of the Federal Government, was the fixing a uniform day for holding the elections, so as to prevent voters going from one State to another. A bill to this effect was passed by the House of Representatives (Dec. 16, 1844), without opposition. Mr. Slidell offered the next day an amendment to the Constitution providing that the President be voted for directly by the people or the legislatures without the intervention of electors. But the Whigs laid stress on a modification of the naturalization laws by extending the term of residence, which had been five years under Washington, was made fourteen years under Adams, and under Jefferson had been reduced to five again. Webster insisted on this in language which laid him open to the reproach of wishing to carry over the Whigs to the then Native-American party ; but Mr. Greeley, more practical-minded, enquired how extending the term from five to twenty-one years would help matters. *States*, he pointed out, would admit aliens on shorter probation, and Michigan and Illinois had already done so. What, then, would be gained ? Senator Morgan encountered a similar snag the other day when he learned from Mr. Dawes that though Chinamen cannot become citizens of the United States they are naturalized by Massachusetts.

As we all know, nothing came of these remedies except as to the uniformity of election day. The Slave Power was abroad, and the annexation of Texas and consequent war with Mexico soon drove all other subjects out of mind. The Plaquemine frauds were forgotten, and Louisiana presently furnished a Whig President as the successor of Polk. The exploits of Judge Leonard and Sheriff Dutillet are only worth recalling as showing the persistency of the Southern character, which Mr. Edmunds proposes to change by Federal interference. In his testimony the other day before the Teller Committee, General Davis, of Mississippi, a Southerner by birth and an ex-Confederate, stated that as a Greenbacker candidate he attempted to get negro support, but to his surprise the Democrats broke up his meetings, sent him threatening letters, and burnt him in effigy. His offence was not of doctrine but of attitude ; he was dividing the whites and distracting attention from the main question—white supremacy. He was in his right ; but will this wholesome division of whites and blacks be best brought about by leaving General Davis to maintain himself with the help of those who share his political views, or by giving him United States marshals to stump his district with him ? The Abolitionists were mobbed in their assemblies, their lives were constantly menaced, they were frequently burnt in effigy, and sometimes hauled to the tar-kettle ; but they stood their ground in communities which gave them neither sympathy nor protection, and in the end they effected not only a division but a revolution of sentiment. The Southern whites face each other as equals, and the minority should at least display the courage of their convictions. The blacks by good behavior, frugality, sobriety, honesty, will conquer the esteem and ultimately receive the open support of the best and most powerful elements of Southern society. This process is now going on in the States where they are outnumbered and cannot excite the jealousies or apprehensions of the whites. In no part of the South can we expect a *modus vivendi* to be reached so surely and permanently by external compulsion as by the natural growth and adjustment from within which alone make self-government a reality, and give character to any political organization.

HOW PARIS IS GOVERNED.

PARIS, February 7, 1879.

'MUNICIPAL PARIS' might be a suitable title for a large work, as Paris is a province by itself. I have often wondered why this book has not been written. We live in Paris, we enjoy its beauty, its splendors, and we hardly know how it is really administered and governed. Paris seems like that princess of the fairy tales who was dressed and undressed every day by invisible hands. The apparent government of Paris—I mean its Prefect and his Municipal Council—are only, so to speak, the figure-head of the ship which has had for its motto since the Middle Ages "Fluctuat, nec mergitur." I should like to show you what there is behind this visible government, what there is in the ship itself.

Every three years the inhabitants of Paris elect, by universal suffrage, municipal councillors ; there are in all eighty such councillors. Their very title shows them to be distinct from the administrators. They are only chosen to vote the supplies and to supervise the employment of the public money. Their only check on the administrators is to vote more or less money, and this is only true of the expenses which are called optional, for there are many which are of an obligatory character and which can in consequence be incurred without their sanction. The sittings of the Municipal Council, which take place now in the Palace of the Luxembourg, are not public, but a short account of the proceedings is sent to the newspapers. They take place every two days. The Council is subdivided into many committees ; it is always presided over by the Prefect, who represents the central government, the Administration.

It is quite clear that a city like Paris, which has an annual budget of more than two hundred millions of francs, which has a foreign floating population of one hundred thousand men, which contains, though it is not nominally the political capital of the country, all that constitutes an intellectual, an artistic, a scientific capital, cannot be governed in the same way as a little municipality. Paris has an imperial character, if I may use a word now so much employed in England ; it ought to be governed by the Chambers rather than by a council named by the arrondissements of Paris. London is really now administered by Parliament ; the vestries of the parishes and the government of the city have been to a great extent superseded by great boards which are directly under the control of Parliament. In France we have never considered elective Chambers as capable of a good administration ; we have a political administration and a technical administration. The Prefect of Paris represents what I call the political administration ; he is appointed by the Minister of the Interior, who is practically chosen by the Chambers. In so far the Prefect depends on the Chambers ; he is a political personage, he rises and falls with a Cabinet ; but while his origin may be said to be political, his powers depend only on certain laws which are not changed by a mere caprice. When he is sitting in his presidential chair he represents a whole body of administrative dispositions ; he has the executive power, and all the vagaries of the municipal councillors do not trouble him in the least. He is all the more strong that behind him stands what I have called the technical administration, a branch which has nothing political in its character ; it is entirely independent of politics. I open, for instance, a little book, a mere 'Annuaire of the Ministry of Public Works,' and I find a chapter called "Direction of the Works of Paris and of the Department of the Seine"; and I find a list of as many as thirty-six engineers of the Ponts et Chaussées, all pupils of the Polytechnic School, all having risen in the various offices which appertain to our Department of Public Works, all having a tenure of office quite independent of the political parties. At the head of the list I see the famous M. Alphand, the creator of the new Bois de Boulogne, the friend of M. Haussmann, the author of the great work 'Les Promenades de Paris.' M. Alphand was a favorite of Napoleon III., who tried to transform Paris completely ; but whatever our radical municipal councillors may think of him, they cannot touch him as an administrator. He could only be removed for incompetence or dishonesty, and he is neither incompetent nor dishonest. Each time that a question comes before the Council affecting the works of Paris the Prefect summons M. Alphand ; the great engineer explains his projects, his plans, discusses, takes his notes, and the best thing the councillors can do is to open their ears to the speeches of so great an authority.

This great Department of the Works of Paris, which is really entirely

in the hands of thirty-six engineers of the state, all well trained, incorruptible men, who cannot get promotion except by merit or seniority, is subdivided into six sections: First, Public streets, public and private lighting, temporary concessions on the public streets, plantations in line, construction of sewers. This section has ten engineers. Second, Promenades and plantations, permanent concessions on the public domain, control of carriages. This section has eight engineers. Third, Water and sewers, derivation of springs, artesian wells, water-pipes and aqueducts, distribution in Paris, canals, drainage, utilization of the sewage, irrigations. This section has thirteen engineers. Fourth, Municipal railways in and out of Paris. Fifth, Creation of the Parisian cemetery of Méry-sur-Oise. Two engineers. Sixth, Parochial road service of the Department of the Seine. All the men who are placed in these various services represent what I have called the technical administration. They do not change when the political administration changes. There are, in consequence, two conservative elements to be found in our municipal government; the first is the character of the laws, which give an overruling power to the Prefect in almost all possible conflicts between him and the Councillors; the second is the natural influence of the technical administrators, who are well trained men, and who hold their offices by virtue of their science and of their personal ability. I have only spoken so far of the Prefect of the Seine; but there is another administrator, the Prefect of Police. In an ordinary township the mayor has all the powers which in Paris are divided between the two Prefects. The prefect of police is in a great capital an imperial officer; he centralizes, so to speak, the police of the whole country. Crime will always try to conceal itself in cities like London and Paris; our *forçats libérés* (returned convicts) are forbidden to live in Paris, but they constantly try to get back to it. The political police, which is indispensable in a country like France, has its centre in Paris. The Prefect of Police is always appointed by the Government of the day; he is essentially a political administrator, but non-elective, and during his tenure of office he becomes really a sort of magistrate. In that capacity he is in daily communication with the Public Prosecutor of the tribunal of Paris (the *procureur général*) and the Minister of Justice. In his own prefecture, behind his army of policemen and gendarmes, he holds a power which is and must be surrounded with mystery. To give you a mere list of the various services of the Prefecture of Police would be very long. All I wish to show here is the complete independence of this imperial service of the Municipal Council of Paris.

The municipal police of Paris has 7,756 agents (in that number are 6,800 common policemen), who received in 1878 a sum of 12,168,850 francs. The policemen received of that sum 10,268,000; they are besides equipped and uniformed, and receive each an indemnity of 185 francs for lodging. There are in Paris eighty-one police commissioners (called *commissaires*), with as many secretaries, who can replace them at certain hours. You recognize the *commissaire* by a little tricolor flag hanging over the door, and in the night by a red lantern. These men are extremely important. Their services cost the city of Paris in the year 1878 the sum of 1,120,100 francs. The commissioner's powers are almost unlimited; all the persons arrested by the police in the streets and in houses are first brought before him; he makes a *procès-verbal* of the declaration of the policeman and of all the interested parties, and sends these reports every day to the Prefecture of Police. Many family quarrels end in his presence—disputes between gentlemen and servants, etc. The commissioner is, in fact, a sort of justice of the peace, an arbiter; he has no judicial powers and cannot himself inflict any punishment, but he can, by his advice, stop many affairs at the beginning. He knows the secrets of most houses; and it is only due to justice to say that these modest servants of the city have always proved worthy of the greatest confidence. But, though they are paid out of the municipal budget, it would be a great mistake to think that they are appointed by the Municipal Council. They are not even appointed by the Prefect of the Seine. They belong to the great Department of Justice, and are chosen by the Keeper of the Seals, as the Minister of Justice is still called, and their promotion depends chiefly on their own direct chief, the Prefect of Police. The commissioner is as independent of the electors of his quarter as a man may well be; he is the representative of law and order, and he has nothing to fear from anybody in the exercise of his important functions.

The *cabinet* of the Prefect of Police has three departments, called *bureaux*. The first is almost wholly political, and consequently a part of its expense is paid by the state. This bureau has to see to the safety of the head of the state, to collect information about secret societies, plots, refugees, strangers, and secret associations. It also has to collect political documents which may have some connection with the safety of the country. The second bureau has in its functions whatever relates to great public crowds—festivities, races, reviews, theatres, concert-rooms, placards in the streets, etc. The third bureau has to examine all the national and foreign newspapers, with a view to the discovery of criminals and absentees. Outside of these services come nine bureaux belonging to the great *divisions* of the prefecture proper. Their names will suffice to give an idea of their work: arrests and expulsions; legal surveillance; prisons, passports, and lodging-houses; lunatic asylums; assistance of children, nurses; provisioning of Paris; navigation of the river; Bourse; police of the streets and carriages; fires; sanitary police.

You see by these mere names that the Prefecture of Police is not solely devoted to the police. It is, in reality, a part of the executive of the city. There are, so to speak, two mayors of Paris. In the budget of the city of Paris, as I will show, figures the budget of the Prefecture of Police, though this last is paid partly by the city and partly by the state.

Correspondence.

THE ARREARS OF PENSIONS BILL AGAIN.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Permit me to add my testimony to that of your correspondent, "Veteran," in the last issue of the *Nation*, in regard to what he well terms "the recent demagogic bill" passed by Congress. I also served as a regimental officer during the whole rebellion, and have since had some experience as regards pensions. So far as that experience goes I do not hesitate to say that it is the bummers, dead-beats, drunkards, shirks, cowards, and bounty-jumpers of our late war who are now in greatest part the honored pensioners of our demagogue-depleted Treasury. Repeatedly, when applications for certificates of disability have been made to me, have I tried to refresh my recollection as to the applicant by applying to those of my old men whom I still meet for information. These last are usually those who were the best men—who did the work and the fighting, who took care of themselves and the country then, and who are taking care of themselves and the country now. Their disgust at the whole system under which they, who never saw the dead-beats at the front, are taxed to support them, is as emphatic as it is apt to be profane. Judging by my observation I should say that of those unmutilated soldiers who deserve pensions, a large portion from very manliness of character have failed to apply for them; while I doubt if there is a broken-down, miserable drunkard or tramp who served in my company who is not now looking for his "arrears." I suppose that every one knows that convicts in our State-prisons are not seldom our pensioners, and in regular receipt of the public money.

Of course it is no use grumbling. Members of Congress with political aspirations must look after "the soldier vote." If, however, all those who feel as "Veteran" does, and as I do, would only express their feelings out loud, our gifted public men might next time at least think twice before they "sling out" another fifty millions. To do the dead-beat's fighting then was bad enough, without being made to support him all the rest of his useless life. However, in a quiet but effective way I propose to have the satisfaction of "going for" my member of Congress.

Veteran No. 2.

Boston, Feb. 22, 1879.

OPEN SCHOLARSHIPS IN AMERICAN COLLEGES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: President Eliot's recent report on the working of the system of scholarships in Harvard College has met with much public praise and with some private criticism. The praise was justly given to what the document said, while the criticism referred solely to what it omitted. While discussing very fully the main theme—upon which, after all, there was no great difference of opinion—the report wholly ignored the one point which has been seriously questioned in the Harvard system, the one point wherein it entirely diverges from the English practice. This is the more a matter of surprise because it is a point to which President Eliot's attention was expressly called a few years ago, in the report of a committee appointed by his own Board of Overseers; and it is, moreover, a matter which he himself thought worthy of reference, though not of distinct discussion, in his paper on "English and American Universities," in the *North American Review* for March–April, 1878. The point of difference is this: At Oxford and Cambridge, in England, with

a few insignificant exceptions, scholarships are given without the slightest reference to poverty or wealth. At Harvard College, on the contrary, the very first line of the printed regulations announces: "None but those who need assistance are expected to apply for scholarships" (Catalogue, 1878–9, p. 102). In other words, a scholarship is in England treated as an honor; in America, as an alms.

One of the first points brought to the attention of an American college-bred man who visits Oxford or Cambridge (England) is this difference in regard to their scholarship systems. The English method is sure to be claimed, in conversation, as being a wholesome equalizing influence; the visitor is sure to hear of some case where one of two twin scholarships has fallen to a poor young man, and the other to the heir of an estate. As a matter of fact, all agree that nineteen-twentieths of these prizes naturally fall to those who are stimulated by necessity. The point insisted upon is that this twentieth recipient saves the pride of all the others. No one is expected to sue *in formâ pauperis* for aid, or to reveal the precise condition of his father's resources; and, moreover, each successful candidate has competed, at least nominally, with the whole body of students, and not merely with those who happen to be poor. In the words of the "Student's Guide to the University of Cambridge" (England), "Scholarships are given in reward of merit, and it is the first ambition of a student, after he has become a member of a college, to win this distinction" (p. 62). I confess that this condition of things seems to me far more satisfactory than that prevailing at Harvard College, where young men have told me, with a chagrin amounting to bitterness, and almost with tears in their eyes, of the struggle it cost them to accept this visible badge of poverty.

Let me give, a little more in detail, the facts in regard to the English system. The 'Oxford University Calendar' for 1878 announces thirty-eight scholarships, apart from those awarded by the separate colleges. Not one of these thirty-eight has the slightest reference to wealth or poverty in its assignment, except the three Abbott scholarships for the sons of poor clergymen of the Church of England—a class, be it observed, upon whom poverty throws little social stigma. The scholarships offered by the separate colleges at Oxford, as enumerated in the 'Student's Hand-book for 1876' (the last issue of this publication), are four hundred and sixty, including the "Studentships" of Christ Church and the "Demyships" of Magdalen, which are essentially the same thing. These are subject to a variety of restrictions as to place of residence and other matters, but only eight of the whole number make the poverty of the applicant a condition. These exceptions are the Oades and the Stafford scholarships at Pembroke, the Dyke scholarships at St. Mary Hall, and the five Eaton scholarships at Worcester—these last being for the sons of clergymen of the Church of England. In a single case, the Jodrell scholarship at Queen's College, poverty gives an advantage where the competition is equal. There are thus, all told, about five hundred scholarships at Oxford, in all but a dozen of which the distinction between wealth and poverty is absolutely ignored. So well is this settled that in distinguishing scholarships from the inferior provision known as "exhibitions" the 'Student's Hand-book' describes the latter as being "frequently confined to persons who produce evidence of their need of assistance" (p. 84).

At Cambridge (England) the exceptions to the general rule are still fewer. Out of forty-three university scholarships only the two bearing the name of Abbott are restricted to those needing assistance. Out of four hundred and fifty-eight scholarships administered by the separate colleges, only two—the Spencer scholarships at Corpus Christi—have any such restriction. The Cambridge scholarships are thus about equal in number to those at Oxford, and all but four are open, so far as wealth or poverty is concerned. The two great English universities together have almost precisely a thousand scholarships, less than twenty of which make that invidious distinction which is at Harvard, and at most American colleges, universal.

The simple fact is, that the American scholarships are not such in the ordinary English acceptation, but are rather what are called at Cambridge (England) "sizarships"—a name carrying with it a distinct and acknowledged flavor of social disadvantage.

"*Sizarships* consist of certain emoluments and exemptions given to students in consideration of poverty as well as merit. Some of the sizarships at Trinity and St. John's are of considerable value. *The sizar must, of course, occupy a position of inferiority*, as one avowedly poor in the company of richer men; but, on the other hand, the very avowal of his poverty secures him from many temptations" ('Student's Guide,' etc., p. 63).

The italics are my own, and it is precisely this recognized "position of inferiority" which some of us regret to see reproduced and made permanent in our American colleges under the name of scholarships.

The danger in this respect has not escaped the keen eye of Mr. M. D. Conway, a man uncommonly familiar with both the American and English university systems. In his valuable paper in *Harper's Magazine* for July, 1878, entitled "England's Great University," he says:

"There is one example of the determination that no line shall be drawn between wealth and poverty which Harvard would do well to imitate: Oxford scholarships are bestowed for knowledge alone. Such pecuniary aids to the student are thus by no means signs of his poverty, but may be and are sought as earnestly by the sons of the wealthy as by the poor. Were these scholarships and exhibitions—more than seven hundred in number, and bringing an aggregate of £60,000 annually to successful competitors—bestowed only for the easy qualification of poverty, or were that even considered, each would become a stigma. Many a poor but proud youth would, in such case, fear to apply for the aid he really needs, and which he may now earn by efforts which involve no loss of self-respect, but the reverse" (p. 32).

The attention of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University has been at least once—and I think more than once—called to this aspect of the present scholarship system. The 'Report of the Committee to Visit the College' for 1872–3 points out, with some misgivings, the essentially "eleemosynary" character of these provisions, and makes the following suggestions: "If the statutes of the founders, or their presumable intentions, do not confine the recipients in that manner, it is worth consideration whether scholarships might not be open to general competition, *as are other prizes in college and most of the prizes in life*. It is not unlikely that the existing scholarships were intended as aids to the deserving poor students, and not as prizes, whether so expressed or not in the gifts. *If so, would it not be well to have scholarships which shall not be so confined, but competed for by rich and poor alike*, especially at or towards the close of the college course" ('Report,' p. 21). The report is understood to have been prepared by Richard H. Dana, Esq.; the italics are my own.

I do not think that any undergraduate mind is so obtuse as not to see clearly the difference between an honor which is simply and unequivocally an honor, and a so-called honor which is simply a certificate that among a certain number of poor young men a certain applicant is on the whole the most deserving. In almost all our colleges there are prizes for public speaking or for literary composition. Does any one suppose that these would retain their present value if every competitor had to submit, together with his essay or his oration, a certificate of honorable poverty? Would athletic exercises flourish if all but "those who need assistance" were excluded from the college crew or the base-ball nine? I cannot suppose that there would be the least difference of opinion as to the answer to these questions; and why is not the principle the same in regard to scholarships?

The report of the committee appointed by the Harvard Overseers in 1872–3 further suggests it as possible "that at present many men in middling circumstances are deterred from competing by a fair doubt whether they can properly say that they need assistance, in the sense intended by the application, and a fear that they may be excluding some who clearly do need it" (p. 21). To this is to be added the objection well urged by a recent writer in the Harvard *Crimson* (Feb. 7, 1879), who points out that the present system bears hard on many students whose parents have a just unwillingness to state their precise pecuniary condition—as in the case of a physician or a lawyer whose income is diminishing through hard times or advancing years, or of a business man who is struggling to avoid bankruptcy, and who would be seriously injured by exposing his precise financial condition to the world. It is a great evil, as this writer points out, that "necessitous parties, who are unwilling to proclaim their condition, are tempted to seek the cheaper colleges." There is also the case, not very rare, of those whose parents are able but not willing to support their sons in college, so that the young men, however deserving, are really worse off than if their parents were poor. In all these cases open scholarships would be a blessing. Restricted scholarships, however well administered, will hardly reach them. And even in applications which fall clearly within the letter of the provision for scholarships, the decision as to eligibility must often be difficult. "Need of assistance" is a very elastic term, and even college professors are not always possessed of the delicate tact which elicits truth with the least possible sacrifice of pride.

But, after all, the great objection to the present system is the fact that it introduces or enhances in American colleges those caste distinctions which English universities are laboring to overthrow. "It is

thought by many," says Mr. Dana's report, "that such open competition would tend, so far as it went, to diminish the force of the social distinctions, founded mainly on wealth, which the present method recognizes, if it does not tend to deepen." It is my firm opinion that it does thus deepen them, and this is founded on a good deal of observation and enquiry, a few years since, when chairman of the so-called "Sub-Committee on Discipline" appointed by the aforesaid Committee of Overseers. The evil is diminished this year by the fact that the names of those holding scholarships are at last inserted in the college Catalogue; but the fact that they were so long withheld was a tolerably plain admission on the part of the authorities that they did not regard their own scholarships as an honor to be proclaimed, but as an alms to be concealed. If these incomes are really a distinction to be proud of, how is it that the names of their recipients have been carefully withheld for twenty years?

It is my own strong impression, founded upon some years of committee-work among Harvard examination-papers and recitation-rooms, that the evil of the present restricted scholarships goes farther than this, and that they tend to impair the average literary attainments of the richer students and to make high college rank unfashionable. How can it be otherwise when hard study is becoming more and more identified with the pursuit of a scholarship, and when that pursuit is expressly limited to "those who need assistance"? "Why should —— study? He does not need a scholarship" is a remark that may be heard oftener than one could wish among Harvard undergraduates. President Eliot himself seems to think the system in need of defence at this point, because he takes pains to enumerate the college honors which are open alike to rich and poor (Report, p. 19). But when he goes on to show by statistics that high standing as scholars is not won only by those who need pecuniary aid, his facts seem to me to be very insufficiently exhibited. He tells us that "in 1876, of the first thirty-eight Seniors on the rank-list of the Senior year twenty received scholarships; in 1877, of the first forty-two Seniors twenty-seven received scholarships; in 1878, of the first sixty Seniors twenty-five received scholarships, only five applications being refused" (Report, p. 27). It is not quite apparent why these arbitrary numbers—thirty-eight, forty-two, sixty—were selected. Had he told us whether the first ten scholars in each of these classes held scholarships or did not hold them, the information would have been just what we want.

In colleges where the present scholarship system is already strongly entrenched it will be easy to say that the matter is settled in advance by the intent of the founders of scholarships or by the terms of their foundation. But this is another point which needs elucidation and on which President Eliot's report gives absolutely nothing. Turning to the Harvard College Catalogue, I find by the brief abstracts there given that more than half the founders of scholarships (twenty out of thirty-seven) apparently made no restriction whatever in respect to wealth or poverty, so that whatsoever restrictions are introduced have proceeded from the college authorities alone. It is true that more than three-quarters of the scholarships (eighty-seven out of one hundred and twelve) are thus restricted, but this is because those who have founded several scholarships together—as in case of the twenty-three Bowditch scholarships—have usually favored restriction. The question remains, even in regard to these, how far the policy was dictated by the wish of the donors themselves and how far by the suggestion of the college authorities. It is to be noticed that the first scholarships which went into operation, the Abbot, the Kirkland, and that of the Class of 1814, were entirely unrestricted—were scholarships in the English sense and not sizarships. This throws unexpected light also upon President Eliot's statement (Report, p. 19) that for the first six years—from 1852 to 1858—the names of those winning scholarships were printed in the Catalogue among the honor-men—a practice then suspended for twenty years. The obvious explanation is that at that time the scholarships were more commonly on open foundations. The scale was turned apparently when Mr. J. E. Thayer, in 1857, bequeathed fifty thousand dollars to found twelve scholarships restricted to poor students. Soon after this, it seems, the bestowal of scholarships became inevitably a private and confidential matter. Had the college authorities, however, in this and all cases systematically counselled open scholarships, it is possible that the later foundations, like the earlier, would have been unrestricted.

Be this as it may, the fact remains that the system of scholarships in our American colleges is still in its infancy, and that it is not too late to make a deliberate choice, for the future, between scholarships and sizarships. This must be my excuse for criticising the published report of one who justly holds so high a rank in the administration of college affairs as the President of Harvard University. My own strong conviction is that scholarships, like others prizes in and out of college, should be administered as prizes only, and left unrestricted by any reference to wealth or poverty. The loss of the few scholarships that would be taken by young men not actually poor would be far more than repaid by the increased self-respect and dignity of all the other recipients. The advance of caste and luxury is quite rapid enough in our leading colleges, and I hold that, in the words of the Oriental Padma Purana, "Learning should be rescued from every consideration of high or low."

T. W. H.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Notes.

GINN & HEATH'S spring and summer announcements include a new edition of Shakspere's 'Hamlet,' edited with copious notes by Prof. Henry N. Hudson; 'Elementary Lessons in Language,' by Prof. W. D. Whitney and Mrs. N. L. Knox; a 'Brief History of Roman Literature,' for schools and colleges, by Prof. E. P. Crowell and H. B. Richardson, of Amherst College; 'Remnants of Early Latin,' chiefly inscriptions, for college use, by Prof. F. D. Allen, of the University of Cincinnati; and a second volume of Prof. T. D. Seymour's 'Greek Lyric Poets.'——Henry Holt & Co. publish next month the Fine Arts volume of Symonds's 'Renaissance in Italy'; 'English Actors, from Shakespeare to Macready,' by Henry Barton Baker; and 'Wanderings in Patagonia,' by Julius Beerbohm. ——Jansen, McClurg & Co., Chicago, have in press 'Motives of Life,' by Professor David Swing. ——Lee & Shepard have nearly ready 'Elements of Design,' by Dr. Alfred Rimmer, with an introduction by J. Elliot Cabot.——A Life of the late Robert Heller, by his associate, Miss Hadie Heller, is in preparation, and will be published by G. W. Carleton.——Charles P. Somerby announces 'The Reign of the Stoics,' by the Rev. F. M. Holland.——We have received the first number of *Useful Arts*, a monthly "Journal of American Industries," conducted by James A. Whitney, at 212 Broadway. It belongs to the familiar class of patent solicitors' publications. The editorial articles contain much sound and forcible writing.——Of the monthly *American Statistical Review*, begun with the January number, and edited by Charles S. Hill, we can say little except to express our surprise that Messrs. Appleton & Co. should have undertaken the publication. It is a hotch-potch of facts, figures, "reflections," theorizing, comment on current events, etc., etc. The editor's hobby is expressed in this "reflection for statesmen": "The way to pay the National Debt rapidly—Give a *farm* to each unemployed workingman and outfit."——The second number of the *Oriental Church Magazine* continues its self-imposed task of presenting the creed of the Greek Church without argument, of cementing the friendly relations between the American and Russian peoples, and of fostering their commerce with one another. The contributed articles are entertaining, especially Consul-General Botassi's account of some little-known Greek islands, and the summary of Przhevalsky's expedition from Kulja to Lob-Nor. The editor, by the way, makes no attempt at a uniform transliteration of Russian proper or common nouns.——Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co., Cincinnati, have issued a 'Fonetic Furst Redur,' printed in the alphabet and spelling of the Spelling Reform Association. Mr. T. R. Vickroy, of St. Louis, one of the directors of the Association, is the compiler, acting at the suggestion and with the approval of the President, Professor March. The irreverent will find it an occasional reminder of Josh Billings's cacography.——Part II. of the 'American Catalogue' (F. Leypoldt) extends from *Edwards* to *Lennox*. The number of Peter Parley's works still in circulation strikes one who glances over the volume. Grimm's Fairy Tales are divided among eleven publishers. The list of translations of Homer is long and valuable for reference; and so of Horace and Juvenal. Under State headings, like Illinois, Iowa, and Kentucky, are found special statutes, law reports, compendiums, and other important documents.——By public subscription of several of the prominent parishioners of Trinity Church, Mr. Henry Carter has been giving Organ Recitals on Thursday afternoons in that edifice. They are to be unaffectedly commended, both for the selections themselves and for the high character of the performance. Such a form of public education is of so sure a value that the good example should not be passed over without an expression of gratitude. ——The Tanagra figurines have been purchased by Mr. T. G. Appleton for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; but so general has been the desire to see them that they will be on exhibition till this evening at the rooms of Messrs. Feuardent & Co., 30 Lafayette Place.

—The duty of a popular magazine to protect its readers from ignorant teaching and from axe-grinding is imperfectly fulfilled in the March *Harper's*. We do not assert that the article on "Gary's Magnetic Motor" should be classed, as regards its ulterior motive, with a recent paper on patents, by a notorious lobbyist, which escaped the editorial vigilance of *Scribner's*. Still, it is manifestly open to grave suspicion when it sets out with the statement that "by his achievement Mr. Wesley W. Gary has quite upset the theories of magnetic philosophy hitherto prevailing, and lifted magnetism out from among the static forces, where science has placed it, to the position of a dynamic power," and ends by saying, "More promptly than the scientists, capitalists moved; and before science had openly acknowledged the discovery and the principle of the invention, men of money were after Mr. Gary for the right to use the motor for various purposes," etc. *Harper's* public ought to know that science has "acknowledged" nothing of the kind, and that both as regards its achievements and its possibilities the Gary motor stands in scientific estimation on the same level as the Keeley motor, after which "capitalists moved promptly" to their cost. Another article which must be pointed out as delusive is one which in the nature of the case was less easy of detection. We refer to Mr. A. T. Story's "English Home of the Washingtons." It seems as if tracing the pedigree of the Father of his Country were regarded as an act of patriotism, so frequently is it attempted; yet the competence brought to the task, even by original investigators, would seldom suffice to produce one good American genealogy reaching back to the first colonist of the name. Mr. Story assures his audience that the Washington descent has been clearly demonstrated beyond his great-grandfather John Lawrence, the emigrant. In fact, the parents of John and his brother Lawrence, who accompanied him to Virginia, have not yet been discovered, while Mr. Story's identifications have been absolutely disproved. His paper is, therefore, as regards a main object of it, worse than worthless. Still, the positive tone which he assumes at the beginning will not mislead the intelligent reader who meets in one paragraph (p. 528) such evidences of rigid induction as "the supposition is," "it is probable," "possibly," "naturally," "seems to be indicated," "Mr. Simpkinson explains these entries by suggesting," etc. Mr. Simpkinson has much to answer for; he is the exploded authority to whom Mr. Story pins his faith.

—Apart from these articles *Harper's* is as entertaining as ever, and not a little instructive. We shall grudge either epithet to the *text* of Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin's "Present Tendencies of American Art," but the engravings after William Hunt, Inness, Eastman Johnson, Swain Gifford, Winslow Homer, W. M. Chase, and the rest, represent nearly or quite the highwater mark of art, we had almost said in this country—certainly in the annals of this magazine. Admirable, also, are the portraits illustrating Mrs. Lamb's historical account of the United States Coast Survey; and of rare merit are some of the Rembrandt fac-similes. Mr. H. W. Elliott tells a wonderful story of the multitudinous sea-birds among the islands of Behring's Sea; Colonel Waring's "Sketches in Tyrol," a first paper, shows the practised observer with an eye for the unhackneyed; and Dr. T. M. Coan, with his isotherms and variations of temperature and ocean currents and configuration of continents, and his scant praise for popular sanitariums, is perhaps unnecessarily depressing to consumptive invalids.

—Mankind takes almost as much pleasure in unsettling as in settling its problems, and therefore, perhaps, the article on "The 'Old Mill' at Newport" in *Scribner's* should be named first as most interesting. The writer, the late Mr. R. G. Hatfield, has unfortunately passed away since his article left the press, and those who feel sceptical about his conclusions can never know how he would have met their objections. Briefly, he had convinced himself past doubt that the Old Mill was built by the Norse settlers of the island for a baptistery, and that "this antique relic, the most ancient Christian building in the United States, is eight centuries old." This was Rafn's view, and on purely architectural grounds it is not without plausibility; still, we do not know why it is "apparent to the most careless observer" that the fire-place and the beam-holes of the second story are modifications of the original plan. The fire-place has always seemed to us fatal to the idea of a long antiquity, and on this point we could wish Mr. Hatfield had been more explicit. Perhaps the subject will be thought worth discussing in the *American Architect*. It is not difficult to concede that the use of the building as a mill was a conversion from the original intent of it. It is hard to explain the silence of the colonial records in regard to its construction, if that were not pre-Columbian; the town records destroyed by the British perhaps would have thrown no light upon the question. But, on the other hand, would anything have been more calculated to astonish the first English settlers than finding in a wilderness a round stone tower on arches, as venerable-looking already as it is to-day? Why does no mention of this occur in any of the records? Is it not an argument against the mystery of it that Gov. Benedict Arnold's will in 1678 simply refers to it as "my stone-built mill"? Mr. Hatfield's reasoning leaves this point quite untouched. The weighty article of this number is Prof. W. G. Sumner's "Commercial Crisis of 1837," which he shows to have been the product of a great variety of causes, but clearly dependent in a very large degree on the mischievous complication of politics and finance, both State and National, in the days of Jackson and Nicholas Biddle. He further points the contrast between New York's definite and quick resumption, with the temporary pinch of liquidation and temporary loss of trade in favor of Philadelphia, and that city's policy of "drift," with its long trail of disasters and dishonor, including the loss of commercial and financial leadership. At the time of the death of the late James Brown we called attention to his part in determining the wise decision of this city and State in accordance with sound principles of business and currency. The beautiful engraving for which we now look regularly to *Scribner's* is shown at its best in the present issue in the charming portrait of Modjeska as *Juliet*. For its remaining attractions, pictorial and literary, we must direct our readers to the magazine itself.

—In the March *Atlantic* Prof. Shaler has a thoughtful paper on "The Natural History of Politics," in which he illustrates some familiar political reflections in an original way by throwing on them the light of the theory of natural selection. He shows that "the diversity of local conditions is a most important element in the advance of the organization of animals," and cites the fact that not only the European man, but the entire organic life of that Continent, is higher in form and has greater vigor in every way than life elsewhere, so that the European species "extirpate the native species in continents of less advanced life where they may become naturalized." He asks "how far human progress depends upon this capacity of a region to develop local peculiarities connected with intellectual and social development," and in answering it contributes some valuable considerations on American life. He acknowledges the two great modifications of the power of natural selection over civilized man in that civilization tends to average local peculiarities and so diminish their value in furnishing variations, and also in the fact that many individuals and types which would have been lost in the ruder earlier struggle now survive. Our problem is in what way and to what extent the loss in the weakened action of natural selection can be compensated by new agencies, and the latter portion of the article gives his conclusions, which are well worth attention. The other articles on political subjects are a condemnation of our land policy by Mr. Julian, and a tentative discussion of the Presidential campaign in the Senate. Mr. Richard Grant White makes a rejoinder to the critics of his articles on "Americanisms," and Mr. Story concludes his description of a "Roman Holiday Twenty Years Ago" in a less interesting way than he began it. Mark Twain's satirical account of "The Great Revolution in Pitcairn" is not up to his best work, and the other pure literature of the number is of ordinary interest, except Mr. Howells's "Lady of the Aroostook," which comes to a pleasant end (to our great satisfaction, for we were afraid of tragedy), and the poems by Longfellow and Whittier, of which that of the former is very striking.

—From a circular bearing date of Cambridge, February 22, and signed by several ladies whose names are closely identified with Harvard College, we learn that a number of professors and other instructors in that institution have consented to give private tuition to properly-qualified young women who desire to pursue advanced studies in Cambridge. Other professors, too much engrossed for teaching, will assist by advice and by lectures, and "no instruction will be provided of a lower grade than that given" in the college. Certificates of the satisfactory pursuit of any courses under this scheme will be furnished by the instructors upon examination, but it is hoped that the greater number of pupils "will pursue a four years' course of study, in which case the certificates for the different branches of study will be merged in one, which will be signed by all the instructors, and will certify to the whole course." This general certificate should then represent an amount of study equal to that necessary to obtain a diploma from the college now; and we suppose it follows that admission to the privileges of the course will be allowed only after as rigid examinations as those which annually determine the freshman class of young men. In this case the plan is another form of Girton

College, or shall we say a germ out of which such a college may grow by endowments providing it with a local habitation, and reducing the expenses of tuition. As to the present expense, we are told that "it will probably not exceed four hundred dollars a year, and may be as low as two hundred and fifty." The ladies' committee "will see that the students secure suitable lodgings, and will assist them with advice and other friendly offices." Information on all points may be obtained of Mrs. Louis Agassiz and her associates, or of their secretary, Mr. Arthur Gilman, 5 Phillips Place, Cambridge, Mass.

—The sport of long-distance and consecutive-period walking has within the past few months become a popular athletic entertainment. Weston is now engaged in attempting to perform the nearly impossible feat of walking 2,000 miles in 1,000 hours over English country roads, while a female pedestrian has in this country lately accomplished 2,700 miles in 2,700 consecutive quarter hours over a sawdust course, and several other women are now trying to beat her by doing 3,000 miles in 3,000 quarter hours. The *Saturday Review* calls attention to the fact that these tests of endurance have been imported into England from this country, and charitably suggests that inasmuch as they began to become popular in the United States at about the time of the enfranchisement of the negro one fact may explain the other ; the negro being no longer available for the gratification of our inhumanity and cruelty, we have developed the new form of pedestrianism to supply us with a sort of public "nigger," whose bodily sufferings and anguish we may get the same pleasure from that we used to get from the writhings of the African under the lash. Unfortunately for this ingenious suggestion, the new sport was invented, or at any rate has been chiefly developed, in the free and enlightened North. We fear that nothing short of an inborn love of cruel amusements will explain the phenomenon. There is in the spectacle itself absolutely nothing of the slightest interest. In almost all other sports there is some rivalry, some struggle, or an exhibition of the human form brought to a high pitch of muscular perfection ; in this there is nothing but a woman, dressed in short skirts, her legs encased in some kind of worsted hose, walking monotonously round a sawdust ellipse, about which sit a number of stolid spectators, who every now and then break out, apparently without rhyme or reason, into frantic applause. After walking round a certain number of times she goes off into a room, where she falls asleep. After a certain number of days of this her feet begin to swell and become painful ; later on she begins, it is said, to see visions, and walks round in a sort of dream, like those which people dying of hunger and thirst have ; at any rate, she can barely stand upright, and has to be forced up to her work. When she finally leaves the track she is in a condition which makes continuous medical attendance a necessity to save her life. We confess we cannot see why such brutal exhibitions as this should be allowed in a civilized community. It is nothing more nor less than a public trial by slow torture, which does not advance athletic sports in the least ; for the actual walking done in these sawdust rings is not, as walking, good for anything. 3,000 quarter miles in 3,000 quarter hours is at the rate of 24 miles in 24 hours, which, with regular intervals of sleep, anybody can do. It is in fact, in a new form, a revival of the mediæval torture of preventing a person from getting his sleep for a long time. It is immeasurably below prize-fighting, bull-fighting, and a number of other cruel sports which the police nowadays break up. The curious part of it is that the test lasts so long a time that the gate-money taken in reaches a large sum, and a woman may, if she can accomplish the feat, earn a small fortune. The subject is one which those who are interested in woman's rights and in the prevention of cruelty might look into with advantage.

—"H. M. S. *Pinafore*," the joint operatic production of Messrs. Gilbert and Sullivan, has achieved at the Standard Theatre a very unusual success, and promises to draw crowds for weeks to come. It is, strictly speaking, an English *opéra bouffe*, so far as the libretto is concerned, but the music is of a different order. *Sir Joseph Porter, K.C.B.*, who works his way up, by strict attention to his menial duties as "office-boy to an attorneys' firm," to the proud position of First Lord of the Admiralty ; *Captain Corcoran*, whose aim it is to be a "really popular commander"; the First Lord's antiphonal chorus of sisters, cousins, and aunts ; the cynical *Dick Deadeye*, *Little Buttercup*, in fact all the characters are *bouffe ;* the world in which they act their parts is inverted, as Offenbach would invert it, though without Offenbachian license. On the other hand the music is, in great part, marked rather by its resemblance to than its departure from ordinary standards. Most of the airs are very pretty, and distinguished by a vein of tender sentiment or dramatic passion which, from first to last, suggests legitimate Italian opera rather than the school to which "Barbe Bleue" or "La Grande Duchesse" belongs. One device resorted to so much by the French composers of *bouffe* music for the purpose of giving lightness to their productions, the use of strongly-marked waltz-time, is not, we believe, to be found in Mr. Sullivan's score at all—certainly seldom if ever. But on the whole it would be difficult to say which is the best, the score or the libretto. With regard to the representation at the Standard, the acting and singing, though not by any means what they ought to be, have proved quite good enough to bring out the strong points of the opera. Mr. Whiffin in *Sir Joseph* has, by common consent, carried off the palm, though his action, for a burlesque part, is altogether too quiet for our taste. If there are any artistic laws as to burlesque, one of them probably is that it goes by opposites, and hence it follows that the acting of a part like that of *Sir Joseph* should be marked by the opposite of that seriousness and decorum which may be supposed to be the leading traits in the character burlesqued—in other words, by a grotesque levity. Levity is, indeed, the natural atmosphere of a *bouffe* world, and it is in the rapid lapses from lofty mock dignity and seriousness to utter levity that half the amusement of good *bouffe* acting lies. Mr. Whiffin is an excellent actor, but if his *Sir Joseph* is open to any criticism, it seems to us that he makes him too nearly the serious hypocrite of a comedy instead of the burlesque naval character invented by the authors.

—Mr. Gilbert, it should not be forgotten, is no English Offenbach, but the writer of several serious plays, which have had first and last a fair share of success. Indeed, he is not only a dramatist, but a poet as well, and his dramas have been collected into a book which was sufficiently good to have provoked a discussion, between lovers of plays which can be read and cannot be acted, and devotees of dramas which can be acted even though their warmest supporters would shrink from the task of reading them, as to whether they could be considered permanent additions to literature or not, whether they do or do not belong to literature. "Pygmalion and Galatea" and the "Wicked World" were very pretty plays of a novel sort. In them the interest turned not so much upon the plot as upon the attempt to present to the audience in a dramatic form the eternal contrast between poetry, or the ideal, and life as it is. In the "Wicked World" we have the pure happiness of fairyland contrasted with the evil passions and ambitions of our world ; in "Pygmalion and Galatea" we have the world again seen through the eyes of a woman brought to life for the purpose. In these plays the intention of the author was serious, though in the execution the line between comedy and burlesque was nearly approached, and in the acting, as a rule (owing to the fact that the New York stage affords few actors with sufficient delicacy of perception to play Mr. Gilbert's parts), it was frequently passed over, or obliterated altogether. In "Engaged," now acting with great success at the Park, he has written a burlesque which nobody but the author of "Pygmalion and Galatea" and the "Wicked World" could write, for it is a burlesque of precisely that poetical, romantic, and ideal notion of life which those plays were intended to bring out in a half-humorous, half-idyllic contrast with pure selfishness. "Engaged" is put down on the bills as a "burlesque comedy," and some notion of the general drift of the sentiment of the play may be gathered from the fact that it opens with a scene illustrative of the simple virtues of peasant life, in which we learn that *Angus MacAllister*, a lowland Scotch lad of a highly emotional and sentimental nature, is supporting *Mrs. MacFarlane*, the widowed mother of his intended bride, by throwing passenger trains off the neighboring railway in order that the widow may derive a livelihood from the custom brought to her house by delayed passengers. The main plot of the play turns on a Scotch marriage and the complications to which this gives rise. The amusement of it is produced in great measure by the burlesque struggle in the breasts of the *dramatis personæ* between greed for money and romantic love, or, to put it more accurately, upon the deliberate sacrifice of love and every other pleasing and poetical sentiment, by all the characters under all conceivable circumstances, to the recognized necessity of having all the money they can get as the *sine quâ non* of existence. The play-bills are headed by the following "note" :

"The author's intention in writing this play was to try the effect of treating a broadly farcical subject in a grave and earnest spirit, and without extravagance in tone, gesture, or costume. It has always been found that where the parts were played in accordance with this theory the comedy has been eminently successful."

It would be rather difficult to imagine the play acted successfully in

any other way; at the "Park" the acting is good throughout. Mrs. Agnes Booth's *Belinda Treherne* is a remarkably perfect performance. Mrs. Booth was educated in the old-fashioned tragic school, which, by the very slight exaggeration she knows so well how to give, becomes at once transformed into burlesque.

—The success of the "Pinafore" has stimulated the ambition of managers in all directions, and we are now fairly embarked on a season of Gilbert and Sullivan. Besides a short-lived "Pinafore" at the Lyceum, and another of hardly greater vitality at the Fifth Avenue, not to speak of an African version by the San Francisco Minstrels, or "A Kiss in the Dark" and "Trial by Jury" by the same authors, within the past few days the "Sorcerer" has been brought out at the Broadway Theatre, with Miss Matilda Scott as *Aline* and Mr. W. H. Lingard as *John Wellington Wells*, of the firm of J. Wells & Co., Family Sorcerers. This opera is not so amusing as the "Pinafore" (though the dialogue is comical to the last degree), nor is the music so taking, but there is no reason why it should not, if properly brought out, have a good run; but there is small hope for it at the Broadway, where the difficulty is that few of the company can act and almost none can sing. Miss Scott, who has a good enough voice and is a thoroughly trained singer, makes no attempt at acting. Mr. Lingard, who is a good actor of very low comedy, must curse the day on which he undertook melody. The plot of the "Sorcerer" is not, in the first act, sufficiently clear to fix the attention; in the second, it becomes distinct enough, and the situation, after the incantation scene and the administration of the family sorcerers' love-philter to the villagers and the consequent amatory confusion, is very amusing.

WEISSE'S ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.*

DR WEISSE'S book is on one side a sort of "epitomic encyclopædia," as he calls it, of everything interesting which the doctor knows, and he seems to know something about almost everything. He does not confine himself to England and America, but expatiates freely through France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and whatever regions know the Greek, Latin, and Arabic languages. Thoughts, ideas, languages, and literatures act and react on each other, he says. Students of science, art, theology, law, medicine, or mechanics; teachers, pulpit orators, scientists, legislators, journalists, historians, poets, dramatists, and novelists, may here find something about the growth of their respective vocabularies. Reformers and their vicissitudes and their persecutors are "vividly portrayed." Social, religious, scientific, and artistic questions, literary criticism, metaphysical, spiritual, state, and national topics are "felicitously touched." The reader is led through a vista of fourteen centuries of linguistic, literary, and biographic progress, only to regret that there are not three thousand years of it. Or if an investigator wishes to examine particular lines of progress an excellent index is furnished, and under general headings, such as *medical*, *legal*, *astronomic*, references may be found to the pages where mention is made of facts connected with the subject. All these matters are handled in an off-hand style, and are intended to render the book attractive to the general public.

It is not in view of anything of this sort that Professor Whitney and Charles Sumner and General Grant and Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and scores of English and American scholars, statesmen, and divines have written letters of encouragement to the author, and that, rising to the height of his great argument, he dedicates his work "to the English-speaking populations in Europe, America, Asia, Africa, and Oceanica." Underneath this light and attractive exterior lies the solid substance of a scientific examination of the origin and progress of the English language. Its backbone consists of a series of tables giving the results of an analysis of one hundred and fifty linguistic specimens, beginning with the earliest Anglo Saxon and coming down to the present day. The author selects a suitable passage and reads until he obtains one hundred different words. He then counts the whole number of words read. He notes the number of repetitions and of particles, and classifies the words according to their derivation. In Milton, for example, he selects 'Paradise Lost,' Book I., beginning with line 115. It takes 135 words, making 19 lines, to give 100 different words. Twenty-six per cent. of the 135 are repetitions, and there are 59 particles Of the 100 words there are 9 Latin, 27 French, 57 Anglo-Saxon, 4 German, 2 Welsh, and 1 Hebrew. These words are arranged in columns, with all the facts and figures tabulated; and this is the scientific examination of the language of Milton. The index reports that ninety such tables are given. These tables are combined by periods, and a synopsis is given of the Anglo-Saxon period (A.D. 449–1200) the "Franco-English" period (A.D. 1200–1600), and the English period (A.D. 1600–1878).

On the basis of these tables Dr. Weisse proceeds to a discussion of the language in proper scientific form. It is a familiar fact that Anglo-Saxon was a Teutonic tongue with few Romanic words, that after the Norman invasion there was a large mixture of Norman-French, and that we have been adding little Teutonic and much Latin, Greek, and Romanic ever since. Dr. Weisse now states it scientifically: Anglo-Saxon contains of Teutonic, 91 per cent.; Franco-English contains of Teutonic, 50 per cent.; English contains of Teutonic, 30 per cent. Readers of Milton and Shakspere know that Milton used the more Greek and Latin. Dr. Weisse has the figures: Milton 36, Shakspere 33. The materials of the tables are combined in various ways. Separate tables are made according to subjects, from which it would appear that the poets average 66 per cent. of Teutonic and the novelists 61, while didactic or scientific writers use only 49, newspapers 47, and historians 46. Of all poets Bryant and Halleck have most (77), Wordsworth least (49). Ben Jonson has least of the dramatists (39). Of all writings the Bible has most Anglo-Saxon (78), and the New York *Observer* the least (33). The *Nation* stands in the golden mean (53). Of repetitions the Bible with its 46,219 *ands* has the largest percentage (81), Milton the smallest (26). Of particles Moody and Sankey have the largest percentage (62), the Bible has the next (61), Bishop Berkeley the smallest (39). The nouns are collected in a table, so also the verbs, the adjectives, and the adverbs. There are 1,097 nouns, 520 verbs, 445 adjectives, 107 adverbs, and 113 particles in the 50 tables of the English period. 2,282 different words are all that are obtained by reading 9,554 words. These and the like observations, enlivened by explanations and predictions, constitute the body of scientific discussion.

It appears, then, that the book is a collection of curiosities in the proportions of our vocabulary rather than anything like what scholars mean by a scientific history of our language. Such a history is based on a biography of each word, telling when, whence, in what spelling, with what meaning it is first born into the speech, and giving a narrative of its life as it figures in succeeding authors. On this basis an induction of the diction of each notable author, and of each generation and era, may be made, and the whole brought under general laws of progress. The first stage of such a history is to be found in dictionaries like those of Grimm, Weigand, and Littré. Completed histories are yet to be noted as deficient, scientific philology is very young; but German students will remember the histories of the German speech by Grimm and Schleicher and Scherer, and English scholars have welcomed an essay in that direction by Oliphant, lately published by Macmillan. But it is not the thing to abuse good work for not being some other kind of work. A thorough tabular investigation of the kind which Dr. Weisse presents might be of importance, even if it cannot rightly be called a history of the language and literature. It must be confessed, however, that Dr. Weisse's investigation is in the touch-and-go style. To judge of an author from an examnation of one hundred words is mere guessing. Serious discussion of the style of Chaucer or Milton on that basis is out of the question. Passages of that length may be found as different in their proportions in the same author as the averages of the most different authors. When attention is directed to the New York *Observer* as having least Anglo-Saxon, and the Bible as having most, one cannot help suspecting a joke. Surely it is possible to find one hundred words having a fair proportion of Bible English in any, or almost any, issue of that venerable sheet. In Marsh's 'Lectures on the English Language,' the proportions of Anglo-Saxon and other words are given for about thirty authors. To obtain the proportions for Webster, his great speech in reply to Hayne is examined entire—as many words, we should guess, as Dr. Weisse examines in his whole bookful of authors together. For Shakspere three whole acts are examined; for Milton, a book of 'Paradise Lost,' 'L'Allegro,' and 'Il Penseroso'; for the New Testament, thirteen chapters from different books. Mr. Marsh gives the number of Anglo-Saxon words in each hundred as they stand, counting the repetitions. This method Dr. Weisse belittles; he counts no repetitions. But there are two interesting facts of proportion in an author, one the proportion of words as they stand, as given by Mr. Marsh, the other the proportion of different words in their vocabulary, which Dr. Weisse affects to obtain. But Dr. Weisse's method of excluded repetitions has this defect, that it gives different results in the same matter according to the length of the passage examined. As the repetitions are more frequent in Anglo-Saxon words, the longer the pas-

* 'Origin, Progress, and Destiny of the English Language and Literature. By John A. Weisse, M.D.' New York: J. W. Bouton. 1879.

sage the less will be the percentage of Anglo-Saxon. A passage in which every successive ten words have ninety-nine per cent. of Anglo-Saxon, may have in each one hundred words eighty per cent., and in each one thousand words fifty per cent.; so that the real percentage of an author cannot be given till the whole of his works have been examined, or till his vocabulary has been exhausted. Mr. Marsh accordingly undertakes to give this kind of proportion only for those authors of whom we have complete concordances, or vocabularies; and he gives it for these, of course, by examining the vocabulary. And for the whole language, which Dr. Weisse would reach by summing his scraps of tables, Mr. Marsh goes to the dictionary, as, in fact, does Dr. Weisse also.

Dr. Weisse has given the hours he could spare from another profession to this work for thirty years, but after all he is not a specialist in linguistics, and he cannot be trusted in the more difficult niceties of English etymology. He takes for his first passage some of the laws of Ethelbert as a solitary specimen of the language of the sixth century. But these laws in the form in which we have them are from a MS. of the twelfth century, and cannot be trusted as linguistic specimens of an earlier period. A somewhat similar remark may be made of the next extract, from Caedmon, of the real history and linguistic relations of which he shows no knowledge. His table of it contains five words classed as Latin, but four of the five, *modum*, *maegna*, *rice*, and *ord*, are aboriginal Teutonic.

In the later passages the general division between Teutonic and Romanic is usually fairly accurate, though doubtful words are set pretty regularly in the Romanic columns. Anglo-Saxon *lord*, *chosen*, *islands*, *care*, *time*, *law*, *call*, *seem*, with the doubtful *sky*, *haste*, and *cloud*, are all put on the Romanic side, and hardly balanced by *pluck* and *devil* in the Anglo-Saxon of the same tables, which might have been restored to their Greek and Latin originals. But Dr. Weisse seems to have taken great pains in assigning the words to special languages. Thus, he finds among his one hundred words from Shakspere, German, Danish, Celtic-Scotch, Welsh, Armoric, and Cornish, as well as Greek, Latin, and French. This is the least valuable part of the work, and betrays want of familiarity with the transition forms of early English. The pronominal adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions, for example, the regular descendants of the Anglo-Saxon family, are distributed among the Gothic, German, Scandinavian, and Celtic languages. Thus, in the Shakspere table, *as* and *so* are classed as German, *such* as Scotch, and in the next three tables *their* is classed as Icelandic, *than* as Gothic. So on the Romanic side the division to Latin, French, Portuguese, Spanish is freely handled, with an inclination to throw French into Celtic and Latin. Thus, the so-called Armoric words in Shakspere are *dicer*, *herald*, from the French; a little further on *attempt* is also called Armoric. The French column is also robbed of *very*, old English *verai; claim*, old French *claimer; cattle*, old French *catel*.

But if what we have called the backbone of Dr. Weisse's book is a little weak, the doctor has the scientific spirit strong. He wishes to improve the estate of man. He presents impressive tableaux of the expanse of the English-speaking races. He shows their probable destiny. The English language rules, he says, 318,298,857 souls, about one-fourth the population of the earth, and 13,318,370 square miles, about one-fourth of the land of the earth. It is destined at no distant period to become the universal language. Whatever will make it easier even in the slightest degree to acquire or to use is an incalculable gain to the human race. One obvious way of making it easier both to acquire and use is to simplify the spelling. "No doubt the harmonizing of letter and sound is the important literary and scientific question for the English-speaking populations." Dr. Weisse proposes in his preface to show the inconsistency of so-called English orthography, to suggest a method to write and print English as it is pronounced, and to stimulate the English-speaking millions to simplify the writing and printing of their language so as to make it a desideratum for universal adoption. Some pages are devoted to showing up the badness of our present spelling, and urging its simplification, but a positive exposition of Dr. Weisse's harmonic method seems to be wanting; we only gather that it consists of added accents, umlaut and diagrams. It will "phonetize English with very little change or expense; involve no confusion either in writing, reading, education, literature, or science, and will not interfere with books now in our libraries." These are brave words. This is a method which is a method —a medicine indeed. We only hope that Dr. Weisse may have made it, in Lord Bacon's phrase, good to take as well as good to work, so that children may cry for it.

LESSING'S DRAMAS.*

FEW Englishmen had ever heard of Lessing, in all probability, previously to the representation on the boards of the Haymarket Theatre, in 1786, of "The Disbanded Officer; or, Baroness of Bruchsal," an adaptation of his "Minna von Barnhelm," by Mr. James Johnstone. Still more important, as contributory to acquaintance with his genius, was William Taylor's very creditable reproduction of "Nathan the Wise," first published in 1791. The prose rendering of his 'Fables, Epigrams,' etc., by Mr. Richardson, has won but very little attention; and no less obscure is the translation of "Minna von Barnhelm," by Mr. Robert Harvey. For the third time, this favorite comedy accompanied, however, by its author's "Freethinker" and "Treasure," companion-plays, appeared in our language in 1838. We now have, moreover, no fewer than four vernacular versions of his 'Laokoon,' and also, in an English dress, his famous essay, entitled 'The Education of the Human Race,' and great part of his spirited 'Letters to Pastor Goeze.' As to Lessing himself, the excellent biographies by Mr. Sime and Miss Helen Zimmern at last preclude all ground for complaint, on the part of the general reader, that circumstantial information regarding one of the foremost German thinkers and writers of the eighteenth century is not readily available.

The dramas of Lessing, the unfinished ones apart, comprehend, besides the nondescript "Nathan the Wise," three tragedies—"Miss Sara Sampson," "Philotas," and "Emilia Galotti," and eight comedies—"Damon," "The Young Scholar," "The Old Maid," "The Woman-hater," "The Jews," "The Freethinker," "The Treasure," and "Minna von Barnhelm." Of all these we are offered translations by various hands in the volumes under notice.

Few if any of these compositions, that which is first named excepted, are such as to entitle Lessing to a higher than secondary rank among dramatists. "Miss Sara Sampson" could never have gained the popularity it once enjoyed in Germany, Italy, and France had due heed been shown, in appraising it, of the ordinary probabilities of human nature; or, in other words, perhaps, if England, where the scene of action is located, had not been considered as a region productive of exceedingly peculiar people. In "Emilia Galotti," as has often been observed, everything is well-nigh spoilt by the fifth act, not to object that *Marinelli* is much too great a villain for any realm this side of pandemonium. "Philotas," however formerly viewed, must now necessarily strike one as hardly above the level of morbid rant, and withal puerile. "Minna von Barnhelm," from its localism of tone and interest, belongs far too much to Germany, and to Germany of the past, for cosmopolitan acceptance. Of "Damon" and the rest it seems enough to say that any curiosity short of insatiable will probably be allayed by skimming one or two of them, unless they be read for their incomparably genuine German. It is remarkable that Lessing, provided he had an eye in his plays to posterity, should from want of prevision have depicted there so much which he must have known was soon to become obsolete. Nor have hyperbolically extravagant delineations, such as, for example, *Damis* in "The Young Scholar," their admirers any longer.

There exist in print at least three rivals of the present capital translation of "Nathan the Wise," which we owe to the practised skill of Mr. R. Dillon Boylan. The lofty tone of philanthropy and liberality which pervades this work raises it immeasurably above Lessing's other dramatic efforts—efforts which, with this single reservation, add little to his fame.

That Father Bouhours, for the asserted fatuousness of querying the possibility of *esprit* in a German, should have incurred the burly and obtuse ridicule of Mr. Thomas Carlyle, echoed by many who share his idiosyncrasy, will move the surprise of no one who appreciates alike the nature of *esprit* and the distinctive traits of typical Caledonianism. To Germans, as to Scotchmen, for the most part, while there are peculiar charms in the tiresome, the circuitous, and the grotesque, the production of the *spirituel*, and equally the faculty of cognizing it when produced, has, doubtless for the best of reasons, been denied by a wise Providence. Heine, in modern days, and Lessing, in days that are past, make up assuredly a category of their own; and yet we conceive that, touching the latter, it was wholly because *esprit* was not more spontaneous to him that in the character of a writer of comedy he provokes somnolence so much more readily than smiles. We are disposed to speculate, however, that, as concerns tragedy, his success might have been much greater than it was if he had devoted more pains to it, especially in the maturity of his powers.

* 'The Dramatic Works of G. E. Lessing. Translated from the German. Edited by Ernest Bell, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. With a short Memoir by Helen Zimmern.' 2 vols. London: George Bell & Sons. 1878.

Socialism, at the present moment, immediately suggests Germany; and no student of German literature, or personal observer of German domestic life, can wonder at attempts towards their practical association. To confine ourselves to books, the state of things necessarily tending to such a result is strikingly exhibited therein, as at the hands of scores of Lessing's literary successors, so by Lessing himself, not to go back to a date more remote. We refer to the altogether too free-and-easy terms represented, and closely enough after the life, as subsisting between German servants and their masters and mistresses. Wherever such a condition of affairs is suffered to establish itself we may lay our account with finding, in spite of the presence of monarchy and of nobiliary distinctions, that an impatience of social inferiority, with aspirations after social isocracy and socialism in all its protean aspects, will in time assert itself. But the subject is one which we cannot pursue here.

Mr. Ernest Bell and his coadjutors have executed their task in a conspicuously praiseworthy manner. By way of amending their translations we could do little more than propose, here and there, something a trifle more nearly equivalent to the original. Over and above occasional very faulty and perplexing punctuation, printer's mistakes which have escaped the editor are such as, in the Tragedies: "Love always plays [supply *them*] the worst of tricks," p. 145; "my own [read *only*] son," p. 151; and, in the Comedies: "the right [read *sight*] of a friend," p. 5; "a wedded friend [read *fiend*]," p. 83; "how easy [read *easily*] people might have fancied," etc., p. 170. Slight casual omissions we have observed at pp. 82 and 94 of the first volume, and at p. 35 of the second. Instances of bad and questionable English are, unfortunately, common. Noticeable are: "Tell me, *who* did you get to write it?"; "It was her daughter, not *me*, whom she spared"; "*very* vexed"; "some new *rubbishing* volume"; "*However* do you come on this nonsense?"; "*Wherever* did I put it?"; "*Whatever* has come into your head?"; "*Whoever* would have let himself dream of it?"; "Does a marriage come about in any house whatever, without the *likes* of us?"; "you and the *likes* of you"; "directly" for *as soon as;* and "trouble" for *trouble yourself.*

The Magazine of Art. Illustrated. (London, Paris, and New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin. 4to, pp. 252, xxxvi.)—This volume is the first collected and bound-up series of numbers of the above-named newly-founded monthly. It is printed without separate headings to the different numbers, so that the volume seems at first to be one complete publication; a unit and not a collection of units. But further examination proves that it consists of nine monthly parts, beginning with May, 1878, and ending with January, 1879. There are nine papers on the Paris Exhibition, quite fully illustrated with wood-cuts of several of the buildings and of pictures and statues and works of decorative art which were contained in it. A series of letters on "Living Artists," with portraits, has interest as an addition to our biographical dictionaries. Elsewhere, under various headings, are good bits of information, as where, under "Etching in England," something positive is told the reader about Mr. Haden and Mr. Whistler. In general the book may be described as a very judicious attempt to popularize sound ideas and trustworthy information about the fine arts. The field is so vast that every such periodical, trying to keep up with the interests of the day and to treat also of some subjects of permanent interest, is sure to seem fragmentary and even superficial when collected in its annual or semi-annual volume. That cannot be avoided. Artistic periodicals, when bound up and stood on our shelves, become books of reference; firstly, for the past record of the times they represent, and, secondly, for those statements of general fact and principle which they contain, and which may not be at hand in another shape. But for these purposes they need full indices. The splendid set of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* has no indices at all in the separate volumes; its first series has a fairly complete and fairly accurate index in two volumes (or rather two separate indices, each for a certain part of the series), but the new set has reached its eighteenth bound volume now with never an index, and none as yet advertised. This is all wrong; for, again, it is only as a book of reference that a bound set of a periodical can claim much value and importance; people will not make it their common evening reading. The volume before us of the *Magazine of Art* has a classified contents and list of plates, but no index properly so called.

The Speaking Telephone, Electric Light, and Other Recent Inventions. By George B. Prescott. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.)—This book will be discovered upon examination to be a republication of 'The Speaking Telephone, Talking Phonograph, and Other Novelties,' by the same author, published in 1878. The new volume contains two hundred pages of added matter, and omits two or three pages of Mr. Dickerson's brilliant argument in the Quadruplex case, which formed a part of the introduction in the original work. The acknowledgment of indebtedness to Mr. Dickerson contained in the original preface is also omitted, and the author's characteristic avoidance of quotation-marks is again noticeable. In the first paragraph of the addenda Mr. Prescott says: "As the introduction of new matter in its proper place in the old chapters would necessarily lead to some inconvenience, we have concluded to embrace what we now have to say in a new chapter, although in doing so the general arrangement will by this means be somewhat broken up"; which seems to mean that the author was not willing to undergo the "inconvenience" of rewriting the book and introducing the new matter in its proper place.

The new edition is well printed on fine paper and profusely illustrated. It needs no reading between the lines to see that one object of it is to convey the author's solution of "the question as to whom we are indebted for the telephone," to cite the language of the preface. This is (page 217), that "whether or not Professor Bell invented the telephone independently of Mr. Gray" the author has "no means of judging," "but that Bell was not the first inventor" the author thinks "the facts conclusively show." As the owners of the Bell patents have commenced litigation for the enforcement of their alleged rights, it may be as well to postpone an acceptance of the author's conclusion until the facts have been determined by the courts.

The Return of the Native. By Thomas Hardy. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1878.)—Mr. Hardy's latest novel is another of his peculiar studies—for they are nothing else—in rustic English life, whose phases he understands so well. It is said that he was reared upon a heath, and he should therefore have been at home in selecting such a place as Egdon, in Wessex, for his scene of action. After he has written a few stories even the most original author will begin to reproduce. In the 'Return of the Native' some of the author's favorites reappear, with changes appropriate to their environments. To be a heroine in Hardy's works is to be, in some measure, faithless, and Eustacia Vye, of the present volume, is no exception; while the results of perfidy prove more disastrous than heretofore. Eustacia is a woman of extreme beauty, of a certain sinister sort, possessed with a devouring yet petty ambition to "better her condition." She has set her mind upon town life as her proper sphere, and adopts all measures to secure a husband in order to escape the hated solitude of Egdon heath. Casting off one lover as heartless as herself, she manages to win the hand and, worse for him, the heart of the "native," a young jeweller just returned from Paris. By deception of the most exasperating kind she gradually estranges her husband from his mother. Though Hardy's novels are not the place to look for it, there is much genuine pathos in this mother's grief and ultimate death of a broken heart. The intimacy between Eustacia and her former lover, reinstated in her favor now that both are married, is discovered, and a separation of husband and wife ensues. She determines to run off with Wildeve, her paramour, but on the very night appointed, choosing the lesser evil, drowns herself. After her death and that of her lover the story is provokingly prolonged to enable the author to reward the deserving. If he had intended to point a moral he would wisely have stopped his story at the climax. As it is, the happy termination by no means compensates the sense of regret for the loss of so much physical beauty, evil as it was, in Eustacia's drowning. This woman, one of those who may be presumed to be guilty till they are proved innocent, reminds one forcibly of Flaubert's Madame Bovary. What Mr. Saintsbury says of the latter will apply here: "A woman who happens to unite strong aspirations after luxury in both senses of the word with a superficial sensibility and utter heartlessness, and an incurable vulgarity of mind."

Mr. Hardy has before this been criticised for putting archaic and obsolete language into the mouths of his humbler characters, but that is a matter between him and philologists. We should like to ask him, however, if it is possible that at the present day manikins of wax are still used for uncanny purposes, even in the remotest parts of England. One very effective scene is made out of such an incident, which is curious, if true, as there is ground to suspect it is not. A map precedes the title-page which neither elucidates the plot nor embellishes the volume.

Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung. Ein Beitrag zur monumentalen Geographie, Geschichte und Chronologie der Assyrer. Von

Eberhard Schrader. Mit einer Karte. Pp. viii. 556. (Giessen : 1878 ; New York : B. Westermann & Co.)—In France Halévy and in Germany Gutschmid are the representatives of the persistent scepticism about the trustworthiness of the results reached by the translators of the cuneiform inscriptions. In the early decipherment the chief labor was unfortunately declined by distinguished Oriental scholars, and was taken up by younger men who lacked the reputation which would command respect. The inevitable blunders and contradictions, and too often the rash and baseless conclusions, of Fox-Talbot, Oppert, and Ménant, not to speak of Hincks, Norris, and Rawlinson, seemed to excuse long distrust, and these pioneers and their pupils heard so long the question, Have any of the Hebraists and Semitists believed in it ? that they have become sensitive even to reasonable criticism. Halévy's challenge of the existence even of the "Accad" language was not reasonable, but Professor Gutschmid's 'Neue Beiträge' was properly conceived and skilfully executed. It marked a retreat on the part of the assailants of Assyriology, inasmuch as it admitted the general conclusions of the Assyrian scholars, but charged them, and especially the German scholar, Schrader, with numerous errors, and misreadings, and critical misjudgments. That many errors had been made might have been safely granted ; but Dr. Schrader in his new work has taken pains to reply in five hundred and fifty pages to Gutschmid's one hundred and fifty, and has presented us with a volume of personal defence and attack which is nearly as miscellaneous as a cyclopædia in its character. Having the advantage over Gutschmid of great familiarity with the cuneiform texts, he has been able to defend himself generally with success against the misapprehensions of his critic, but he has not done this in a spirit which is commendable. His interrogations, and exclamations, and "spaced" words, and *literæ majusculæ*, and affected contempt for the statements of his adversary become wearisome enough. The great merit of the work, however, is in its geographical investigations. It is the best source of information as to the position of the lands of the Muski (Meshech), Tabal (Tubal), Nairi, Patin, the Chatti (Hittites), and Kummukh (Commagene), as discoverable by collation of the historical inscriptions. Another especially valuable portion is the discussion of the question, Who was Pul, King of Assyria ? It is satisfactory to find that Schrader does not admit any such violent break in the eponym chronology of Assyria as Oppert assumes, but accepts the plain statements of Jewish and Assyrian writers, and decides that King Pul, if such a king existed at all, must have been identical with Tiglath-Pileser. Although it presents its own chronological difficulties, this theory, which supposes the Biblical Pul of Assyria, the Chaldean Phulus of Alexander Polyhistor, the Babylonian Porus of the Ptolemaic Canon, to be the original and popular name of the officer who, on taking violent possession of the throne, assumed the official name of Tuklat-habal-asar (Tiglath-Pileser), certainly is much more probable than that of George Smith, which requires us to duplicate the names of half a dozen kings of Israel and Damascus, or that of Oppert, which violently interjects half a century into the canon.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 6, 1879.

The Week.

THE President has vetoed the Chinese Bill on grounds to which the "Hoodlums" of California can take no exception. He gives a brief summary of our negotiations with China since 1859, and cites *in extenso* the fifth and sixth articles of the Burlingame Treaty, making mutual provision for emigration, residence, and travel; acknowledges that the experience of the Californians as to the working of the Treaty may indicate the need of some revision of it, and that anyhow "the very grave discontent of the people of the Pacific States with the present working of Chinese immigration, and their still graver apprehensions therefrom in the future, deserve the most serious attention of the people of the whole country, and a solicitous interest on the part of Congress and the Executive." He points out, however, very tersely, that while it is undeniable that Congress has the power to abrogate a treaty, it is no less clear that the power of amending a treaty or making a new one rests exclusively with the President and Senate. This bill does not abrogate a treaty; it seeks to amend it by denouncing one provision in it, and its passage, therefore, he holds is beyond Congressional competence. Taking the other view, that a denunciation of this one provision is practically a denunciation of the whole treaty, he holds that there is no such urgency in the matter as to call for action that would suddenly put our citizens now in China in peril, and might entail an interruption of our commercial relations. He accordingly withholds his signature.

The Forty-fifth Congress expired on Tuesday, with the Army Appropriation Bill and the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill unpassed, and the President has accordingly convened the new Congress for the 18th instant. The deadlock was nominally over three issues—viz., in the Army Bill the prohibition of the presence of troops at polling places; and in the Legislative Bill the repeal of the Southern jurors' test-oath and of the provision for United States supervisors of elections. Really, however, the Republicans, in spite of their well-founded objection to new legislation being attached to appropriation bills, would have yielded the first two points if the Democrats had abandoned their traditional policy of opposing every safeguard to honest suffrage. The latter refused to budge, and rejected a proposition to continue for six months the appropriations of the present fiscal year for the Army and the three Government branches.

The Census Bill has been passed with amendments calling for statistics of the ownership of the public debt, and for the financial condition in minute detail of railroad, telegraph, and insurance companies. The Sugar Bill was withdrawn, the Geneva Award Bill shelved. The House so emphatically repudiated the Roach subsidy (159 to 89) that the Senate was obliged to recede. The vote on the Anti-Chinese Bill after the veto was 109 yeas to 95 nays, so that the veto was sustained. The Arrears of Pensions Appropriations Bill was threatened with an extension of the pension law of March 9, 1878 (relating to the soldiers of the War of 1812), to the soldiers and sailors of the Mexican War, but the thought of Jefferson Davis becoming a pensioner was too much for endurance.

Considering the state of the public business the debate in the Senate on Jefferson Davis was more than ridiculous, though, if one were to judge from the Washington letters of some of the newspapers, it afforded immense relief to the people of the United States. General Shields's proposal to aggravate the evils of the Arrears of Pensions Bill by making it cover soldiers of the Mexican War was simply an ebullition of "good fellowship," which ought to have been dismissed without debate. But Jefferson Davis had to be excluded from its benefits; so there arose with great solemnity a discussion of his career, which sounded very much as if he had recently come before the public, and was a lusty young fellow who was likely to make trouble, and in the course of which Senator Blaine intimated that if Senator Thurman were not so old he would inflict corporal punishment on him. The language used about Davis was too mild to please William E. Chandler, who was in the gallery, so he sent down a taunting message to that effect to the elder Chandler, daring him to call Davis some fresh "names." The elder Chandler then rose and abused him savagely, declaring that "every man, woman, and child at the North believed him to be a double-dyed traitor." But, if so, what was the use of impeding business by talking about him?

The people who had their doors studded with big nails, and had their walls loopholed for musketry, when the Potter Committee was appointed, in expectation of a "revolution" which would desolate every school district in the country, as we were assured by one authority, will have been relieved before this reaches them by finding that it has all ended, as we assured them it would, in a huge campaign document. The majority of the committee has reported without any loss of life, and without producing the smallest effect on the stock market. The Report is written by the chairman, and differs from most of its kind in the exceeding sobriety of its tone.

The Report shows that in Florida the Canvassing Board was invested with purely clerical functions, and therefore exceeded its powers when it rejected from the returns a portion of the votes cast; and that it purposely withheld its announcement until the morning when the electors were to meet and vote, so that no time was allowed for effectual appeal to the Supreme Court, which afterwards ordered a re-canvass on behalf of the Democratic candidate for governor. Inasmuch as this wrong might be perpetrated in any State, the Committee recommend a law to meet a similar emergency. In the case of Louisiana, it shows what an anomalous power the Returning Board had over elections, and rehearses the steps which it took to justify its predetermined partisan action. These were, the persistent assumption that the color-line was the party-line in the State contests; a fraudulent census, producing 25,000 more black voters than white, and deriving nearly 25,000 voters from the 57,000 colored men, women, and children in New Orleans alone; a correspondingly fraudulent registration; and instructions to parish supervisors to "return the votes according to the census." It is further shown that the Board, having no authority to discard votes when the returns were unaccompanied by protests about intimidation, etc., and being aware that none such were made at the election of 1876, selected at pleasure Democratic parishes to throw out, and procured protests from them; that in order to make sure of pretexts they instructed the Republicans of East Feliciana to abstain from the polls, and thus afford *prima-facie* evidence of intimidation, and that supplementary protests of violence were obtained of Anderson and Weber, although there was no disturbance of the peace whatever; that evidence in regard to these protests was sought at the expense of the United States Government from ignorant negroes brought down from the interior, whose affidavits being written down for them, their marks were affixed and they sent home with fees, and that the mass of this testimony was so great that the Board could not possibly have considered or read it before their decision was reached. The Report also recites the well-known facts of the forged electoral certificates from Louisiana, replacing the defective original certificates. It concludes that Tilden was elected in Louisiana by a clear majority of seven thousand votes, which had passed the scrutiny of hostile Republican registrars and commissioners; that intimidation is disproved "by the undisputed fact that the vote was larger in proportion to the population than at any previous election ever held in the same State"; that the

Board were encouraged and sustained by the "visiting statesmen," who "pronounced the warmest encomiums" upon them, although bearing "characters notoriously bad," and doubtless promised them protection and reward, both of which have been accorded; and that the same propositions *mutatis mutandis* are applicable to Florida, where "the fraud was aggravated," and was denounced by all the departments of the Government. Mr. Tilden is exonerated from complicity with the cipher despatches. The Report includes a list of the persons connected both with the Florida and Louisiana elections who have been appointed to Federal offices.

The minority compliment Mr. Potter for his liberal rulings; assert that Tilden's denial of Pelton's corrupt negotiations "could not for a moment be entertained by candid men," and that there is no evidence that the members either of the South Carolina or Florida Returning Boards were corruptible. They say that "in Florida the face of the returns gave but 91 majority to Mr. Tilden on their most favorable construction"; that the mode of canvassing contended for by their Democratic colleagues would have given the Hayes electors 40 majority, while that imposed by the Supreme Court would have given them 200, and "purging the county returns of fraud," as the Democratic Attorney-General advised, 900 majority. They complain that they were outvoted on the question of inquiring into the alleged frauds at the ballot-box in Florida, to which assent was refused. Of Louisiana they have but little to say except in reference to the Sherman letter: they think the Committee ought to have been unanimous in exculpating Mr. Sherman. In short, the two reports afford little help to a judgment, since they avoid direct issues, and there is no proportion in the stress they lay on the same topics.

According to the majority report of the Teller Committee, which was laid before the Senate on Thursday, the elections last year in South Carolina were distinguished by the general use of tissue ballots, which extended to every county but one. In Louisiana the spirit of lawlessness took the form of murder, of which it is said there were between thirty and forty cases. Freedom of speech on political or social questions was suppressed by the Democrats, on the ground that the discussion of such subjects had an incendiary effect and tended to create ill-feeling and animosity between the races, and endangered the public peace. In spite of the pretence that the outrages committed by whites on the negroes were always caused by threats made by the latter, the witnesses were obliged to confess that the disposition of the colored people was peaceful and law-abiding, and that the whites had never had any reason to fear them. In several districts in both States the elections for Congressmen and for State and county officers were governed by violence and fraud. The laws of South Carolina and Louisiana are amply sufficient for the protection of citizens in their rights, but no effort was made to enforce them. The Committee have asked and obtained leave to sit during the recess and take further testimony.

Recent developments regarding two or three of our life insurance companies would seem to close the case against State supervision "as conducted in the State of New York," so that a disinterested jury would give a verdict without leaving their seats. In the case of the Globe Mutual (mutual as far as the President's family is concerned) the protecting ægis of the Insurance Department seems to have been converted into a screen to hide the officers' irregularities from the outraged policy-holders. The company was examined last year by Deputy-Superintendent McCall, whose ability and integrity have never been questioned, and an elaborate report made to his superior officer in May, which was "pocketed" by the Superintendent, and has only now been brought to light on the peremptory demand of the Assembly. This report sets forth in detail the "building-loans" and other investments of the company, and Mr. McCall's comment upon this department of the business is, that "there has never been on exhibition, in the history of any trust institution of the State of New York, a record so thoroughly to be condemned as that presented in the real-estate loans of this company." The balance-sheet of the company, as adjusted by Mr. McCall, showed a deficit as respects policy-holders of $378,739 19, or as respects stockholders of $478,739 19, the capital stock being $100,000.

There have been two singular college rows during the week, and both in institutions to which young men are attracted largely by their religious influences. At Trinity College, Hartford, the whole of the undergraduates, with one or two exceptions, rose in revolt against the college authorities and went through some "exercises" of a festive character in a hired room in the city, at which they recited poems which they had been forbidden to recite without previous submission to college censure. The result was that the unfortunate parents of the mutineers were summoned from their homes in dreadful weather by telegraph in order to quell the disorder, and were naturally indignant on discovering the nature of the crisis. Their intervention resulted in the passage of two buncombe resolutions—one by the students, acknowledging they had made a mistake, and the other by the Faculty, agreeing to overlook the matter. The second row actually occurred in an Episcopal theological seminary in which young men are trained for the ministry, near Poughkeepsie, in this State. Some of them went on a sleighing party and afterwards had a supper, at which several got drunk. Subsequently, another student, through whom the affair reached the knowledge of the Faculty, was put under a pump. Then there was a "free fight," in which chairs were used; then there was a secession of a large number because others were not expelled, in spite of the advice of the Faculty to forget the past and apply themselves to their studies with renewed vigor. When one considers that these gentlemen are actually preparing to be teachers of religion, and are presumably of tolerably mature age, the willingness of the Faculty to do another day's work on them strikes one as rather odd. It is difficult to believe that any body of professors, however able, could truly prepare them for orders within any reasonable period.

Archbishop Purcell's liabilities now appear to amount to $6,000,000, and the number of his unfortunate depositors to 11,000, of whom many have at last lost their temper and have begun suits against him. The affair has clearly passed beyond the control of his friends and even of the Church, which already finds it hard to make ends meet. To crown all, he appears to have kept no regular accounts, and to have but little knowledge of what he did with the money, though of course none of it was applied to his personal use—the celibacy of the clergy being a strong protection against abuses of this kind. The whole affair is a curious example of the working in an intensely commercial society of the reverence for authority, and especially ecclesiastical authority, which grew up in poor agricultural communities. Irish and German peasants, naturally enough, carry their scanty savings to the priest for safe keeping; the habit has been kept up in Ohio, and, as might have been expected, has resulted in a bankruptcy almost equal in size to Strousberg's.

The subscriptions to the United States 4 per cents. fell off during the week, and no further calls for the redemption of 5.20 6 per cents. have been issued. Sterling exchange has advanced to the specie-exporting point; at least, the nominal rates are fully up to that point, and the actual rates are very close to it. This rise was not unexpected, as the sales of 4 per cent. bonds in Europe have not been sufficient to counterbalance the amount of United States 5.20 bonds called home for redemption and railroad securities sent here because of the high prices now current at New York. Money continues abundant in the loan market notwithstanding the great number of securities taken back from Europe, and the Province of Quebec has brought out a loan for $3,000,000 in New York rather than take it to London. This is the first foreign loan ever offered in New York, and it is remarkable that a borrowing nation should have so impressed the world with its "money power" that it is now asked to lend to its neighbors. The New York banks have suffered

a further reduction in their reserves on account of payments into the Treasury. As the Treasury has the power to put any part of its balance in national bank depositories the loss is not regarded as of the same importance as it would otherwise be. Silver has been steady during the week. The price in London has stood at 49½*d.* per oz.; the bullion value here for the 412½-grain dollar has ruled at $0.8391 to $0.8353.

The more is known about the late disaster to the British troops in Zulu-land the more unpleasant it appears. The causes of the war have been set forth in a memorandum by Sir Bartle Frere, who is the High Commissioner on the spot, in an elaborate memorandum, and, though the list includes some violations of British territory and other small outrages, the real one is the impossibility of permitting a savage chief to maintain a disciplined and well-armed force of 40,000 men on the borders of a peaceful agricultural and thinly-settled colony. In other words, it had become necessary to break up Cetewayo's army and bring him into a state of harmless subordination, and any excuses that offered themselves were seized on for this purpose. He was accordingly ordered to disarm and make his submission, on pain of military execution, and Sir Bartle and Lord Chelmsford, the general in command, chose their own time for the attack, and accordingly cannot plead surprise or unreadiness. Lord Chelmsford had 10,000 men under his orders—a force considered amply sufficient, for 450 Dutch farmers of the Transvaal have before now defeated 12,000 Zulus in a pitched battle. He however, divided his forces, advanced himself into the enemy's territory to reconnoitre at the head of one column, leaving another at his camp twelve miles away. It now appears that so defective was his scouting that an army of 20,000 men actually got in his rear, and overwhelmed the second column, and detached five thousand men to assail the small party of one hundred men left to guard the ford over the Tugela River, which constituted his sole line of retreat. But for the obstinate defence of the little garrison, which held its own for twelve hours, inflicting enormous loss on the enemy, he, too, would have been cut off and surrounded, and probably have shared the fate of his subordinate, Major Durnford. The Zulu tactics were, moreover, well known, and resemble those of our own Indians in the old days of forest fighting. They push round on both wings through the thick African bush, and when the circle is completed open fire, and at the last charge with long knives. There is nothing for it now but to finish Cetewayo's army, which, owing to the difficult nature of the country, is going to be a long and expensive job.

Troops are being hurried to the scene of action from all parts of the Empire, including India and the Mauritius, but the smallness of the force which can be spared throws curious light on the theatrical performance of threatening Russia in Turkey with the Sepoy army. The little war in Afghanistan with the barbarous levies, who have not yet mustered courage to fight a battle in the open, has tasked the resources of India both in men and money so severely that if Yakub Khan, who has now succeeded his deceased father, Shir Ali, continues the conflict, and Russia were to choose to play any more tricks in Turkey, it is not England who could bring her to reason. In fact, great fears begin to be felt among the Jingoes that Cetewayo may after all be the means of destroying the division of Bulgaria on which Lord Beaconsfield plumed himself as the happiest stroke of his policy. The hostility of the people of Eastern Rumelia to the separation continues to be intense, and there is no doubt of its being fomented by Russia. There is much likelihood, too, that the entrance of the Turks will be resisted forcibly, or will be followed by insurrectionary outbreaks, which will finally compel the armed intervention of the Powers, and the abandonment of the Jingo experiment. The news of the South African defeat, therefore, was terribly unwelcome to the Ministry, coming as it did at the opening of Parliament, and all the more because it crushes the Chancellor of the Exchequer's plan for distributing the expenses of the preparations for fighting Russia over three years, instead of paying them out of the taxes of the current vear. He was warned at the time by the Liberals that he could not in this way count upon the future, and the event has justified them.

Affairs in France have taken a turn for the worse, and the Waddington Ministry seems already tottering to its fall. Waddington himself is hardly the kind of man for his place. He is a cold, bluff manufacturer, whom Gambetta dislikes, partly instinctively and partly for cause, as he was supposed to have interfered to prevent Gambetta's meeting socially some of the royal personages who were in Paris at the Exposition, and President Grévy is said to have accepted him on Dufaure's resignation rather as a stop-gap than because he liked him. He was hardly in office before a fierce attack was made on the Paris police by a series of accusations in a Radical paper, the *Lanterne*, that compelled enquiry, which did not sustain all the charges, but revealed much that was very damaging, and furnished the extreme Left with plenty of ammunition. This forced M. Marcère, the Minister of the Interior, either to choose between surrendering all his subordinates to the Radicals, or standing by them, and the attack on him has been so fierce that he has had to resign. Close on this comes a charge against M. Léon Say, the Minister of Finance, of having used his official knowledge to speculate on the Bourse. He is an old clerk of the Rothschilds, and has been concerned with them in many financial operations, and is already very wealthy. The conversion of the five per cent. Rentes into three or four per cents would be easy, and has been long talked of, but is opposed by the Radicals because the bonds are largely held by the peasantry. But the talk of it and the reference of it to a Committee of the Assembly had lowered their price of late greatly, and while low the Rothschilds appear to have bought them heavily, it is alleged on the strength of the information furnished by M. Say to a syndicate of brokers that the Committee would report against the conversion. The resulting outcry is so fierce that at this writing it is supposed that he also will have to resign. It is hardly possible that after this the Ministry could hold together very long.

The Turks and Russians have at last concluded a definitive treaty of peace, which leaves the provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano standing except in so far as they have been modified by the Treaty of Berlin. The indemnity in money is fixed at $160,000,000, but no time or mode of payment is fixed, and to this is to be added compensation to Russian subjects for losses suffered during the war, not to exceed $5,000,000, and the cost of maintaining the prisoners of war. It will be seen that the indemnity, although the existing public debt takes precedence of it, gives Russia a potent means of annoyance. The evacuation of the territory began almost immediately after the ratification, and is probably by this time all but complete. The Montenegrins have come into possession, after long delay, of Spuz and Podgoritza, but the Porte still refuses on one pretext or another to negotiate with the Greeks on the basis prescribed by the Treaty of Berlin, and France has at last informed the Government at Athens that she will formally request the Porte to do so, and in case of refusal herself appeal to the Powers. A Frenchman, M. de Tocqueville, has a scheme on foot for a readjustment of the public debt on the basis of a new loan from the present creditors, but nobody believes it will succeed, although the Turks are of course willing to promise anything in order to get hold of the money.

The consideration of Prussia's steady support of Austria on the Eastern Question appears in the now publicly announced revision of the Treaty of Prague, by the fifth article of which Austria reserved to the inhabitants of Northern Schleswig-Holstein the right at a suitable time to declare by popular vote whether they would be annexed to Germany or restored to Denmark. Bismarck has, of course, carefully abstained from permitting the exercise of any such right, and he has now obtained from Austria, by a new Treaty, a formal abrogation of the provision, so that the understanding between the two empires appears to be perfect. It is rumored that Austria also secures by this German support or connivance for any moves she may hereafter find it necessary to take in the direction of Salonica.

SOME NOTEWORTHY FACTS ABOUT THE LATE CONGRESS.

THE difficulty, to which we have often called attention of late, of finding out, by observation of the proceedings in Congress, what is a Republican and what a Democrat—or, in other words, what is the nature of the line that divides the two great parties which every two years contend for the control of the Government—has not been by any means diminished by the course of the Congress which ended its existence on Tuesday. In fact, the history of its votes and debates makes it seem more and more likely that the next Presidential election will turn on the comparative personal merits or demerits of the candidates. For many years after the foundation of the Government—indeed, down to the outbreak of the war—parties were divided, roughly, it is true, but still with sufficient distinctness to enable one to predict the ground they would take on most Federal questions, by their manner of interpreting the Constitution, whether loosely or strictly. If either Democrats or Republicans of to-day inherited the traditions of their political ancestors, we should be able to say with certainty what course either party would pursue with regard to the paper-money question, the silver question, the pension question, the Chinese question, and the army question, or any other question which has been prominently before the public during the last two years. As a matter of fact, nothing in the history of parties would have foreshadowed any important vote of the late Congress.

It found resumption on a certain day provided for by its predecessor, but it had no sooner met than desperate attempts to repeal the Act were made, which were supported by large bodies of both Republicans and Democrats, the only difference being that the Democrats contributed the larger contingent to the attack, and the credit of defeating it was in like manner shared by both. Efforts to revive the income tax and revise the tariff were supported and defeated, in like manner, by votes drawn from both sides indiscriminately, with little or no regard to party platforms. The Silver Bill was passed by an overwhelming majority of both parties, though its avowed object—the inflation of the currency and the cheating of the public creditor—was one against which the Republicans were solemnly pledged. The Bankrupt Law was repealed also by an indiscriminate vote. The Electoral Count Bill, introduced by Mr. Edmunds, was passed in the Senate by the aid of Democratic votes, but in the House neither side has deigned to pay much attention to it, and the time for calm legislation on the subject may be said now to have all but passed by. Both sides profess to be in favor of strict economy, but both joined in passing by overwhelming majorities the Arrears of Pensions Bill, the Democrats indifferent to the fact that it takes $27,000,000 out of the Treasury, and the Republicans to the fact that it may give the inflationists a weapon to use against the permanence of resumption. The payment of the Fisheries Award was opposed by Republicans and supported by Democrats without any reference, apparently, to party traditions or associations. Strangest of all, the Chinese Bill, which seemed to be more distinctly than any measure which has come before Congress in recent times hostile to the fundamental principles of the Republicans, was passed by a powerful combination of both parties, the leader in its support being the noisiest Republican agitator now to be found in public life. It is not surprising, in view of all these things, that neither party should have steadily supported or opposed the Administration. It has been helped and hindered by both indiscriminately, it would be hard to say with what view or by what rule. Its bitterest assailants have sometimes been Republicans who were moving heaven and earth to elect Mr. Hayes in 1876, as a person who would go far to regenerate American society, and its warmest supporters have sometimes been Democrats who have denounced it as the product of the blackest fraud of "this or any other age."

All this promises to make the task of the conscientious or independent voter a very troublesome one in 1880. Looseness of opinion on all questions except the condition of the South—or, in other words, the only great question of the day which seems beyond the reach of specific legislation—has been deliberately fostered on the Republican side during the whole session, and the Democrats have on their part avoided any attempt to deal with Southern troubles beyond removing any hindrances which Republican legislation may have placed in the way of white supremacy. There has not been on either side the sign of an honest attempt to reach a solid and lasting solution of a problem which is fast becoming the reproach of American politics. Nearly everything that has been said or done with this air, or apparent design, has been really a device for entrapping the enemy into some damaging vote or admission.

The plain truth is that there is no honesty in accepting, as most Democrats profess to do, negro suffrage at the South as a lawful fact, and then professing to see no necessity for any extraordinary police measures for its protection. Everybody knows that negroes have and will have extraordinary difficulty in exercising their legal right, and that the State governments are not likely to protect them in it efficiently, and that it is a piece of self-stultification for Congress to repudiate all responsibility in the matter, at least so far as the enforcement of order at the polls at Federal elections goes. Any Democrat who denies all this ought in decency to advocate the disfranchisement of the negro. The objections made to the use of soldiers at the polls may be well founded, though as long as there is no other Federal police we do not think they are. But what is the objection to supervisors of election chosen from both parties? Where is the danger to popular liberty or State rights in this? If, also, the great difficulty of the Southern question lies, as we believe it does, in the fact that the Federal Government always appears on the scene, not as a peacemaker or arbiter but as a fierce partisan, eager for the triumph of one party, why do we see no Democratic proposal looking to the abatement of this evil, except one which is based on the utterly false assumption that there is no more need now for Federal interference at all than there was before the war? Those who are laboring for the repeal of what they consider the unconstitutional legislation framed by the Republican party during and since the war, cannot face the country without making some other provision for the new state of things introduced by the war, the most important feature of which is the appearance of a body of voters without sufficient moral and physical force for their own protection. If the Democrats suppose that the country will be satisfied without some attempt on their part to deal with this problem, they make a huge mistake. They will be pursued from election to election with stories of fraud and outrage, which will prevent their ever obtaining a sure hold on power, because it will keep the humane feeling of the North, which is after all the most permanent force in American politics, constantly arrayed against them.

Of civil-service reform the Republicans, after having used it in their platform to elect their candidate, have shown themselves bitter and determined enemies, and there is something odd in the fact that the candidate himself, who was elected as its champion, has managed within two years to make the thing and its advocates more or less ridiculous. He has not only recommended no legislation in aid of it, but has exemplified most of the evils of the old system in his practice.

One thing must be said of the late Congress in the way of praise, and it will cover a good many sins. It has been answerable for few or no jobs, or votes of public money in aid of private ventures. Its worst acts have had at least a flavor of public spirit. The lobby has never since the war been less powerful or less successful, or Washington society and municipal government freer from the odor of corruption. For this, too, the President and Cabinet are entitled to a large share of praise, and it ought to be heartily given. No matter what may be said of them, it cannot be said that they have, directly or indirectly, supported or countenanced any disreputable scheme, or that any doubtful person has been able to boast their friendship or connivance in getting money out of the Federal or city treasury.

THE PROTECTIONIST REVIVAL IN EUROPE.

THE demand for protection for native industry in France and Germany, and even England, in all of which the doctrines of free-trade were supposed to have secured a firm footing during the last fifteen years, is interesting for the light it throws on the reasons which make protection popular in the strict sense of the term. That protection *is* popular there is no sort of doubt. In every country in which the opinion of the masses exerts a strong influence on fiscal legislation—that is, in which this legislation is not left in the hands of the economical experts—it constantly tends to become protectionist. The exception to this rule furnished by England is only apparent, because there the battle between free-trade and protection was fought over the food question, and the protectionist presented himself in the character which he has never assumed anywhere else—of a person interested in making the poor man's bread dear. The illustration which this afforded enabled Cobden and Bright and their friends to obtain a hearing and acceptance for the free-trade argument which probably could not have been secured in any other way, and which made the overthrow of the high duties on all other commodities as well as on grain a comparatively easy matter. Such success as free-trade has secured on the Continent was the result, in part, of the success of the English experiment, and in part of the great improvement in international communication. The manufacturing and commercial prosperity of England increased in a marvellous ratio after 1850, and it impressed the Continental imagination sufficiently to produce a leaning towards free-trade among the politicians and in the press, which resulted not in any general or fundamental revision of the tariffs but in the making of a number of treaties of commerce, providing for what is called the system of "reciprocity"; or, in other words, the admission of certain specified products at low rates of duty in return for the admission at low rates of certain other specified products. As regards any nations with which these treaties did not exist the old high tariffs remained in operation. The most liberal of these treaties was that which was concluded with England by the Emperor Napoleon through the negotiations of M. Chevalier and Mr. Cobden. The result, as shown in the growth of imports and exports and of national savings, has been something marvellous in France also. In fact, no higher evidence of the fiscal wisdom of the Emperor's policy could be offered than the ease with which the French people bore eleven years later the huge burdens imposed on them by the German war. Besides the stimulus to unfettered commercial intercourse given by these examples, the great growth of travel and of means of quick transportation within twenty years has, by bringing foreign markets near, given them an attractiveness which, in the days before steam, they could not have had, and has helped to break down the idea on which the whole protective doctrine may be said to rest, that trading across political lines is likely to be more hurtful (or less profitable) than trading within them.

Nevertheless, in spite of all this apparently successful working of the free-trade theory, it has at this moment fallen into discredit, not only on the Continent but in England, where it was first preached, and where, for the last thirty years, it has almost held the place of a new gospel. In Germany and France there is an outcry against it, and a marked disposition to abandon the treaties of commerce and enforce the rule of reciprocity through the tariff. This tendency shows itself, too, at a moment when the zeal for improved means of intercourse—for more railroads, more tunnels, and swifter steamers—is stronger than ever before. Every country in which this protectionist revival has appeared is suffering from great commercial depression, but this depression is almost the only thing they all have in common. Each one of them has reached the commercial depression through a totally different path. Germany has reached it after a prodigious and sudden addition to her pecuniary wealth following on a short and successful war; France, through a destructive and unsuccessful war, and a political revolution; Italy, through a long period of political turmoil and grinding taxation; and England, after ten years of prodigious commercial activity and prosperity. In fact, it would be difficult to mention a single circumstance of importance in the economical antecedents of these countries which any two of them have in common. They have had different tariffs, different social and political organizations, different recent political history, different systems of taxation, different amounts of taxation, different monetary and banking systems. The only thing they have in common now is the prevalence of commercial distress. Nevertheless, the remedy called for in all, by those who think the Government can apply a remedy, is the same—namely, a return to protection or an increase of protection.

The United States has gone through five years of depression also after twelve years' experience of a highly protective tariff, the only difference between our condition and that of European countries being that our troubles began a year or two sooner. They are not yet by any means at an end, though the end is apparently near at hand. The number of failures last year was greater than ever, but our exportations of breadstuffs and cattle, and cheese and butter, having been recently very great, people are disposed to forget totally the panic and its consequences, and have begun to point to the fact that we have any trade at all as a signal vindication of the protectionist policy pursued since the war, and as good reason for asking whether we should not be the better of a little more protection.

This general cry of all sorts of patients for the one medicine explains why it is that protection is popular in all popularly governed communities. It is emphatically the remedy of "plain people," who do not carry their enquiries very far or remember very long. To every man who earns his bread in any trade or calling the great difficulty of his life is to find a market for his wares, and two-thirds of his mental force is expended first on finding it, and then on keeping other people in the same pursuit from sharing it with him. In fact, if fortune places it in his power to create a monopoly for himself, there is not one in a thousand who will refuse to do it. No amount of argument will persuade a grocer that it would be well to open two more grocery stores in the same street, or a stage-owner that there ought to be another line on his route. When times get bad with a dealer, no matter from what cause, the form in which the badness presents itself to him is in the shape of falling prices, or excessive supply of his own commodity. The remedy is, therefore, suggested by the disease, and it consists in getting down the supply by shutting out from the markets some of the rival producers. He cannot resort to this remedy in these days as against his own countrymen, but it remains in his head as a good thing to use against those who have no legal or moral claims on his forbearance, and when the opportunity offers itself, he turns the weapon of exclusion unhesitatingly against foreigners. No simpler mode of recovery, or one needing less time for its operation, occurs to him, and the fact that even in England it should have secured a powerful hold on the popular mind in the very first protracted crisis since the policy of free-trade was resorted to, shows what a *natural* mode of recovery it really is.

THE BIRMINGHAM CAUCUS.

BIRMINGHAM, February 9, 1879.

A VERY common subject of political discussion in England has of late been what is called the "Birmingham Caucus"—an institution the chief defender and expounder, if not the actual founder, of which is Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, late mayor and now member of Parliament for Birmingham. This political organization, which was intended to consolidate Liberalism in Birmingham and ensure its triumph at the general as well as the local elections, is not properly a "caucus," but is based on the same principles which govern the ward committees and primary elections in America. The selection of candidates for election in English towns and boroughs had previously been left entirely, or almost entirely, to local self-appointed committees consisting chiefly of men who had subscribed to the political cause, or in the hands of the leading political clubs in London, such as the Reform and the Carlton. An institution like that which is now established at Birmingham, with its primary and secondary elections, naturally causes a great deal of dissatisfaction on the

part of many Liberals as well as Conservatives. Mr. Gladstone has lately become known as the defender of the organization, on the ground that, in his opinion, it seems to be the only method of sufficiently consolidating the Liberal party, of preventing "splits" at elections, and of preventing the return of a Conservative candidate who is really in a minority. Lord Hartington, in his Liverpool speech, has taken the same view. Others, such as Mr. W. E. Forster, and notably Sir W. Harcourt, are as strongly opposed to the "caucus" system, on the ground of its destroying independence of thought, of its crushing out divergencies in Liberal opinions, of its turning members of Parliament into mere mouthpieces of their constituencies, and lest it may, in the course of time, be converted into a mere "machine" and fall into the hands of men who will use it simply for their own private ends. The chief objections to the organization were fully stated by Mr. E. D. J. Wilson in an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, 1878, which was answered by Mr. Chamberlain in the *Fortnightly Review* for November. Since then there has been considerable discussion in the daily and weekly press; and the subject is becoming even more prominent from the refusal of Mr. Forster, the present member for Bradford, to submit his claims at the next general election to what is called the "Three Hundred" of that borough, on the understanding, of course, that should they choose to reject him he would be bound in honor not to present himself to the constituency. Since then a meeting of what may be called a competitive examination of candidates has been held, by a similarly constituted body, in the borough of Southwark. Over one hundred towns and boroughs in England have now adopted the Birmingham scheme, known in various places as the "Two Hundred," the "Four Hundred," and the "Five Hundred," and, about a year ago, they formed themselves into the "National Federation of Liberal Associations" (of which Mr. Chamberlain is the president), for the purpose of organizing the Liberal party throughout the country, and naturally, through this organization, of influencing parliamentary representation and parliamentary members.

It may be interesting, therefore, to consider exactly how the Liberal Association, or the "Six Hundred," of Birmingham, is constituted. Now that the institution is in running order, the general method of procedure is as follows: Once a year the Liberal Association summons, in each of the sixteen wards, a meeting of the Liberals of that ward. Every person calling or choosing to consider himself a Liberal—no matter whether he is a member of any one of the committees, or whether or not he pays the minimum contribution of a shilling a year—is allowed to attend. This meeting elects large ward committees of indeterminate number, with a chairman and secretary. It also elects five members of the Executive Committee, two of whom must be chairman and secretary of their ward, all five becoming members of the General Committee. It then elects thirty other members of the General Committee. These would make an executive committee for the whole of Birmingham of eighty members, and a general committee of 560. An attempt, however, is made to combine local representation, in its strict sense, with the representation by men of character and influence, not resident in the district, as heretofore practised in England. For this purpose the executive committee is empowered to select, at its discretion, thirty additional members from the whole of Birmingham, who also form part of the General Committee. Besides these they elect a president, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary, who originally may not have been members of the committee, but who, *ex officio*, become so. In this manner the Executive Committee is increased to 114 members, and the General Committee to 594. The sixteen ward committees number altogether about two thousand men. In addition to the four officers the Executive Committee choose a small Management Sub-committee of seven; and this Sub-committee, it is evident, must in the end rule the whole of the General Committee, although, in extreme cases, its proposals may be set aside. However, when the machine is in full working order, the decisions of the General Committee, and the lists of candidates, will doubtless be prepared by this Sub-committee, and arrangements will be made by the leaders that their decisions shall be always carried into effect. The choice of parliamentary candidates for the borough belongs absolutely to the General Committee. This committee also nominates the candidates for the School Board. Candidates for the municipal offices are selected in each ward by the ward committee, or perhaps really by this Sub-committee of Management; and the General Committee, in every case, undertakes to approve of and aid in carrying out the decisions of the ward committees. It is a rule of the Association to vote for no candidate who has not been proposed or approved by the General Committee; and, also, that every candidate who has submitted his claims for nomination to the committee is in honor bound not to stand if rejected by them. The organization of Liberal committees in other towns is, in all important respects, similar to that of Birmingham.

Now, this organization differs in one very important respect from similar American party combinations, namely, that the members of the committees are elected at fixed times to serve for the whole year. One of the characteristics of the American plan which has caused most harm is that fresh conventions are called for the selection of candidates at each election, and owing to a multiplicity of elections there is also a multiplicity of conventions. Unless, therefore, a man takes a very deep interest in politics, either on the grounds of general good or personal benefit, he is apt to neglect attending the primary meetings. Such conventions accordingly fall far more easily than they would be likely to do with the Birmingham system under the control of a knot of wire-pullers and professional politicians, who select their own delegates for the conventions, and thus present to the public as candidates for office (one of whom must practically be selected) either mere politicians who are seeking office for their own ends, or harmless mediocrities. Of course such a state of things may be conceived as possible under the Birmingham plan; but owing to the general fixed tenure of public offices, and there being no spoils to reward partisans, and owing also to what may be called the greater political conscientiousness which exists in England, such a probability is unlikely to occur, at all events for a long time to come. It is not meant to assert that even now there is no wire-pulling and "packing" of meetings in Birmingham; and it would be difficult to prove that even with all this representative system of primary elections affairs are not really in the hands of half-a-dozen leading men in Birmingham, of whom Mr. Chamberlain is *facile princeps*. So far, however, the efforts of the Liberals have tended towards the public good, and not to their own personal profit or advantage, except in the way of office-holding.

As a party organization the Birmingham Liberal Association has had a great success. The most respectable men of the Liberal party are glad to be members of its committees and take an active part in its proceedings. The discipline to which it has succeeded in attaining among the rank and file of the party is splendid. For several years it has returned an overwhelming number of members to the Town Council, and at the last election carried every man, so that the Town Council is now exclusively Liberal, although one-third of the population of the town is Conservative. For the return of members to the School Board there is a cumulative vote. This School Board consists of fifteen members, and each elector is allowed fifteen votes to distribute as he pleases. By deciding that each Liberal elector shall give five votes for three candidates in each ward the Liberals have succeeded in electing eight members out of a total of fifteen, thus giving them a majority. The Board of Guardians is almost exclusively constituted of Liberals. At the last election for members of Parliament the Association determined to show its power thoroughly, and, what is unusual in England, rejected a sitting member who had given no cause of offence, and nominated and elected a new one, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. There are three members for the borough, and each elector is allowed two votes, which are not cumulative.

At the same time the effect of the Liberal Association, as has just been seen, has been to introduce national party politics into municipal affairs, a proceeding which is very much commented upon in England, and to which many persons of all shades of opinion—Liberals as well as Conservatives—object. It thus may happen that owing to the excitement attending national politics at the time of the elections of the General Committee—when, *e. g.*, the burning questions as to whether England should support Turkey, or whether the Afghan war is right, are being debated—little more than a bare majority of the Liberals may practically decide who shall fill the municipal offices; that is, that a little more than one-third of the population may rule the town. Of course, every political organization must have its defects, and the present tendency of opinion in England is towards organization. As to its results in Birmingham, it may be mentioned that its School Board has carried out the education laws as liberally as any interpretation would admit of, and has increased the number of pupils at elementary schools from about fifteen thousand, in 1870, to over forty thousand in 1876. This, however, was partly due to the enactments of the law itself. Besides the ordinary business of the town the municipal government has entered on three great transactions which have vastly increased its debt, and which, of late, have been greatly dwelt upon by the Conservative party as arguments against the Liberal party itself, and also against the introduction of national politics into municipal affairs. In 1875, on the proposition of Mr. Chamberlain, then mayor, the corporation resolved to purchase the gas-works. The

debt incurred by this undertaking has been about $10,000,000. The improvement, however, has been very great, through the saving effected by single instead of double management (for there used to be two companies), and by taking up all the extra mains. The area lighted by gas has also been greatly increased, as likewise the number of consumers. The net profit, after paying all expenses and interest for the year 1878, is about $270,000. Of this amount $100,000 has been paid over to the funds of the town towards general expenses, and the remainder set apart for a reserve fund and a sinking fund, with the intention of paying off the debt sooner than the term fixed by act of Parliament. The price of gas has also been reduced in Birmingham to 2*s.* 7*d.* ($0 57) per thousand cubic feet, and is now cheaper than in any other town of England, excepting two—one being Plymouth, where the gas is inferior in quality, and the other Walsall, an outlying district of Birmingham, which had the advantage of purchasing the works at a reduced value from the Birmingham corporation. In the same year (1875) the Corporation took the works of the Birmingham Water-works Company at a cost to the town of £1,400,000 ($7,000,000). The results have been a small annual profit to the town, the use of pure water by the poorer population of the town, and the closing of the old wells, which were infected by sewage matter, thus tending to diminish the death-rate. Besides this, the town of Birmingham was the first to avail itself of the Artisans' Dwellings Improvement Act, by which the corporation has bought, through compulsory sales, a tract of land of about ninety-three acres through the poorest and most thickly-settled part of the town, in which it proposes to lay out new streets and build new houses. It is estimated that the net cost to the town in carrying out this work will be about £500,000 ($2,500,000), although the actual cost, until the lands can be resold, will be far greater. Up to the present time the corporation have only completed a small section of one new street, and have not yet erected any dwellings for the occupancy of artisans.

In spite of its Liberalism, Birmingham is in some respects conservative, and not always awake to new ideas. The fire department is badly managed under the control of the police. Notwithstanding the many new large buildings, some people have thought that fires could not occur, and it was with great difficulty that the corporation was persuaded to purchase one steam fire-engine, which is, however, not allowed to go out until specially sent for. Several large fires recently, especially the burning of the Library, are beginning to open people's eyes.

The taxation for the present year for municipal purposes, including the poor-rate, will be 4¼ shillings in a pound on ratable property of £1,454,328—*i.e.*, 21¼ cents in a dollar. The ratable property is chiefly the income of inhabited houses, and the rates, as elsewhere in England, are paid by the occupier, the law thus protecting the landlords; when their houses are not rented they pay no tax.

Correspondence.

THE SYRACUSE CONFERENCE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As you have alluded to my part in the conference of the 14th inst. at Syracuse, in reference to the Oneida Community, will you allow me the use of your types to say that no report of my remarks, even tolerably correct, has appeared in print? I have not cared to follow up the pretended reports in other papers, but the *Nation* is usually so careful, and so free from recklessness in its statements, that I cannot refrain from asking the favor of a correction in its columns.

The word "concupiscence," which the *Nation* also claims was used in proposed amendments to the statutes of the State, was not heard from beginning to end of the proceedings. Might not the well known good sense of the *Nation* have saved it from reiterating a puerility so manifestly the blunder of a misinformed reporter?

Very truly, John W. Mears.

Clinton, N. Y., February 24, 1879.

[We prefaced our remarks on the proceedings with the reservation, "if the brief report of the New York *Times* be correct." From the prominence given it by the editor, we inferred that it had reached him from a trustworthy source, and we may add that the paper generally avoids sensationalism in reporting events at the North. We are sorry, of course, to have even innocently ascribed to any gentleman, lay or professional, the strange plan of dealing with "concupiscence" which Mr. Mears repudiates.—Ed. Nation.]

L'ART'S TREATMENT OF MR. VEDDER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the *Nation* of January 16 is a note relative to the unpleasantness between *L'Art* and Mr. Vedder, in reference to which I would like to say a word, if not too late, the more as I strongly suspect from internal evidence that the laudatory critique of Mr. Vedder's work in the *Nation* was the cause of the most unjust and critically discreditable retaliatory notice in *L'Art*.

In art discussions one must be catholic and not too self-asserting. What differences of opinion may exist between critics are not subjects of close argument, but loosely coherent system, which admits agreement in discord; but the animus of the attack on Mr. Vedder is betrayed by a gross misstatement in matter of fact. The critic asserts that whatever of certain good qualities may be found in the reproduction in the pages of *L'Art* are due to the engraver, not to the original. As the writer of the *Nation's* notice of Vedder's picture, and knowing the picture thoroughly, I beg to be allowed to qualify the statement of *L'Art* as without the slightest justification in fact. I do not trust merely to memory, for I compared the illustration with a photograph from the original picture, and though the former is certainly a creditable and generally spirited reproduction of the design, it fails precisely to render the qualities of delicacy and tenderness in the "Marsyas" which the critic of *L'Art* credits it with supplying.

I am not a personal friend of Mr. Vedder, whom I have only seen once in my life, many years ago; but the case seemed to me such a gross violation of the decencies of criticism that I at once got a copy of the photograph from the "Marsyas" and sent it to the "gérant responsable" of *L'Art*, calling his attention to the violation of the conditions of honest criticism, and asking him to compare it with the illustration and judge. Of course nothing ever came of it, but he should be warned that such criticism will only destroy the influence of his journal. The whole article in which the attack on Vedder appears is full of "appreciations" so evidently shaped by something beside fair critical judgment that I am inclined to say that the writer must fall on one horn of a dilemma, either of which should disqualify him as a critic.

Yours truly, W. J. S.

Florence, Italy, Feb. 13, 1879.

THE QUESTION OF SCHOLARSHIPS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Will you permit me to touch very briefly a few of the points discussed in the interesting letter of "T. W. H." on "open" scholarships, published in your last issue?

1. The practice of taking account of character, scholarship, *and need* in giving money aid to students under the various forms of "beneficiary" money, "exhibitions," loans, scholarships, and fellowships has been uniform and unbroken at Harvard for so many generations that the governing boards would probably not feel warranted in offering the income of any of the existing endowments as prize-money for competitions in scholarship alone. The nature of the endowments, not the action of the University authorities, has fixed this practice. Unless the founder of a scholarship expressly declared his wish that his benefaction should be accessible to persons who have no need of pecuniary aid in obtaining a liberal education—and no founder has ever done this—long-established usage would establish the strongest possible presumption that need was intended to be one of the grounds of selection. With regard to the terms on which the scholarships already founded were established, "T. W. H." has fallen into several errors, partly because he relied on the very brief statements of the annual Catalogue—statements which, though true as far as they go, are incomplete—and partly because on a few points he has not correctly apprehended the facts there stated.

2. The University would doubtless accept new endowments for money prizes to be awarded on competitions in scholarship, should such be offered them; but as it has needs which are much more urgent—such as funds for professors' salaries, for retiring pensions, and for the maintenance of collections and buildings—the government of the University, if consulted by proposing benefactors, would probably prefer to mention the more pressing wants.

3. In describing the working of the English "open" scholarship system "T. W. H." remarks: "As a matter of fact, all agree that nineteen-twentieths of these prizes naturally fall to those who are stimulated by necessity." My own observation and reading lead me to think that this very broad statement cannot be substantiated. Indeed, it is the common

opinion that the great majority of the holders of Oxford and Cambridge scholarships are persons who are in no need of aid in obtaining their education. I can call no better witness on this point than Dr. Mark Pattison, the Rector of Lincoln College. "In his 'Suggestions on Academical Organization' (pp. 58 and 59), he says, after mentioning the creation of a large number of open scholarships about twenty-five years ago:

"Open scholarships have been multiplied on all sides with eager rivalry. The market is glutted. . . . Yet university education is not cheapened. . . . Well-to-do parents continue to make their sons the usual allowance, and the scholar treats his £80 a year as so much pocket-money, to be spent in procuring himself extra luxuries. . . . The question is not, Has the multiplication of scholarships drawn more men to Oxford? but, Has it brought the university within the reach of a class socially below the class who frequented it before? I think the answer must be that it has *not*. The class which enjoys the scholarships and exhibitions now is the very same class which monopolized them under the old system of close foundations."

The "open" scholarship system, which made these valuable prizes the subjects of competition, was a great improvement on the former system, under which they were obtainable by interest or favor; but it has not made Oxford and Cambridge any less than before places of education for the rich and well-to-do alone. As Dr. Pattison puts it, "The open-scholarship fund, then, as now dispensed, does not act as an instrument of university extension. It acts as prize-money. Scholarships are educational prizes." Of course, this prize-money is won by the young men who have been trained at the best schools and have secured the best private tutors. These are privileges and helps which cannot be obtained by the poor.

4. My opinion is clear that no pity and no public money should be wasted on young men who feel it to be a humiliation to accept a scholarship at Harvard College. Such a feeling argues a deplorable lack of sense and manliness, and I believe it to be very rare among possible candidates for scholarships in this institution.

5. It should not be forgotten that it is a debatable question whether it be expedient to set money before young men as a suitable reward for scholarship. The Germans repudiate this idea with hearty aversion. The results of the scholarship and fellowship system in England itself are but doubtful.

6. The prize for which the candidates for the Harvard scholarships compete, under the existing system, is the chance of procuring a liberal education, or, at least, the chance of procuring that great advantage without incurring debt. The competition is keen, and success brings with it a great boon. The system is in the highest degree democratic; because it gives poor young men of capacity honorable means of obtaining a college education, and because it is a constant protest against the unworthy idea that poverty implies inferiority.

Your obedient servant, CHARLES W. ELIOT.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Permit me to call the attention of "T. W. H." to the following from the *Athenæum* of December 28, 1878, as showing the present working of the English system of scholarships. It is taken from that paper's report of the conference of head-masters held the week before at Harrow:

"Dr. Jex-Blake's resolution regarding the value, length of tenure, and other details of open scholarships at the University next came on for discussion. The subject calls for no remark except so far as Mr. Percival's scheme appeared to meet most of the evils complained of. Experience has shown that, as a rule, the endowments originally left for the assistance of the needy who desire to obtain a university education are going more and more to those who are not needy and who are spending the sums, derived from such endowments in mere luxury and amusements; in fact, that the scholarship money is, in an increasing number of cases, doing more harm than good. Mr. Percival's scheme advocates a retrogade policy, viz., the fixing the maximum annual value of scholarships at £50, £40, or even £30, and leaving the colleges to deal with a large exhibition fund, which they shall dispense in the augmentation of scholarships where the winners of such scholarships are proved to require substantial assistance."

This is enough to disprove the fact in which "all agree, that nineteen-twentieths of these prizes naturally fall to those who are stimulated by necessity."

There is only one possible way to help needy students, and when the student is morbidly sensitive and jealous he must have his pride hurt. The English system of scholarships, according to those best acquainted with it, does not help the needy; our system does, but brings, in one case out of a hundred, "chagrin amounting to bitterness"; while Mr. Percival's scheme is tainted with all the evil of the American system, and the increased amount of scholarship called forth would be small.

There are other things in the letter of "T. W. H." to which I wish I might refer; but I have time only for what he writes in regard to the prizes of life being open to all, in opposition to scholarships which are open only to the poor. It may be true that the prizes of life are open to all, but no man can become a competitor with hope of success unless he possesses the necessary qualifications. Wealth, strength, learning, a powerful mind, are all forms of "caste distinctions"; and of these some particular one must belong to a man before he can even hope to obtain the prize he strives for. We have an illustration of this need of a definite qualification in the small number of men of ability and integrity who succeed in public life; such men cannot afford time to acquire what is now necessary; therefore, when they do try for some prize in politics they are beaten. Now, the college with its scholarships is the only place where these "caste distinctions," these accidents of birth, are reduced to the lowest amount. Only one thing is required of him who would gain the prize—that he be willing to work. And, therefore, the converting of these scholarships, which have been instruments in breaking down caste distinctions, into prizes for learning would be a great evil. There are enough incentives for men to rival each other; can we spare one which tends to make them equal? R.

GLOUCESTER, March, 1879.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am one of those who, like "T. W. H.," were astonished that President Eliot did not deal with the only point in the scholarship question which has been much discussed—the comparative advantages of rank and need, or rank alone, as the criteria of assignment. "T. W. H." writes so strongly in favor of scholarships as prizes simply, and with so many plausible arguments, that it is worth while to ask whether they are all justified by the real circumstances of the case, and whether the moral considerations involved are of the consequence that appears to him. Being a graduate of a recent class at Harvard, I feel that I have seen from the inside the workings of a system of which your correspondent can only judge by hearsay. The objection made most prominent, in his letter, to the present system of administering scholarships at Harvard and other colleges is that the scholarship is a "visible badge of poverty," as much a dishonor as an honor, by reason of being sued for *in forma pauperis*, and that the receipt of one under these circumstances is to be concealed as a hindrance to social standing. Were it a fact that the system of scholarships in vogue at Harvard produced the pitiable results theoretically calculated to flow from it, there would be much more to be said for its abolition. But it must be said that the public degradation of receiving a scholarship—for such it appears to "T. W. H."—is scarcely to be considered when the assignment is a matter between the applicant and two or three professors. Outside of them, in general, nobody need know, and, in fact, nobody does know, who has a scholarship. Within my own class of about 175 there must have been from thirty to forty different members who in one year or another received a scholarship, and yet, on going over the list, I cannot put my hand on more than seven or eight whom I knew to have held one, although I had more and better opportunities for knowing than most. Of course there are a score of others of whom it would have been argued thus: A. B. is poor or of limited means; A. B. ran well; *ergo*, A. B. has a scholarship. But the fact that A. B. is poor is the only known fact which could possibly discredit him socially. The scholarship is a mere incident whose existence is only inferential; and that its existence, unknown, could degrade a man socially as "a visible badge of poverty," is a paradox needing no refutation. If it be said that the fact that the recipients of this sort of aid do not publish it to the world is proof that they are ashamed to have it known, it is answered that a scholarship is, to a certain extent, an honor that, like a creditable mark on an examination or a part at Commencement, they do not care to proclaim upon the housetop. It must be confessed, however, that while most men are not ashamed of their poverty, a good many do not care to have it publicly referred to, and for this reason the names of the holders of scholarships are not printed in the college papers. It follows, then, that the private assignment of scholarships hitherto in vogue at Harvard accomplishes the good designated, in most cases, by their founders—the aid of young men whose means are limited—and at the same time does not make them a visible badge of poverty.

The stumbling-block with those who urge a change in the present sys-

tem is the notion that the first and chief idea of a scholarship is an honor, whereas it is a regulated benefaction. If the benevolent individuals who have endowed scholarships in New England and elsewhere could be asked their purpose in so doing, the large majority would, no doubt, answer that they wished to help the coming generations of youth to a liberal education, and, in order that their money might not be misapplied, they expected it would be given only to those who are worth helping—*i.e.*, those whose intellectual promise is such as to make it worth while to ensure its results by a thorough and extended education. They would say that their idea—the American idea—of a scholarship, was not that of an honor to those who need assistance but an aid to those of honorable deserts. For colleges to act on any other theory than this is to cut off most of their hopes of further endowments of this character.

If a scholarship must be looked on as purely and simply an honor, to be sought by those who will value it as such, and have no especial interest in the form in which it comes—money—then it becomes an important question whether it is wise to hold out to the student with fair ability and plenty of means the inducement of from one to three hundred dollars to expend a year more than he needs. Would not some other form be preferable? And here we are answered by President Eliot, who shows that there are numerous ways in which honors can come to the well-to-do student who needs no pecuniary help. Those who will not work for honorable position on the rank-list, for a commencement part, for a Bowdoin prize dissertation, for a "detur," for "second year" and "final honors," so called, for admission into the Phi Beta Kappa, for a place in those college societies where ability has an equal chance with every other good quality, and lastly for the very love of learning itself, are scarcely worth tempting with golden bait. Scholarships are not to be judged on the same basis as the few money prizes offered at Amherst and other colleges for speaking and literary composition, and which come to but a few of the very best, and as a rule to those who need the money. When twenty-five or thirty scholarships are offered in one class, for the same thing, their value as prizes, *ipso facto*, seriously diminishes.

But the most regrettable circumstance about the communication of "T. W. H." is his sad illusion about "caste distinctions," the enhancement of which is his chief objection to the present system. Judging of American colleges from Harvard of recent years, I think I may say that they have not yet come to such a pass that the student of such limited means as to need a scholarship is thought less of or less honored with those outward distinctions that students show their fellows, because he is such. We are not yet so low that we need "the equalizing influence of the English method," for the simple reason that "the heir of an estate" is on no better footing in an American college than "the poor young man." Good manners, good fellowship, and a fair amount of brains are a sufficient passport into the most esteemed circles of college life. A student of small income is necessarily excluded from a few clubs where the expenditure of money is as much an object as a means, and from intimate relations with those who actually spend a great deal, for the reason that he cannot follow them in their recreations. But it is not from this phase of college life that we can judge of social standing, or rather public standing as a member of a class. With these things the system of dispensing scholarships has nothing to do, and can have no effect for good or ill. It might be urged with much greater force that the prices of rooms should all be equalized for democratic reasons, and that Harvard students should not be allowed to occupy the $500 rooms in the private dormitory known as Beck Hall. A cheap room is such an evident sign of small means as a scholarship is not, and the separation of students into occupants of cheap and of expensive dormitories has a much greater tendency to develop caste than any system of administering scholarships. The same line of argument would abolish the Harvard "loan fund" for the relief of poor students without regard to rank, or distribute it evenly over the poor and the rich, as undoubtedly the latter could find a use for it. Lastly, it must not be forgotten that colleges in England and America are essentially eleemosynary institutions. It is only a matter of degree, to which the recipients of the highest scholarships, the cheaper ones, and of none at all are indebted to the founders and benefactors of their Alma Mater; and it is a wonder that the abnormally delicate natures who told "T. W. H." "with a chagrin amounting to bitterness and with tears in their eyes of the struggle it cost them to accept that visible badge of poverty" called a scholarship, could ever have condescended to come to Cambridge at all, when, according to President Eliot's calculation, they must have cost the college $100 more than they paid in tuition fees, and to that extent have been pensioners on the charity of the past.

B.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In reading the letter on "Open Scholarships in American Colleges," from your correspondent "T. W. H.," the impression was conveyed to me that the writer associated with the collegiate distinction of sizarship the invariable and general condition of poverty. If such be the case he is certainly mistaken, as in the Dublin University the sizarship examination, whether classical or mathematical, is purely competitive and unrestricted by any other conditions than those of previous failure. Neither poverty nor wealth is a recommendation or hindrance.

A Dublin University Ex-Sizar.

Reading, Pa., March 1, 1879.

Notes.

Houghton, Osgood & Co. will publish 'Locusts and Wild Honey,' by John Burroughs, in a uniform edition with his 'Wake Robin' and 'Winter Sunshine.'——We have received from John Murphy & Co., Baltimore, 'Studies from the Biological Laboratory of Johns Hopkins University, No. I.,' a collection of five papers, all of which save one have already appeared in medical periodicals. The principal one, by the editor, Prof. H. Newell Martin, is on respiration in the frog. Several plates accompany this number.——The Third Annual Report of the Trustees of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts gives a very impressive idea of the prosperity of that institution, and of its usefulness, now that it has been enlarged. "With the pupils of the Drawing School and those of the Embroidery, the Wood-Carving and Modelling, and the China-Painting Schools, the Museum presents an appearance of activity and life most pleasant to behold."——"Hydrographic Notice No. 6," just issued by the Bureau of Navigation at Washington, though intended primarily for the enlightenment of mariners, has an interest for all who are fond of geographical study, and especially of Arctic research. It gives a succinct account of the present expedition of Prof. Nordenskjöld, which is attempting the northeastern circumnavigation of the Siberian coast, and which, after successfully rounding Cape Tchelyuskin, and passing the mouth of the Lena River at the end of August last, has been reported icebound not very far west from Behring Strait. The last letters from the Swedish professor describing his voyage are given in full, with extracts from those of the *Vega's* officers; and a copy of Lieut. Palander's chart from the Yenisei to the Lena Delta is appended. This "Notice" so much resembles a fragment of a Geographical Magazine as to suggest the possibility of the Hydrographic Office in some measure supplying a serious want in our scientific literature.——An ardent genealogist proposes in the *Evening Post* that the youth of New York celebrate the 21st of February, 1880, by "the reading or speaking of their several essays on the characteristics of Washington"; and offers the rooms of the "Pilgrim Record Society" for that purpose, at No. 20 Sutton Place.——From *Nature* (January 30) we learn of a Postal Microscopical Society, now five years old, which distributes by post microscopical slides among its members, "with facilities for these members making remarks on the slides they receive." Special slides for the medical members and for those botanically inclined are in preparation.——We lately called attention to the Boston Society of Natural History's "Guides for Science-Teaching." Three numbers (four parts) have now been issued, viz.: "About Pebbles," and "Commercial and Other Sponges," by Alpheus Hyatt; and "Concerning a Few Common Plants," by Prof. Geo. L. Goodale. Mr. Hyatt's lessons are illustrated.——The Annual Report of the State Geologist of New Jersey for 1878 traces with particularity the southern limit of the glacial drift in that State, and promises much greater detail hereafter; describes and classifies the soils, and defines the pine and oak areas of the southeastern portion of the State; indicates the newer clay and glass-sand developments; discusses the important question of water supply for the most thickly settled section—the suburbs of New York; and generally illustrates the material resources of New Jersey and the practical value of the Survey, furnishing a guide to capitalists and investors in land, and pointing the way to needed public improvements. It is accompanied by a beautiful map, showing the drift, the oak, and the pine districts——Mr. Seymour Haden has issued a syllabus of a course of three lectures on "Etching," to be delivered on March 22, March 29, and April 5, at the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, the Alma Mater of the London lecture halls. To have lectured there is almost as great a distinction as a university degree. The first lecture treats of the History of Etching: the origin and *raison d'être* of etching and painter-engraving; in what they differ from ordinary engraving; why the Old Masters etched, and

why the art should not be lost; the masters of etching (illustrated). The second lecture explains the Preparation of the Plate: metals and their mordants, and the modus operandi (demonstrated). The third lecture will review the paper, the ink, the press, the printing (demonstrated), and the proof. Touching these lectures Mr. Haden himself writes to a correspondent: "If my art opinions have any recommendation, it is that they are certainly not the opinions of anybody else." It will be interesting to read these opinions when uttered at full length.

—We sincerely regret that our faulty memory of the circumstances attending the publication of a recent paper on "The Amendment of the Patent Law" in *Scribner's Magazine* led us last week to speak of it as having "escaped the editorial vigilance." It was, in fact, avowedly inserted as an answer to a previous article on "Our Patent System" in the November number, and neither its origin nor its partisan character was concealed. Our imputation was, therefore, unjust in this particular. Still, we suppose it is reasonable (and this was the spirit of our criticism on *Scribner's*) to hold magazine editors to some accountability for the good faith of their contributors, even when a "symposium" is in question, or letting both sides be heard. That this precaution would have been wise in the case of Mr. Raymond, in spite of his legal relations to the Western Railroad Association, clearly appears from a communication headed "Conscience and the Patent Laws," on p. 762 of the March number of *Scribner's*—a communication which we did not happen to read till after our last issue.

—Mr. William Winter is one of the few writers on current theatrical topics who has knowledge both of the stage and of the drama, as well as some share of the critical faculty, and who has distinct ideas on the art of acting, and shows, therefore, some sense of proportion in his remarks on the plays and players of the day. It was he who prepared the letter-press for the twelve striking drawings of Mr. W. J. Hennessy, representing Mr. Edwin Booth's 'Dramatic Characters,' and he is now engaged in editing a series of this actor's prompt-books, or editions of the plays in which Mr. Booth appears, printed as they are acted—that is, with many omissions and transpositions, and a few interpolations made necessary by the great changes in the physical conditions of the theatre—changes which have been especially important within the past half century. We have, for one thing, adopted the fashion of using, when possible, only one set scene to an act. To this fashion both Shakspere and Sheridan must conform. Most, if not all, of our acting editions of old plays were made before this fashion obtained, and they are, therefore, now behind the age. More than this, the accumulated traditions of the stage provide a fund of "business," or by-play, which adds greatly to the effect of the play when acted. Mr. Booth's experience, personal and inherited, has shown him what to select and what to reject. The version of the play prepared by him is here printed on one side of the page only, the other being left blank for any remarks the student may have to make. An introduction to each piece, notes on the costume and scenery, selections from the leading criticisms of the work, and extracts from other authors, shedding light on the motive of the play, have been contributed by Mr. Winter with taste and skill. No more instructive lesson in the requirements of the theatre can easily be had than a careful comparison between "Hamlet" as it reads in a good edition of Shakspere and in these beautifully-printed prompt-books.

—The English Dialect Society have published, through Trübner & Co., Part I. (A–F) of a 'Dictionary of English Plant Names,' compiled by James Britten and Robert Holland; an octavo volume of more than two hundred pages. It is the result of ten years' labor, and in part embraces vernacular names hitherto unpublished, in part those which have been printed in dictionaries like Halliwell's and Wright's, and in county glossaries and vocabularies, and also the names (whether now obsolete or not) "by which British plants are mentioned in the works of the older botanists." An effort has been made in every case to identify the plant by its scientific name, and to give a reference to the earliest occurrence of the popular name in print. There are frequent quotations from the poets, both early and late; thus, we get some idea of Shakspere's "*canker* in the hedge," and "*dead men's fingers* call them," and learn what may be known about Milton's "twisted *eglantine*," and this about Wordsworth's "little *celandine*": "So called bycause that it beginneth to spring and to floure at the comming of the swallowes [*chelidonium*], and withereth at their return." Apropos of *Canterbury bells*, we are told what sort of bells the pilgrims hung to their horses, and why; with *Danes' Blood* there would appear to be a genuine local historical association; *dogwood* takes its name not from the animal but from the skewers made from it; *horse-chestnut*, generally thought equivalent to "coarse chestnut," is perhaps traceable to the custom prevalent "in the East Country, and so through all Turkie," of giving the fruit "unto horses, to cure them of the cough, shortnesse of winde, and such other diseases"; *bay-berries* is pleonastic, as "in old works *bay* means a berry generally"; *brunel* (*Brunella vulgaris*) "took its rise from the German *die Braune*, an 'infirmitie among soldiers that lie in a campe,'" and for which the plant served as a specific. There is a multitude of names of the following class: *Adam-and-Eve*, *Boots-and-Shoes*, *Butter-and-Bread*, *Cats-and-Dogs*, *Cocks-and-Hens*, *Eggs-and-Bacon*, *Face-and-Hood*, *Fingers-and-Toes*, etc. Among corrupted names, none is more curious than *Cast-me-down=Cassidonie=Stœchas sidonia*. The different ways of spelling the same name are best exemplified in *acharne* ('acorn'), etc., to *atchorn*, fourteen in all, not counting "The pigs are gone o' *aitchorning*." An index of scientific names groups the vernacular synonyms very strikingly; a single plant has in some cases as many as twenty or thirty different appellations.

—The historical literature of the year 1878 was very meagre; and although it includes many works of solid merit, very few of these will be found to stand unequivocally in the first rank as works of literature. The field of ancient history has been distinguished by publications upon antiquities rather than history proper. Undoubtedly the most important accomplishments in this field have been the excavations at Olympia and elsewhere, and the accounts (as Schliemann's 'Mycenæ') of excavations made in previous years. The translation of Max Duncker's 'History of Antiquity,' of which the first volume has appeared, is important for the English public. Of original works there have been some valuable ones, in both modern and ancient history, in the "Epoch Series": besides this, there is Bosworth Smith's 'Carthage and the Carthaginians.' We will also mention the republication of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's 'Ancient Egyptians,' and the new and sumptuous edition of Duruy's 'Histoire des Romains.'

—In mediæval history there has been rather more. The second and third volumes of Gfrörer's 'Byzantinische Geschichten,' edited since the author's death by Dr. Weiss, reach the year 1071; this is a work of high value, although it is one-sided, representing the author's ultramontane position. Covering partly the same period is Osborn's 'Islam under the Khalifs of Bagdad,' continuing the author's 'Islam under the Arabs.' A German work in the same field is Lüttke's 'Der Islam und seine Völker.' A new volume in the Heeren and Ukert (and Giesebrecht) series is the 'History of Bavaria,' by Sigmund Riezler, author of 'Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste.' The first volume reaches the year 1180. To judge from the author's previous works, it must be especially valuable in the history of civilization. Denis's 'Huss et la Guerre des Hussites' is pronounced a work of high merit, based upon original research. The translation of Burckhardt's 'Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy' belongs also here. For Church history we would notice Böhringer's 'Kirche Christi,' a biographical history of the church before the Reformation; ten volumes have appeared of a second edition, and three more are yet to appear (devoted to Augustine, Leo I., and Gregory I.), the whole covering the ground of the first volume of the original edition. It is pronounced to have almost the value of a patristic library. Trench's 'Mediæval Church History' we lately noticed. Gairdner's 'Richard III.' belongs to the close of the Middle Ages. This monarch, we are happy to say, is not "rehabilitated." Rambaud's 'Histoire de la Russie' (of which a translation has been announced) is a book which has received the highest praise. Reuter's 'Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung' has been brought, in the second volume, down to the year 1300. The third volume of Stubbs's 'Constitutional History of England' completes the work.

—In modern history there is comparatively little. The second volume of Reumont's 'Toscana' comes down to 1859. Moritz Ritter, too, has a volume on the Cleves and Juliers war of succession (1610–11). For the eighteenth century Arneth's 'Geschichte Maria Theresias,' vol. 8, reaches the year 1776. For the same period De Broglie's 'Secret du Roi' has done a little, but perhaps not much, to rescue Louis XV. from the contempt in which he is held. The new volume of Taine's 'Origines' is important. Dixon's 'History of the Church of England,' vol. i., covers the important period 1529–37. The new volumes (fourth and fifth) of Masson's 'Milton' belong rather to history than biography. The most important work in the modern history of England is probably Lecky's 'England in the Eighteenth Century,' although Walpole's 'History of England in the Nineteenth Century' has also great merit. For American history we have the second volume of Bryant, and the second volume of Von Holst's great work.

—A fresh interest in the Mendelssohn family has been awakened in Germany by the publication of Hensel's 'Die Familie Mendelssohn' (Berlin : Behr). The author, a nephew of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, has made a most judicious use of the materials at his disposal, and by numerous letters and extracts from diaries, added to his own personal reminiscences, enables one to form a most charming picture of this extraordinarily-gifted family. The first volume opens with a short biography of Moses Mendelssohn, whose petition to the king, Frederic the Great, for permission to live permanently in Berlin, his friend D'Argens endorsed with the words : "Un philosophe mauvais catholique supplie un philosophe mauvais protestant de donner le privilège à un philosophe mauvais juif. Il y a trop de philosophie dans tout ceci, pour que la raison ne soit pas du côté de la demande." His two oldest sons, Joseph and Abraham, the founders of the great Berlin banking-house, were both remarkable men. The former devoted himself in his leisure hours to scientific studies, and was a friend of Humboldt. Hensel relates that Humboldt came to him one day in great distress. He had just received notice to quit his house, in which were stored his vast collections. That afternoon Joseph wrote to him as follows : "The house in which you live is now mine. Arrange it to suit yourself." Abraham, the father of Felix, was in many respects like his father, and the picture of his family life is almost ideal in its beauty. There are many of his letters, together with those of his daughters, Fanny and Rebecca, full of vivacious descriptions of the persons they meet and the things they see. There are also some, very remarkable for the nobility of their sentiment and the purity of their diction, written by his wife Leah. Hensel closes his work, which has been for some time privately circulated, with the death of Felix in 1847.

—An interesting pamphlet, professedly written by a Russian, who conceals his name, appeared last year, bearing the title 'Études sur le développement politique, social et intellectuel de la Russie depuis la guerre de Crimée,' and dated St. Petersburg, May, 1878 (Neufchâtel: J. Sandoz). It deals with the progress in public instruction in the writer's native country. In the first fifteen years of the reign of the present Emperor the higher public instruction made rapid progress ; after that date a retrograde movement showed itself, but this was counterbalanced by progress in another direction. Between 1868 and 1872 the students of the universities had diminished twenty per cent., but those of other superior schools had increased in fully the same proportion. The Technological Institute, which had only 480 pupils in 1868, had more than 1,000 in 1875 ; the Academy of Medicine had at the same time 1,400. There were 350 in the four military and one nautical academies, and about 4,000 in those of the mining engineers, roads and bridges, forests, architecture, philology, and agriculture, and other kindred institutions ; and as most of the special schools have a course of four years, it may be estimated that about 2,400 youths per year enjoy the benefits of the higher instruction, which, estimating the population at 80,000,000, would only give an average of one educated person in 33,000 souls. In 1855 Russia had only 77 gymnasia with 17,817 pupils ; in 1875, 184, and 47,639 pupils. Adding the *real*-schools, those of the Ministry of War, and the normal, agricultural, commercial, and technical, there are in Russia more than 70,000 collegians, or one to 1,145 of the population; while in France there is one to 250, and in Germany one to 228. With regard to the means of education for girls the situation is much better. The pupils of the Russian female gymnasia have been found by the professors of the University of Zürich better prepared than any of the other female students, and this has also been noticed at the St. Petersburg Academy of Medicine and the universities of Moscow and Kiev. The creation of gymnasia for girls is the work of our day, as they did not exist under Nicholas. In 1875 there were 62, and 136 pro-gymnasia, with 30,147 pupils, which must be augmented by 6,000 girls receiving secondary instruction in several of the large towns ; many of these are devoting themselves in their turn to instruction, and doing valuable work in the primary schools. The army schools have likewise powerfully contributed to the spread of education. Among the recruits 87 per cent. are totally ignorant, whilst at least 50 per cent. of the soldiers can now read and write—thus, 37 per cent. owe their primary instruction to their service in the army. The ecclesiastical schools are losing ground; in 1865 there were 230 schools and 52,083 pupils; in 1875 there were 243 schools and 40,596 pupils, a diminution of more than 11,000 pupils in ten years ; this diminution is, however, the less to be regretted, as the principal object of these schools seems to be to retain their pupils in the routine and superstition which are repugnant to modern ideas of progress and enlightenment. The announcement has recently been made that a university would immediately be established at Tomsk, in Siberia. This was strongly recommended in 1875 by Kaznakoff, the Governor-General; and as the benefits of the higher instruction have heretofore been denied the inhabitants of Siberia, Turkestan, and the Caucasus, they will doubtless joyfully welcome this addition to their means of superior instruction.

LINGUISTIC PALÆONTOLOGY.*

THIS exhaustive work, the revision of which was the latest labor of its lamented author, is a notable example of the manner in which, by modern methods, philology is brought to elucidate the history of the human race. No sooner was the relationship established between the group of languages known as Indo-European, or Aryan, than scholars perceived that by tracing individual words through the several tongues in which they occur, light would be thrown upon the origin and history of the ideas or things represented by those words, and conclusions could, with considerable certainty, be drawn as to the connection between different nationalities and also as to their progress in culture prior to the successive divisions of the race. Thus, to take a familiar example, the marked identity in the names of the primary numbers throughout the Aryan dialects shows that the decimal numeration was familiar to the prehistoric ancestors of the race while yet united in Central Asia. This interesting line of thought has been industriously worked out by successive generations of philologists ; and, in the book before us, the results of the labors of Bopp, Grimm, Benfey, Pott, Weber, Lassen, Müller, Kuhn, Fick, Burnouf, Rosen, Wilson, Muir, Roth, Whitney, Aufrecht, Böhtlinck, Grassmann, Justi, and many others, are brought together by the learned author, are acutely analyzed and classified in order.

In the history of mankind there is no grander subject of investigation than the career of the great Aryan family which, starting from its rugged Asian home, has encircled the world, founding successive empires, ever foremost in the arts of peace and war and in the race of civilization, and evidently destined in the future to dominate the earth. The events now taking place in the East wear a new and picturesque significance when viewed in connection with the past. It is probably at least five thousand years since the European Aryans left their brethren to the east of the Caspian ; and now we see a fragment of the Teutonic branch returning by new and circuitous paths and overthrowing a realm of their Hindu kindred four thousand years old ; while the Slavic branch has gone back by nearly the original route to reoccupy its ancestral seat, and Saxon and Slav are preparing for a death-struggle, the prize of the victor being the original home of the common stock.

To reconstruct, from the depths of forgotten Time, the vanished civilization of the rude fathers of these energetic nations is surely an interesting task, and the manner in which it has been so far accomplished shows how much can be done from unpromising materials by a careful combination of analysis and synthesis. M. Pictet commences by investigating the ethnographic questions involved in the names of the various peoples sprung from the Aryan stock. To determine their original habitat he then considers the terms relating to weather and climate. Thus, he shows that the names of winter and spring can be traced throughout all Aryan tongues, proving that these words and the ideas which they represent were formulated before the earliest separation of the tribes ; that summer is indicated by a word common to the Zend, the Celtic, and the Germanic dialects, while it differs in Sanskrit and the classical languages, thus showing that different estimates were placed on the hot season by those whose migrations led them into different climates ; and that the terms designating autumn are as divergent as possible in the various tongues, showing that the season was not recognized as distinct until after the complete dispersion of the race. In this mode he proceeds with geographical and topographical terms—mountain and valley, sea and river, rocks and stones, etc. Then taking up the names of metals, he gives us much curious insight into the comparative degrees of civilization indicated by familiarity with these indispensable instruments of progress. Turning to the vegetable world, he first considers general terms, such as tree, trunk, branch, root, wood, bark, leaf, flower, forest, etc.; then the wild species, as oak, pine, elm, beech ; the cultivated ones, as the apple, pear, plum, cherry, almond, chestnut, walnut ; then grains and vegetables in detail, and finally wild flowers. Passing to animals, he first investigates the names of domestic beasts ; and here we may instance, as an example of his method, the interesting research into the appellations of the cow and bull. Thus, for bull and cow we have in Sanskrit *gaus*

* 'Les Origines Indo-Européennes, ou les Aryas Primitifs. Essai de Paléontologie Linguistique. Par Adolphe Pictet.' Deuxième édition, revue et augmentée. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1878. New York : F. W. Christern.

or *go*, Zend *gao*, Persian *go* or *gaw*, Bucharian *gao*, Kurdish *gha*, Afghan *guai*, Armenian *gov* or *kov*, Old-German *chuo*, Anglo-Saxon *cu*, English *cow*, Lettish *gows*. The Slav dialects only retain it in some derivatives. In the classical and Celtic tongues the frequent substitution of *b* for *g* gives us for the masculine *βοῦς* and *bos;* while for the feminine we have the Irish *bo*, Cymric *bu*, Armoric *bu*, and Cornish *buch*. Another Sanskrit term *vaçra*, and *vaça*, shows the origin of the Latin *vacca*, with its numerous Neo-Latin derivatives. For bull or ox there are various Sanskrit words—*ukshan*, *sthira*, *balin*, *usra*, *mahisha*, and *damya*, which can all be traced in other languages. To *ukshan* can be assigned the Zend *ukhshan*, Gothic *auhsa*, Anglo-Saxon *oxa*, English *ox*, Scandinavian *oxe*, Old-German *ohso*, Cymric *ych*, Armoric *ochen*, Irish *ess*. To *sthira*, the Gothic *stiur*, Anglo-Saxon *steor* or *styre*, English *steer*, Old-German *stior*, Scandinavian *thior*, Swedish *tjur*, Danish *tyr*, Greek *ταῦρος*, Latin *taurus*, Russian, Polish, and Bohemian *tur*, Irish *tor*, Lithuanian *tauras*. To *balin*, the Persian *bala*, Russian *vol*, Polish *wól*, Bohemian *wul*, Lithuanian *builis* and *bullus*, Scandinavian *bauli*, Anglo-Saxon *bulluca*, English *bull* and *bullock*, Irish *bulan* and *bulog*, Welsh *bwla*. To *usra*, the Old-German *ur* and *uro*, Anglo-Saxon *ur*, Scandinavian *ur* and *uri*, Celtic *urus*, and German *auer-ochs*. To *damya*, the Old-Irish *dam* and Albanian *dhema*. That the domestication of the bull was originally due to the Ayrans would seem to be shown by the extension of various Sanskrit synonymes among the other great families of mankind. Thus, *gu* has penetrated to China, where it is found in the form *go*. *Ukshan* and *mahisha* are the sources of various Tartar designations. *Sthira* or *sthura* is the source of the Semitic appellatives, as Chaldee *tora*, Syriac *tauro*, Arabic *thawr*, Hebrew *shor*, Ethiopian *tore*. And it is noteworthy that the three Coptic words, *mase*, bull, *vashi*, cow, and *ehe*, ox, correspond with the three Sanskrit names, *mahisha*, *vaça*, and *ahi*. The same process applied to the words employed to designate the horse shows the origin of all, or nearly all, the European names for that animal in the rich synonymy of the Sanskrit, which has nearly a hundred and fifty words signifying horse, mare, colt, etc., and in a subsequent chapter there is a very interesting investigation into the relation between the terms used for cattle and those denoting fortune, wealth, property, etc., into the details of which space will not permit us to enter. Attention is likewise paid to the myths connected with the cow, which show the supreme importance attached to that animal in the pastoral life of the primitive Aryans; singularly enough, however, no allusion is made to the remarkable coincidence of the cosmogonic cows, Abudad and Audhumbla, in the Zend and Norse mythologies, though the latter is mentioned, as well as the cow Surabhi, produced by the Hindu Devas, when they churned the ocean with the mountain Mandara.

Closely connected with this are the terms relating to milk, which afford an interesting example of the deviation of words from their original significance. Thus, the Sanskrit *duh*, to milk, gives *duhitar*, she who milks, whence are derived the various appellatives of daughter, in the Iranian, Hellenic, Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic dialects. But the Vedic poets regarded rain as the milk (*doha* or *dugdha*) of the clouds or heavenly cows, whence are derived the Scandinavian *dögg*, rain, the Old-German *tau* or *tou*, Anglo-Saxon *deaw*, English *dew*, Pomeranian *dauk*, Old-Slav *duzhdy*, Russian *dozhdy*, etc., while the English *dug*, a teat, is evidently a reminiscence of the original sense. On the other hand, our word "to milk" is traceable to the Sanskrit *marg*, signifying to stroke or rub, whence come the Greek *ἀμέλγω*, Latin *mulgeo*, Old-Irish *malg*, Anglo-Saxon *meolcan*, Scandinavian *miolka*, Old-German *melchan*, Lithuanian *milszti*, etc., leading to the inference that the Oriental Aryans adhered to the primitive significance of *duh*, while the Western branches, in attaching to it the derivative meaning of rain, sought a different root for the idea of milk and milking, and this before they split into the divisions which formed the Hellenic, Italiote, Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavic races. Thus we are led to the conjecture that a separation took place in the East prior to the time when the first of the successive Aryan bands sought new homes towards the setting sun.

It would be interesting to follow M. Pictet as he thus proceeds to discuss in due order the Aryan philology of all the other varieties of natural objects, poultry, vermin, and parasites, wild beasts, birds, fish, reptiles, shells, and insects, for curious questions present themselves on every hand from materials apparently the most insignificant. This, however, is impossible here, and we can only indicate briefly the remainder of his plan, which leads him to consider next the terms connected with material civilization, examining successively the pursuits of man, hunting and fishing, pastoral life and its products, agriculture, with its processes and implements, arts and trades, including war and weapons; products of industry, houses, utensils, clothing and ornaments, food and drink. Thus two volumes are filled, and the third commences with social relations, starting with the family and taking up successively property, law, manners, and customs. Finally, consideration is given to intellectual, moral, and religious conceptions, embracing psychology, numeration, astronomy, traditions, superstitions, and religion, which are all treated with the same overflowing abundance of detail; and the work ends with some chronological speculations of little moment, and an exceedingly interesting résumé, in which the results of the preceding laborious investigation are condensed into a sketch of what may with reasonable certainty be affirmed of the condition of civilization and thought among our prehistoric ancestors. To all this there is lacking the indispensable index—that aid to reference of which the Frenchman (or Swiss) seems to be congenitally ignorant, and the absence of which deprives a book like the present of fully one-half of its permanent working value.

In a work of so large a scope as this, built up of infinite minute and scattered fragments, and treating of many points which have been and yet are the objects of warm discussion among the most competent scholars, it would be idle to expect absolute completeness or positive certainty on all points. Yet no one can peruse it without feeling confidence in the laborious industry, the fairness, and the modesty of the author, who is content to state his doubts, where doubt exists, to give the opinions of those who differ from him, and to put forward his own on controverted questions without presuming to assert that he has found the correct solutions where others have failed.

Some few omissions and deficiencies we have observed. Thus, in considering the Sanskrit root *labh*, to take, reference might properly have been made to the derivative Laverna, the Latin goddess of acquisition, who became the patroness of thieves and swindlers. Anglo-Saxon words, moreover, are not as frequently cited as might have been desirable. *Ban* and *bana* might have been quoted among the derivatives of the Sanskrit *bandh*, to punish or put to death; under *magha*, power, in addition to the Anglo-Saxon *magan*, it would have been desirable to cite *mæg*, whence comes the English *may;* and when collecting the terms which show the custom of using the hand to confirm contracts, *handfæstnung* and *handfæstung* might appropriately have been introduced. Still more remarkable is the omission of the Anglo-Saxon *waelig*, wealthy, alongside of *wealdan*, to rule, in considering the derivatives of *vriddhi* in their curious divarication into terms signifying respectively riches and power. The fragments also of ancient German speech, preserved in the Malbergian glosses of the Salic Law, corrupt as they are, might occasionally have afforded an illustration which has been overlooked. Thus, a word which is variously written *anthedi*, *anthedio*, *antidio* and *authedio*, with the evident meaning of theft, might properly have been alluded to, along with the Gothic *thiubs*, the Irish *taid*, and the Anglo-Saxon *theof*, among the derivatives of the Sanskrit root *ta;* and the Malbergian form *chana*, for cock, would have served as a link in the chain between the Sanskrit *kanuka*, Old-German *hano*, and Anglo-Saxon *hona*, whence comes our modern *hen*.

More serious is M. Pictet's error when, in examining the Aryan traditions of the Deluge as they have existed among the Hindus, Greeks, Celts, Teutons, and Lithuanians, he states that no trace of it is to be found in the ancient Iranian branch, omitting the fact that it is described in detail in the Bundehesh. This oversight is the more notable since he compares the moral and religious lesson taught concerning it in Genesis with the assumed absence of such a lesson in the Aryan traditions, for the Bundehesh specially tells us that the flood was sent by the Creator to destroy the *kharvastars*, or noxious beings formed by Ahriman, and that the rain fell until all the earth was covered to the height of a man, and all the *kharvastars* were drowned. In fact, the author is not always to be followed implicitly in his observations upon religious faiths and customs. Thus, he is evidently mistaken in assuming that the slaughter of wives and followers at the pyre or grave, by Celts and Teutons, shows a return to barbarism by those tribes after enjoying a higher civilization among the prehistoric Aryans. It is true that the Suttee was not enjoined in Vedic times; but there is nothing to show that such sacrifices were not practised, at least occasionally; and we have evidence that they were in vogue among the Turanians at a very early period—possibly coeval with that of the Aryans prior to their dispersion—affording grounds for the belief that the origin of the custom of giving companions to the dead in the future world is attributable to a period earlier than the primal separation of man on the eastern continent into the families at present recognized. M. Pictet's argument, moreover, to show that the polytheism of

historic times arose out of a presumed original monotheism, is inconclusive and illogical; and the limitations of the philological process in his hands are shown in the fact that he omits to make any reference to ancestor-worship as part of the early Aryan faith, although its existence in all the branches of the race indicates that it was a leading feature, if not the original source, of the primitive religion.

All these, however, are trivial defects which can be readily overlooked in a work which brings to the reader in orderly sequence so vast a mass of recondite learning. It has been the labor of a life-time, and our thanks are due, in no stinted measure, to the patient and laborious scholar who has rendered accessible to us that which throws so much light on many debatable questions in the history of material, mental, and religious development.

MOZLEY'S ESSAYS.*

THESE two handsome volumes represent only in part the results of a laborious literary career of thirty years. They are taken from contributions made at various times to the *British Critic*, the *Christian Remembrancer*, and the *Quarterly Review*, and recall the elaborate treatment which seems fast becoming a tradition in our periodical literature. Several of them, indeed, in point of bulk are more like a volume than a magazine article; yet they are nowhere open to the charge of being diffuse. It is not often that a collection of miscellaneous writings bears throughout so genuine and strong an impress of the writer's personality. Dr. Mozley led a retired life, and only in the latter portion of it came to be widely known; but he seems to have made a deep impression upon those who were brought into personal contact with him, and this impression will be shared by all who become acquainted with him through these pages. Even without the help of the affectionate and appreciative sketch which opens the volumes it would be impossible not to arrive at the conclusion that the author was a very able, a very sincere, and a very honest man; a man equally strong in his convictions, tenacious in his grasp, and independent in arriving at his conclusions. While according for the most part a hearty support to a particular party, and with an inclination to controversy which showed itself in his earliest years, when as a child he was forced to listen to religious teachings from which his intelligence revolted, he was yet never held within the strict lines of party discipline, and never failed to couple a certain largeness and generosity of view with an uncommon capacity of disapprobation. His strongest intellectual bent was in the line of metaphysical enquiry; when dealing with philosophical principles his grasp was always vigorous. Combined with his marked analytic faculty was a cognate disposition to study the workings of human character, a disposition in his case so strong that the habit of searching beneath the external act for the hidden motive amounted almost to an instinct. We are told that he habitually speculated on the character of all with whom he came in contact, a fact which accounts for the distinctive merits and distinctive defects of the volumes before us.

The first is filled with four elaborate essays upon Strafford, Laud, Cromwell, and Luther. Respecting the first two Dr. Mozley writes with the enthusiasm of an ardent admirer; respecting the last two with naturally a good deal of qualification. Yet the four essays have many points of resemblance. They abound in acute discrimination, they are vigorous in treatment, they evince a familiar acquaintance with the subjects discussed. With the exception of an infrequent phrase, which at times unpleasantly recalls the method of dealing with the opposite side of which the now forgotten novel of 'Ten Thousand a Year' was an illustration, they are courteous in tone, and to a young student, whose knowledge of the Civil Wars was derived mainly from Macaulay, they might serve as a wholesome corrective. Yet we cannot rank either one of these essays as a very important contribution to history. Not only do they all have the stamp of a controversial motive, but they are all alike defective in their mode of treatment. They are not historical, but analytical; and as a result we have not so much well-rounded conclusions from a wide survey of ascertained fact, as acute and ingenious speculation respecting probable motives. In his persistent impulse to search into the secret springs of action, Dr. Mozley falls into the very natural but very dangerous error of interpreting the facts of history in the light of some preconceived hypothesis.

It is easy to see how for a mind so peculiarly constituted as his the unique and dramatic character of Strafford must possess a strong attraction. He instinctively looks at the great earl not as a public man, related to a particular period, and charged with certain definite responsibilities both to his king and country, but as an ideal hero to be judged by a purely ideal standard. He is described as a genuine Shaksperian character; his unmeasured violence is gently designated "poetical excess in the article of proper pride and independence"; he was "full of his own majestic, illimitable idea of monarchy"; "a magnificent Norman viceroy, swiftly confronting and beating a nation." His statesmanship is praised for "its restless saliency, elasticity, fecundity." Could Charles only have trusted this guide, "his high-mettled charger would have carried him over all the Pyms and Hampdens right speedily." We need hardly say that this is not judging the career of Strafford by any of the tests which a sound historical criticism would recognize. An actor who played a conspicuous part in a great political crisis, whose acts were factors of momentous import for the welfare or misery of a nation, must be measured by more practical tests than those we should apply to one of the heroes of the Round Table.

Archbishop Laud is viewed by Dr. Mozley in much the same light. He is a prelate who had "caught the mediæval idea of the Church as a political estate, with pomp, wealth, and honors"; the feeling which he cherished towards it "amounted to a species of poetry." Here we see the same disposition to judge a career, not in its actual relations and from its actual results, but from a standard supplied by an analysis of the character and aims of the individual. "A great career founded on a dream" is Dr. Mozley's verdict on the man whose mistaken policy brought both church and state to ruin; but in this very statement is there not involved a contradiction? Too fair and intelligent to urge against Cromwell the vulgar charges of his enemies, Dr. Mozley characteristically falls back upon an acute distinction of Bishop Butler to prove that the Protector was essentially a hypocrite. The essay upon Luther contains a genial estimate of the reformer, but no more than the others deserves to be called an historical study.

It is in the second of these volumes that the distinctive qualities of Dr. Mozley as a writer appear to best advantage. The article on Dr. Arnold is a masterly estimate of a man richly deserving praise and admiration, but who, owing to various circumstances, has been admired and praised quite as much as he deserved. The remark that Arnold's character was too joyous, too brimful to possess the finest element of interest, shows the penetration of the writer's view. The estimate of Blanco White is also marked throughout by just discrimination. The essay upon the Book of Job is an admirable illustration of the writer's analytic power. But on the whole the paper reprinted from the *Quarterly Review* upon "The Argument of Design" presents the most striking evidences of Dr. Mozley's uncommon aptitude for philosophical discussion. The passage in which he explodes the common error respecting Lord Bacon's estimate of final causes is an instance of his studied accuracy of statement. We find, indeed, on every page evidences of a mental discipline of the highest order.

Turner's Liber Studiorum; a Description and a Catalogue. By W. G. Rawlinson. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1878. 8vo, pp. xlvii. 207.)—This handsome volume addresses a comparatively small number of readers, but it will be welcome to all collectors of the plates of the 'Liber Studiorum,' and to all students of Turner's work who have opportunity to examine these plates with the degree of attention which they deserve. In the execution of his task Mr. Rawlinson displays ample knowledge and good judgment and good taste. His technical descriptions are minutely exact, and his critical remarks are discriminating and to the point. As an account of the 'Liber Studiorum' the book is in marked contrast to the treatment which this "supreme contribution of the nineteenth century, the first great century of landscape art, to the choicest stores of pure art engraving," receives from Mr. Hamerton in the few pages given to it in his recent 'Life of Turner.' In his introduction Mr. Rawlinson gives the history of the work, and supplies the requisite general information concerning it. In the catalogue he carefully describes each plate in its order, giving a full account of the various states in which it may be found, and accompanying his description with remarks on the character and motive of the design and the quality of the execution. After going through the catalogue, comparing its descriptions with the plates themselves, we can bear testimony to its remarkable accuracy. Few works of the kind are so trustworthy.

The book is one among many recent indications of the steady increase in the interest taken in Turner's work, and of the recognition of the fact that the 'Liber Studiorum,' though it does not represent the full development and highest reach of Turner's genius, and though, through the

* 'Essays, Historical and Theological. By J. B. Mozley, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford.' 2 vols. 8vo. London: Rivingtons. 1878.

limitations inherent to its nature, it cannot exhibit some of his most remarkable qualities as an artist, is yet within its range an entirely unequalled achievement, and a record of exceptional artistic powers exercised in a field in which Turner has no rival. The fact that Turner etched nearly all, if not all, the plates himself, and that the mezzotinting added to the etched plate, if not done by his own hand, was done under his immediate and exacting supervision, gives to every good impression the character and value of an original work. No one can become familiar with the plates without, as Mr. Rawlinson justly says, gaining a strong sense of the artist's "personal presence throughout the work." The etchings themselves are of peculiar interest. They not only determine the leading lines of the subject, but they exhibit Turner's power—the result of a natural gift and of ceaseless industry—in the selection of lines at once expressive and beautiful. Alike in the delineation of the broad outlines of a landscape, whether a broken mountain chain or a placid pastoral scene, and in the delineation of the energetic and elastic growth of trees, the cleavage of rocks, the curves of the shore or the hulls of ships, Turner's line not only expresses the essential character of the scene or object, but does so under a controlling sense of the beautiful relations of each line to the others in his composition. The etching forms thus the skeleton of the piece which is clothed upon by the light and shade of the mezzotint. The union of these two modes of engraving had hardly been practised before, but there was a school of admirable mezzotint engravers in England competent to execute in the most skilful manner the work laid out for them by Turner. He himself learned the art. Some of the most beautiful plates of the Liber were engraved entirely by his own hand, and he executed wholly in mezzotint a few plates (not of the Liber series) which prove him to have been as eminent a master in that branch of engraving as in the art of etching.

The excellence of these plates, whether in the simple etching or in the completed engraving, is not obvious to the casual observer. There can be no greater error, and there is no more common one, than to suppose that the excellence of a great work of art reveals itself to every one at first inspection. All great work must be studied before it can be properly enjoyed ; the greater it is the more it must be studied. But to be serviceable this study must be intelligently guided. To such as desire to appreciate and enjoy Turner's work, and who have access to the 'Liber Studiorum' or any of the plates from it, we commend Mr. Rawlinson's book as an excellent manual of instruction.

Researches into the Early History of Mankind. By E. B. Tylor. (New York : Henry Holt & Co. 1878.)—The present edition varies but little, in amount of information and in ethnological principles, from the first issue of about twelve years ago. The great value of the work consists less in its scope and system than in the illustrations furnished of the scientific method of treating the subject. Rather than 'Researches into the Early History of Mankind,' it might be described as a guide to the manner in which such researches should be conducted. One fundamental idea pervades the whole book : a firm conviction of the unity of the human race, "and that the wide differences in the civilization and mental state of the various races of mankind are rather differences of development than of origin, rather of degree than of kind." For this development Mr. Tylor finds, so to say, a prototype in man himself, the development of the individual being typical to him of the progress of the race ; therefore Childhood is called upon to represent the "Early History of Mankind." It is unnecessary at this late day to follow in Mr. Tylor's logically successive and learned chapters the expression of this leading thought, which has to some extent determined the arrangement and sequence of his topics. We shall only remark that the "Early History of Mankind" presupposes an account of the formation and constitution of early human *society*, all the other features (utterance included) being only indispensable accessories or results arising from intercourse. Especially if we admit the unity of mankind, is society but the result of propagation of the species, and we may be permitted to doubt if in this case the development of the individual can be typical of that of the race, and whether childhood fitly represents the early times of a cluster made up of both sexes. This fact explains, however, why Mr. Tylor relegates the vital question of prohibition of marriage among kindred, and with it the question of marriage in general, to his chapter on "Remarkable Customs." It also explains his assertion that "the prohibitions of marriage among distant kindred go for least in proving connection by blood or intercourse between the distant races who practise them, as it is easy to suppose them to have grown up again and again from like grounds." Primitive marriage, nevertheless, is the first departure for the explanation of primitive society, and the institutions of early human society should be the first and principal theme of "Researches into the Early History of Mankind."

It is impossible, in a work of this class, to avoid overlooking facts and points which may be of importance for special investigations or belonging to certain geographical areas, although they could be (and perhaps should be) profitably used for ethnological purposes. Thus we miss, in Mr. Tylor's chapter on the art of making fire, the important Mexican custom of the "new fire," practised, as an act of worship, every fifty-two years. Again, the story of the two black men of Van Diemen's Land who ultimately became the twin stars might fitly be accompanied by that of Hunahpu and Xbalanqué, the twin "braves" of Guatemala. But Mr. Tylor himself has more than amply apologized for such "errors and omissions" in his introduction. We fully endorse his view that "any one who collects and groups a mass of evidence, and makes an attempt to turn it to account which may lead to something better, has, I think, a claim to be exempt from any very harsh criticism of mistakes and omissions" (p. 12).

Profile. Von Karl Hillebrand. [Vol. IV. of 'Zeiten, Völker, und Menschen.'] (Berlin : Oppenheim ; New York : B. Westermann & Co. 1878.)—The essayist is often puzzled to invent a novel and yet suitable title for a collection of miscellanies. By using the term "Profile," Hillebrand, we infer, intimates that his essays do not profess to be portraits, but merely sharp outlines against a sober background. The gallery is well selected and sufficiently diversified. Its subjects are taken chiefly from the illustrious dead : only two, Renan and Taine, are among the living ; but one, the Countess d'Agoult, is a woman. The princes of the house of Medici, Leopold I. of Tuscany, Tasso, Macchiavelli, and Gino Capponi represent Italy ; Milton represents England ; Rabelais, the age of Francis I. Besides the three already mentioned, we have Doudan, Balzac, Buloz, and Thiers from contemporary France.

These notices, whether we call them sketches or "profiles," are all interesting and suggestive. The author varies his tone, of course, but maintains his well-known freedom and breadth of view, and his intense conception of the personal element in both history and literature. Directness of expression and dislike of pedantry are, as might have been expected, everywhere manifest. The essays upon Taine, Renan, and Thiers will doubtless attract most attention. Hillebrand has a marked liking for the politician of the bourgeoisie. He sympathizes with Thiers's common sense and devotion to country. Thiers embodies, for him, a happy and uncommon union of fiery zeal with prudent tact. In the main, Hillebrand's remarks are a reaffirmation of the views he had already put forth in his 'History of France under Louis Philippe.' One position, however, is not only novel, but is of sufficient importance to be worth reproducing in the author's words. No other writer, to our knowledge, has stated it so fully or so boldly. Thiers shared with the greater part of his contemporaries the delusion that the democratic state founded by Napoleon Bonaparte admitted of freedom and self-government. His ideal was : *Le Roi règne et M. Thiers gouverne.* This delusion he did not formally abandon until 1871, just before the end of his life ; then his presidency, from 1871–3, became a dictatorship. Hillebrand concludes thus :

"No one familiar with the history of this century will deny that the rulers of France, from the First Consul down to Marshal MacMahon, have been each and all personal rulers, and that every minister, whether Martignac or Thiers, Barrot or Dufaure, Marcère or Jules Simon, who attempted to force them to keep within the limits of the constitutional fiction of a sovereign without responsibility, has been summarily thrust aside. That this personal government was not a matter of mere chance, a caprice on the part of the ruler, but a necessity of the French state as it issued from the Revolution and the Consulate—this Thiers perceived only in his seventy-sixth year, when it was proposed to make him himself a constitutional ruler with a responsible ministry, and to banish him from Parliament. He rejected the suggestion peremptorily, as Bonaparte had done before him, only in more temperate language. It was the solitary recantation of his long, eventful life. Assuredly we give him no scant measure of praise when we recognize and appreciate the frankness, the sincerity, the freedom from petty vanity involved in a man's admitting, on the verge of the grave, that he had all his life been mistaken on such a point, and that the republic—that is, the non-kingship, the responsibility of the chief magistrate—is the sole form possible in modern France" (p. 171).

We should do Hillebrand injustice by attempting to restate his analysis of Renan's philosophic genius in our meagre phraseology. His argument is twofold : the tendency of the present age is to examine and compare rather than to produce, and Renan is the spokesman of this

age by virtue of his insight and his perfect mastery of style. For Taine it is evident that Hillebrand has no strong liking. The author of the 'History of English Literature' and the 'Ancien Régime' is for him too rhetorical and too *doctrinaire*. His style, moreover, does not come up to the highest standard of French prose. The conclusion of this essay, in which Hillebrand reasserts very decidedly his own views concerning the historian's true office, will be found profitable reading.

Habitual Drunkenness, and Insane Drunkards. By J. C. Bucknill, M.D. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co.)—To any one who has been charmed with the grace of style and force of expression in Dr. Bucknill's 'Mad Folk of Shakespeare,' it will be a pleasure to find that so skilful a psychologist and so broad a humanitarian has recently written upon a question so important to our whole social life as that contained in the above title. The interest which the subject has awakened in England, of late, proceeded chiefly from reports of American success—exaggerated, Dr. Bucknill thinks—in reforming the vice or curing the disease of inebriety; and four volumes of 1,749 pages, octavo, of an exhaustive but still unfinished report of a select committee of the House of Lords attests the thoroughness with which they have entered into a study of the problem. A vice or depraved taste our author considers drunkenness to be in the vast majority of cases; and he thinks Government or State asylums for its special treatment, as a disease, failures in this country and not to be advised in England, even for the few whose craving for strong drink can be fairly attributed to actual disease. As the weak went to the wall in olden times, so now, in his opinion, are the drunkards eliminated from the race as being among the unfitted to survive. If likely to be improved, he believes they get cured (or return to decent habits, as he would say) in all but exceptional cases, nearly as well at home or with family treatment. The success of the Boston institution, at least, he certainly underrates, for there has been in that place a very gratifying result with a selected class of patients; but the Massachusetts Legislature apparently agreed with him in their theory of treatment, when they gave assistance to it (as they have not done for seven years) by helping to provide a "refuge for inebriates and means for reforming them." One of the great merits of the book is its rare impartiality, in that it contains letters and opinions of others, especially of the distinguished alienist, Dr. Clouston, who are not of the same opinion with Dr. Bucknill. That one can find the prominent views of scientific and experienced men on both sides of the question in a very readable work of 103 pages, is indeed a great recommendation in these days of large books.

*** *Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Apponyi (Flora H.), The Libraries of California	(A. L. Bancroft & Co.)
Blunt (Lady Anne), Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates	(Harper & Bros.) $2 50
Boulger (D. C.), Life of Yakoob Beg	(Wm. H. Allen & Co.)
Capes (W. W.), Age of the Antonines	(Chas. Scribner's Sons) 1 00
Continental Tour of Eight Days for Forty-four Shillings, swd	(Sampson Low & Co.)
Frothingham (Rev. O. B.), Visions of the Future: Sermons	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 00
Fry (Col. J. B.), Army Sacrifices	(D. Van Nostrand) 1 00
Gamekeeper at Home, 3d ed	(Roberts Bros.) 1 50
Gladstone (W. E.), Gleanings of Past Years, 1845–76, 2 vols	(Chas. Scribner's Sons) 2 00
Hamerton (P. G.), Life of J. M. W. Turner	(Roberts Bros.) 2 50
Hare (A. J. C.), Life and Letters of Baroness Bunsen	(Geo. Routledge & Sons)
Holland (F. M.), The Reign of the Stoics	(Chas. P. Somerby) 1 25
How We Saved the Old Farm, swd	(A. K. Loring) 50
Howells (W. D.), The Lady of the Aroostook	(Houghton, Osgood & Co.) 2 00
Hughes (R. W.), The Currency Question from a Southern Point of View	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 25
Jones (L. A.), Law of Railroad and Other Corporate Securities	(Houghton, Osgood & Co.) 6 50
Longfellow (H. W.), Poems of Places: America; Middle States	(Houghton, Osgood & Co.) 1 00
MacDonald (G.), Sir Gibbie	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Marryat (Florence), Out of His Reckoning, swd	(A. K. Loring) 30
Morice (Rev. F. D.), Pindar	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Oakey (Emily S.), Dialogues and Conversations	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 75
Oliphant (Mrs.), Molière	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Rush (Dr. J.), Philosophy of the Human Voice, 7th ed	" "
Stevens (H. R.), Faith and Reason	(Chas. P. Somerby) 1 50
Turner (Prof. J. B.), Christ Words	(H. W. Rokker) 2 50
Wildrick (Mrs.), Lord Strahan: a Tale	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Fine Arts.

THE GROWING SCHOOL OF AMERICAN WATER-COLOR ART.

THE Exhibition which closed last week has been marked by one of those impulses of attachment on the part of fashion which are the best guaranty of life for an art in this mixed world. The card with "Sold" on it was hung to one-fifth of the purchasable works, and about ten thousand dollars' worth of the catalogue prices set over to the painters' account. Important concessions had, however, to be made by the artists to secure these transfers, and probably fifteen per cent. of the price charged for the purchases was remitted. The gain to the particular art cultivated by the Society is still considerable. The bent is now taken, and a steady penetration of water-color pictures will henceforth go on in the galleries of those who have been collecting canvases only, and, what is of more consequence, in the parlors of those who have no facilities for showing off canvases. The convenience of water-color art, in fact, is that it can be seen adequately in a room comparatively dim, and people can entertain its products without scandalizing their notions of a comfortably shaded interior.

The Exhibition's black-and-white department showed a more satisfying measure of the tendencies, ambitions, and experiments of native art than the larger and strictly water-colored collection. It embraced, indeed, plenty of sheets that could not by the most charitable extension of the term be connected with water-color at all. For while a sepia or ink sketch may pretend to be a work of color and a manipulation of water, it is hard to see how the crayons, the charcoals, the wood-cuts and etchings, and all the patient knitting-work of the cedar pencil could be passed into the assembly even as the cousins german of aquarelle. Their tie to the art was simply in the fact that they were the work of painters who in the other rooms were seen fully committed to the difficulties and ceremonies of the more full-dressed representation. In the hasty or preparatory cartoon we detect the thinker in the act of inventing. Mr. Homer showed, in simple black-lead heightened with gouache, a few of his groups of little girls in attitudes of hearty naturalness, their figures relieved by shorthand indications of the banks or bridges or trees on which they leaned; and the monochrome seemed almost as adequate, in his hand, to the feeling of the situation as the definition by color. Mr. Homer's contributions were simply his budget of summer sketches made in the interior of the State, the glimpses of a hermit living in complete solitude, and summary and penetrating as the glances of a recluse who is not of the world he contemplates. They were the direct opposites of the highly-finished and intimately comprehended negro scenes he sent to the Paris Exhibition. It is understood, indeed, that the Water-Color Society merely received from him his portfolios of art stenography, with permission to choose, and that the Society quickly found they wanted all. His colored sketches, hung through the different galleries, were the diary of a few summer days of changing weather, and recorded by a touch, with inimitable conciseness, the sultry closeness of the forest, or the free escape of a windy hill-top, or the damp pressure of rain. In the West room, his circle of little rustic girl-studies, set in the different phases of hot dewy morning scenes, rather crushed and flattened the elaborate picture by Detaille which happened to be adjacent, making the careful Frenchman look flat and earthy by the splendor and luminousness of their frank daylight. In the corridor his more eccentric expressions had play. He suggested to perfection the still drubbing of windless rain without defining any rain-drops, and he gave a ghastly effect of stormy light in an ugly and true sketch called "October." But it was only in a morsel or two of his pencil-work that this artist showed himself conspicuously the draughtsman. In his black-lead and body-color he betrayed the story of his old apprenticeship to the boxwood block, and chiselled his little girls' lips and noses more definitely and purely, more like the stamp of a Greek coin, than he has learned or cares to chisel with the sable brush.

The only life-scale picture on exhibition by Mr. Shirlaw was entrusted to the medium of black-and-white, though his little landscapes, in full suits of color, were studded about the exhibition, and were original and interesting. The drawing was a portrait, one which the artist had a peculiar interest in making attractive, and showed a piquant face momentarily overcome with the fun of looking out of an old poke bonnet. The complicated anatomy of a human dimple in the act of vanishing was given with a felicity that the mere anatomist would not quickly attain; but the mere anatomist would justly object that the conception of the face as a piece of structure was not correct from any conception that has ever been admitted of the art of drawing; that the nose was a cloud or a sponge, but not a cartilage; and that the portrait altogether revealed that happy-go-lucky facility, that letting the thing go at pretty near right, which the Munich practitioners, to their stultification, are borrowing from the more irresponsible achievements of Franz Hals. Another important contributor in uncolored design, committing his rounded ideas to aquarelle and his experimental ideas to black-and-white, was Mr. Hopkinson Smith, a gentleman who is an artist only in his lost moments, having long hung on the giddy edge of amateurship with infinite peril of falling over into art proper. His effects in charcoal showed a mastery of the long verdict of tradition as to the proper mixing and stirring of a savory picture; his calm certitude as to where he should put his dark tree would have touched Sir George Beaumont; it showed black and tell-

ing in his highly effective "River-Bank." Among his tinted works there was a series called "The Home Life of the Trees," ingeniously driving into greenroom groups the *ingénues*, or eccentrics, or *pères nobles* of the woods; and artists looked with approval at his rapid and brilliant execution in the "Old Mill at Easthampton," a tribute to a beautiful town which has been latterly constituted the Barbizon of our New York painters.

Mr. La Farge, too, exhibited both in colors and in monochrome. In the latter his contribution was a cartoon of the composition for Trinity Church in Boston representing the midnight visit of Nicodemus. The attitudes and heads showed considerable character and considerable religious seriousness. The Christ expressed in his bearing the sum of knowledge and a graciousness in imparting it; the sitting guest showed the man of worldly importance taken in a teachable moment. Mr. La Farge's conception is neither common nor awkward; but we can hardly tell this painter how gladly we would observe with him the greater include the less, and the inventive and dramatic part of art go along with an adequate technical experience. It is true that the experimental look of all his pictures is not very different from a religious look. In his design the constant employ of what may be called the tremolo dissimulates the want of justness in many a thin and slurred note. His draperies wavering in uncertainty, his features and extremities shading off into a convenient smudge, are less disturbing to the sentiment of his works than a precision in wrong-doing borrowed from the first Italian fresco-painter. Yet, we cannot think it necessary to emotional art that a satisfactory ease and certainty in manufacturing hands and feet and draperies should be left to the soulless artists, such as Maclise and Merle. We should even espy with pensive satisfaction the figure of La Farge passing from the enormous studio to the classes of the Academy, a sheet of Ingres paper under its arm, and devoting to the mastery of Greek wrists and ancles those waste moments which are now employed in throwing off Oriental *bric-à-brac* worthy of Mohammed's heaven, and roses made of a breath and a blush—the roses that one dreams. The roses and Oriental wares have, indeed, been selling rapidly. Mr. La Farge can no longer use his noble boast that he has never sold a picture from an exhibition. The yellow ticket has found out the corners of his small and modest frames, and the artist can congratulate himself on being almost alone in having sold his pictures at full prices without concessions, and on having had a mercantile success with a group of works in New York commensurate with the satisfactory disposal of his studio-contents lately in the city of Boston.

Porous Plasters as applied to fine art have not, we believe, been signalized heretofore in any criticisms on artistic methods. They are not to be found, to our knowledge, in the shops of artists' material; but they will not keep out of them much longer. A use has just been found in æsthetics for these soothing but utilitarian sheets. A manufacturer of heavy papers, meant to be medicated, selected some of his leaves and applied Winsor and Newton washes to their surface, first fortifying them with the proper amount of size. The success was striking, and has set the most cultivated artists seeking with avidity the reverse side of blisters, and the sheets destined primarily for hospital employment. Mr. Colman and Mr. Swain Gifford are eagerly experimenting at present on these surfaces. The texture is strong and beautiful, regularly accented and indented with the impression of the sieve; it is white in specimens made of linen alone, and warm in others where fibres of rope are introduced; it is beautifully firm and stout, with tendencies to wrinkle and imitate old Holland that are appreciated by artists; and in fine the indication is that the poor man will soon have to go in chase of the artist, who will have got his plaster. The only painter sufficiently advanced with his tests to contribute to the exhibition pictures on this medium was Mr. Charles Parsons. His beach-views and straggling sea-side cedars were beautifully indicated, and the inspiration of his material seemed to lend him an uncommon breadth and felicity of style. The rich, marrowy-looking surface suggested more of artistic profundity than it really carried, and the new paper was seen to be a noble material for effects of a large and generalized kind.

The success of the year, however, as we before observed, was certainly with the Fortuny disciples, who were in sufficient number, and behaved strangely enough to keep all eyes fixed on them. The outbreak of Fortunism has been an old tale in Philadelphia, whose Academy exhibitions have for years been colored with the fine extravagances of Messrs. Blum and Brennan, and the devoted studies of the dead Spaniard supplied by Mr. Ferris and his son. Brennan and Blum have now removed to this city, and their contributions are regarded as a new sensation. Certainly Mr. Blum's "Flight of Storks" was a decoration and a study above the common rank, and Mr. Brennan conveyed at a stroke the full sentiment of opulent luxury in his "Affecting the Japanese," besides supplying the only good drawing in the catalogue. These artists, young and dictatorial, are fully in the ranks of the "Intransigentes." If they could they would abolish form, turn perspective topsy-turvy, and spiritualize Art to the spotless trinity of the prism. Messrs. Currier and Muhrmann are partially paraphrased in German: they both proceed from Fortuny, but they have passed over Bavaria; Mr. Currier sent from thence those vibrating chords of color which we were asked to accept as landscapes, and which were certainly the principal sensation of the exhibition. Mr. Muhrmann, who has abandoned Munich for this city, contributed among many other important works the bust-picture of a "Sixteenth Century Gentleman," which, without much extravagance in style, was a notable union of the luminous sketch and the realistically modelled finished work. In their whole exhibit, we should observe, these four contributors disported themselves in radicalisms and technicalities which made Whistler seem rather sane and commonplace.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 13, 1879.

The Week.

MR. S. B. CHITTENDEN has agreed with General Butler to submit a test case to the Supreme Court to decide the question whether the Treasury has a right to reissue in time of peace legal-tender greenbacks once redeemed. It is proposed to tender in payment of a debt greenbacks of the issue of 1878, or of any date since the war, and on the creditor's refusing to receive them and bringing suit, to plead the tender and then go up to the Supreme Court on a demurrer. It has been objected to this proceeding that if the Court declares the reissue constitutional nothing will be gained by the opponents of Government paper, while the inflationists will be greatly encouraged. If, on the other hand, the Court declared the reissue unconstitutional, the notes now outstanding would cease to be legal tender, and the reserve of $140,000,000 now held in this form by the National Banks would cease to be available for that purpose. The banks would, therefore, be compelled to carry them to the Treasury for redemption, and thus relieve the Secretary of nearly all his gold and force him to suspend, and the result of this would be a financial crisis of a very serious kind. But this objection seems to be something in the nature of a phantom. The banks would not need to go to the Treasury for gold, or to treat their paper reserves as invalid, unless the Treasury forced them to do so, for the law says that in case the reserve of any bank falls below the legal proportion "the Comptroller *may*, with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Treasury, appoint a receiver." The Comptroller, therefore, and the Secretary too, having discretionary power in the matter, would let the banks alone.

If these reissues by the Treasury are lawful, the country ought to know it once for all; if they are not, they ought to be stopped. The effect of an adverse decision of the Court would be to declare unconstitutional the act of the last Congress directing their reissue, to force the Secretary to cancel all greenbacks which he redeems, and to deprive those outstanding, of later date than 1866, of their legal-tender quality. But this would cause no practical inconvenience, because as long as they are redeemable in gold nobody would refuse them in payment of a debt, and, in fact, it is just possible that as the redemption of them went on they would come to bring a slight premium, owing to their convenience. No question in politics to-day is more important than the withdrawal of the Government from the banking business. It has in it the seeds of endless jobbery and corruption and extravagance, of which we have just had a foretaste in the Pension Bill, and the number of currency schemes which it would keep afloat in politics would give the politicians in and out of Congress greater power of depressing and disturbing trade and industry than they even now possess, and they possess much.

Judge Rives, of the Federal District Court in Virginia, seems to be behaving in an extraordinary manner. He has been instructing the grand jury of his court to indict a batch of Virginia county judges for not summoning negroes on the juries in their courts, under the statute which makes any officer who fails to summon any citizen to serve on a jury, "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," guilty of a misdemeanor. Of course the failure to summon negroes on a jury may be on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, but as there might be half a dozen other reasons for it, it is impossible to prove the offence except by the officer's own confession. The statute is, in fact, absurdly drawn. To be effective it ought to prescribe that every jury shall contain a certain proportion of black men, but this the Constitutional Amendment would not have warranted. It is just possible that Judge Rives wishes to expose its inefficacy; but if this is not his design he has been making himself ridiculous. An amusing point, which would have delighted the Schoolmen, has been made by one of the Virginia papers, that as the grand jury which found the bills contained seven black men, this proved that seven white men had not been summoned on account of their race and color. The inference is, in fact, all but irresistible.

In Atlanta, Ga., the other day, a Colonel Alston was instructed by Senator Gordon to sell his interest in a contract for convict labor, which he held in common with a certain Cox, and he sold it for his friend accordingly. The sale displeased Cox, who wished to have the interest sold to another person, and he expressed his dissatisfaction by announcing that he would kill Alston if he did not break the bargain. After some days of threatening the parties met in the State Treasurer's office, and began firing at each other. Alston fell dead, and Cox is in great danger. Alston's uncle was killed in a duel, and his father soon after murdered the killer on the street, and the killer's brother then murdered the father on the street likewise. The heroes of this transaction are, it must be remembered, among the leading men in the State, and yet they have about as much regard for human life as the King of the Zulus. We mention the occurrence as an illustration of a condition of Southern society which many Northern Republicans think they can cure by Constitutional Amendments and Acts of Congress, and by appointing "Stalwart" marshals and postmasters, and which they connect in some mysterious manner with treason and rebellion. Complete amnesty has been granted, they ought now to say; Southerners are restored to all their rights under the Constitution; and yet here is Cox who kills a man because he makes a sale that does not please him.

The Board to investigate the Cheyenne massacre, which assembled at Fort Robinson at the end of January last, has concluded its report. It recommends that no further action be taken in the matter, as it was the evident desire of every one concerned to carry out the orders of the Government in the most effective and yet the most humane manner. The details of the affair, however, as related in the report itself, seem to point to a different conclusion. A large body of Cheyennes, being in great distress, and shelter having been refused them by other Indians, gave themselves up, in the spring of 1877, at Camp Robinson. In the following summer, much against their will, they were removed to Indian Territory, where they were coldly received by other Indians and suffered much from hunger, ague, and an unaccustomed climate. Finding life unbearable, as many as still had ponies set out through Kansas and Nebraska for the Red Cloud agency, the young men robbing, murdering, and cattle-lifting on the way. On reaching the Union Pacific Railroad the band divided, and soon after a party under Wild Hog was captured and taken to Fort Robinson. It seems that the soldiers who made the capture were not strong enough to disarm the Indians thoroughly, and a number of arms remained hidden about their persons, which were afterwards used in the escape. They were then shut up together in a building at Fort Robinson for about two months, and the rest is well known. It is a significant fact that these Indians sincerely preferred death to being removed to Indian Territory, and the self-slaughter of many of those who were not killed by the soldiers showed to what despair they had been brought. A few errors of judgment are attributed to the captain in charge of the guard at the time of the flight, but the Board speaks of the "proba-

bility that no one else of equal experience or judgment would have done any better," a remark which may easily be true.

Presidential aspirants who are on the alert for "movements" that may endanger their chances at the next Republican nominating convention will do well to keep an eye on Mr. Sherman. His admirers will be able to enumerate among his "claims" not only his successful achievement of resumption, but also his open advocacy and practical enforcement within his sphere of civil-service reform. Among the last executive reports to Congress it was remarked that his alone contained a reference to the subject, and more than a reference—a recommendation that the officers of his department "should have a tenure of office terminable only for cause," as in the Army and Navy, with "increased pay as a reward for long-continued and faithful service." The fulfilment of this is of course beyond his control except to a very limited extent, but he can do, and has begun to do, something to raise the standard of service by rules regulating admittance into it. These, as drawn up by the Collector, Appraiser, Surveyor, Naval Officer, and Sub-Treasurer of this city, and intended for applicants for position in the New York Custom-house and Sub-Treasury, provide that, excepting certain positions of trust and confidence, all admissions shall be to the lowest grade of any group. Applications must be made in writing, and accompanied by vouchers as to character and responsibility, and by a medical certificate as to health and physical aptitude. "Personal importunity will have no weight in favor of the applicant." Upon examination in certain specific branches, the Board of Examiners will certify the names at the head of the list, not to exceed three, from which the nomination will be made. Candidates who have passed a minimum standard of 70 per cent. may have their papers brought into competition at other examinations within a year. There will be three boards in all, consisting of three members each, with alternates, all to be approved by the Secretary of the Treasury. The heads of the several offices will form a Board of Revision and Appeal, for applicants and for members of any examining board as well; and "a number of well-known citizens" will be invited to attend freely the examinations, "and publicly certify their opinion of the thoroughness and impartiality with which they are held." Finally, all promotions will be made "from one grade to the next succeeding or higher one." These rules, which seem both equitable and efficient, will have two years' trial before the Democratic party can interfere with them. It is too much to hope that the "outs" of twenty years would respect so short-lived a tradition in opposition to the spoils system of government.

The prominent part taken by Mr. Conkling at the close of the late session of Congress in the debate on the powers of the two Houses affords another illustration of the way in which his interest in legislation has been stimulated by the loss of his custom-house. As long as he had a custom-house he apparently scorned the ordinary business of his place. It is doubtless very trying to him to find that one branch of human knowledge which he had thoroughly mastered—the Arthur-Cornell question—has become utterly useless, but he must remember that the mental discipline he acquired in mastering it will still serve him in good stead, so that the time he spent over it was not wholly wasted. It would be a graceful bit of courtesy towards a defeated enemy if the Administration were to prescribe the Arthur-Cornell case as a subject for examination to custom-house candidates under the lately revived rules. No young man could, of course, get beyond the threshold of it, but no young man could even wrestle with such a subject without a great increase of intellectual vigor.

The more Archbishop Purcell's failure is examined the worse it appears. He had at first put his estate into the hands of friendly trustees to see if they could get his affairs in order, but Father Edward's book-keeping wholly baffled them. The fullest portion of the accounts consists of memoranda on detached slips of paper, containing hastily written entries of deposits and recurring interest, and as soon as one of these was filled up it was destroyed and the totals carried forward to a new one. Some of these slips, too, having been in use for thirty years are a good deal defaced, and of the accounts of some poor depositors, who kept none of their own, there is not a trace. On Wednesday, the 5th, Father Edward made an assignment for the benefit of the Archiepiscopal creditors which covered most if not all of the Archbishop's property, but this has not prevented the bringing of suits to set aside the assignment, which are now very numerous, and even the churches into which the money was put have begun to be attached, and, in fact, the seeds of one of the most wonderful crops of interesting legal questions ever seen are being sown. There is talk of some action by the Church at large to relieve him, but the Church members are mostly poor and the amount of the liabilities is enormous. One Catholic paper speaks scornfully of the persons who are troubled by the affair, and intimates that the money was "lent to the Lord" and that at the Judgment Day Father Edward's accounts will be passed with approval.

Insurance Superintendent Smyth continues to be in hot water at Albany. Resolutions requesting him to resign and a bill to abolish his department have been introduced into the Assembly, and the Governor has transmitted a petition for the Superintendent's removal, on the ground of his having closed up a solvent concern, the Atlantic Mutual Life Insurance Company, now in the hands of a receiver. Mr. Smyth has made a plausible defence of his conduct both as regards this company and the Globe Mutual, of which we spoke last week. It cannot be questioned that the Atlantic improperly deposited a large sum in a private bank in which one of its officers was interested, and could not make good the amount when Mr. Smyth called upon it to do so; and most insurance experts will agree that a company which has reached this pass is not worth the attempt to save it—sooner or later it will go down, and the result be all the more disastrous. But by this rule the bolstering up of the Globe, on which Mr. Smyth prides himself, must equally be condemned, especially after Deputy McCall's emphatic exposure of its scandalous practices. Not only did the Superintendent give it a chance to replace its discredited investments, but he nursed it for nine months under a nominal change of management, and then produced a new balance-sheet, showing a surplus of $238,332 27, and took pains to compliment the company on its condition and flattering prospects. This service the Globe acknowledges with a grim humor in its reply to the circular issued January 16, 1879, by Mr. Smyth to the insurance companies doing business in this State, in which he asks: "Is State supervision, as conducted in the State of New York, a protection to policy-holders?" The Globe replies: "We have always believed the supervision by the government to be beneficial and a protection to the insured, having the effect to secure honesty and fidelity in the management of institutions engaged in the business of insurance." Smyth is a leading henchman of Senator Conkling, and reached his present position by way of the Post-Office.

The *Evening Post* and the *Times* have both commented in severe terms on the dilatoriness of the Joint Commission charged with the settlement of Spanish and American claims, arising out of the disturbances in Cuba. It has been sitting, they say, nine years, and of the 123 cases before it only 30 have been decided; 17 have been settled; 25 dismissed, and 48 yet remain to be considered. At this rate the *Times* thinks it will not finish the business before 1900, and makes a cutting allusion to Spanish "slowness." The *Post* remarks, with indignant surprise, that the Treaty "actually" contains "no provision which determines its limitation as to time," and talks of its delays as "sickening." Both these esteemed contemporaries will be relieved to hear that the failure to limit the duration of the Commission was intentional; that the Commission was meant to be continuing, if not permanent, in order to relieve both Governments of the labor of discussing the grievances of the American and quasi-American citizens living or holding property in Cuba; that

new cases arise and are submitted to it every month; that it is not more discreditable to it to have been sitting nine years than to the Supreme Court to have been sitting ninety years; and that if it does not finish its labors before 1900 it will be because both Governments find it a useful and efficient body.

Apropos of "esteemed contemporaries," the break-down of the great movement set on foot by the *World* several months ago to put all newspapers in this category is one of the saddest events in the history of journalism. We always felt doubtful whether, in the existing state of journalistic nature, any such scheme was practicable, or would stand the maddening strain of daily mutual comment, and our fears have been only too fully justified by the event. In short, the *World*, which seems to be edited in Heaven, has shared the fate of many other theorists. In a recent issue it was compelled, by the necessities of debate, to resort to the weapons which God and nature had put into its hands, and call the editor of the *Tribune* "truthless Jacob." It met those who criticised its course in so doing by alleging that it had no quarrel with the Terraba and Boruca Indians, "whose chiefest joy it is to gorge themselves for three consecutive calendar days on a mess of decomposed pig." Surely there is a fallacy somewhere in this argument, strong as it seems on the surface.

The New York money market has "hardened" during the week, and rates for all classes of loans have advanced 1 to 2 per cent. The immediate cause of this is the continued reduction in the bank reserve, which has brought the surplus down to $4,215,725, against $13,983,825 a year ago. The remote cause was the transfer of legal-tender notes from the banks to the Treasury on account of subscriptions for the United States 4 per cents. and settlements therefor. Foreign exchange has been strong, very near to the specie-shipping point, but no gold has been exported, although the expectation that it would be has not been without influence on the loan market. The advance in the rates for loans has not prevented subscriptions to the 4 per cent. bonds, and enough were taken to warrant the Treasury in notifying the holders of another $10,000,000 5-20s of 1867 that they will be redeemed ninety days hence. This makes $260,000,000 of these bonds called in since January 1. Accompanying the last call was a circular giving notice that, after enough more 4 per cents. have been sold to redeem the remaining $88,000,000 5-20 6 per cents., the 4 per cent bonds cannot be obtained on as favorable conditions as at present. Nor did the advance in the rates for money prevent the successful negotiation of the $3,000,000 5 per cent. gold loan of the Government of the Province of Quebec. This, as we remarked last week, is the first foreign loan ever offered in New York; the subscription price was 100 and accrued interest; within five days more than three-quarters of the bonds were taken, and the price for the remainder was advanced to 101 and accrued interest. At the Stock Exchange the week has been very dull, but all classes of securities drooped in price. General trade continues to show improvement in volume, and, it is believed, in the resulting profits. Silver was quiet at 49⅝*d.* to 49¾*d.* per oz. in London. Here the bullion value of the 412½-grain silver dollar ranged between $0.8372 and $0.8391.

The Gagging Bill, as it has been called, creating a Commission to discipline members of the Reichstag for words spoken in debate—a scheme which Prince Bismarck has stuck to with the greatest tenacity—has been defeated by an overwhelming majority, amid many angry demonstrations from its chief promoter. It is now believed that he will avenge himself by another dissolution. He was supported only by the extreme Conservatives. As a sort of compromise the majority has agreed to the organization of a Commission to examine the rules and report whether they need amendment in order to enable the house itself to check intemperance of language. Old Marshal Von Roon, who may be called the organizer of the present German army, is dead, thus further reducing the small knot of old men to whom Germany owes her military greatness.

The successor of M. Marcère in the French Ministry is M. Lepère, a friend and disciple of Gambetta's, and the Ministry may be said to have been sensibly driven towards the Left by the late crisis. The Committee of Enquiry has reported in favor of the impeachment of the De Broglie-Fourtou Cabinet, having been deeply impressed by some telegrams, apparently preparing for a *coup d'état*, which were sent by the Minister of War, General de Rochebouet, to the commanders of certain corps and divisions, among others General Ducrot. But the Ministry are strongly opposed to the impeachment as likely to plunge them into a troublesome and disturbing business, and Gambetta, if one is to judge from the utterances of his organ, the *République Française*, shares their opinion. In fact, the inconveniences of such a trial have appeared so strong that many of the moderate Republicans have wished the Ministry to make it a Cabinet question and stand or fall by it. The latest reports of the Paris correspondents show that the result of the impending vote on the report is doubtful, with the chances against its adoption. The only other threatening question, the amnesty of the Communists, has been decided favorably by a heavy majority. All persons convicted after the fall of the Commune of offences other than murder or robbery are to be pardoned and brought home from New Caledonia. The Extreme Left made a desperate fight for complete or indiscriminate amnesty, but failed.

The necessity of providing some means of applying the guarantee of the Powers to the execution of the remainder of the Treaty of Berlin is at present occupying the diplomatists, probably under the pressure of France, which has warmly taken up the cause of Greece. The last proposal is to make the ambassadors at Constantinople into a sort of tribunal, with the power of deciding every question by a majority vote. There is as yet no security felt about Eastern Rumelia, the inhabitants of which seem grossly indifferent to "British interests," refuse to be put back even under nominally Turkish rule if they can help it, and clamor perversely for union with Bulgaria. The constitution or organic law offered to the province is undoubtedly very liberal, and contains everything necessary to good government, but it does not satisfy the popular imagination, which will probably be still further excited by the spectacle of a Bulgarian Parliament sitting at Tirnova. A well-informed correspondent of the London *Times* has recently published a thorough exposure of Lord Beaconsfield's stroke of strategy in reserving the passes of the Balkans for Turkish garrisons. He shows plainly, what every one on the spot has seen from the beginning, that in case of another attack by Russia these garrisons would be caught as in a trap, inasmuch as they could be easily turned by way of Sophia, or forced to retreat through a hostile population. Sir Henry Layard has been broken down in health by the difficulties of the work of "reform," and has gone on a prolonged leave of absence. The De Tocqueville scheme of a loan secured by what is left unpledged of the customs duties has been accepted by the Porte, but England and France refuse to appoint the required Commission to receive and apply the duties unless a stronger syndicate than M. de Tocqueville has provided assumes the loan.

The Bulgarian Parliament has met amid great rejoicings at Tirnova, the single chamber of which it consists having been opened by Prince Dondukof Korsakoff. The constitution was solemnly adopted, and the new nation began its existence. The Greek is the established religion, but all creeds are free, and so is speech and the press. The Chamber is to consist of the Archbishop of Bulgaria and half the bishops, of half the judges of the Supreme Court, of half the Presidents of the District Courts and Chambers of Commerce, of deputies elected by the people, one for every twenty thousand inhabitants of both sexes, and as many more nominated by the Prince. Primary education is made compulsory, but there is no provision made as yet for schools. Parliament is to meet every year, but all changes in the constitution are to be made by a convention elected *ad hoc*.

MORE "REVOLUTION."

ACCORDING to that lively but simple patriot, Mr. William E. Chandler, who has been "hanging his banner on the outer wall" in the *Tribune*, the country is on the verge of another attempt at "revolution" by the Democrats, which is, however, to be resisted by President Hayes in a most unflinching manner by the use of the veto power. In consideration of this, Mr. Chandler proposes to forgive Mr. Hayes what has been reprehensible in his past conduct, and even lend him his support and the support of "his sisters, his cousins, and his aunts" in the Republican party. The "revolution" is to consist of the repeal by the new Congress of the Act of February, 1871, as amended by the Act of June, 1872, which provides for the appointment of supervisors of election by the United States courts on the request of ten citizens of good standing in any county or parish or Congressional district. This is really the only piece of Republican legislation looking to the control of elections or the exercise of local police powers which the Republicans now seek to preserve. There is hardly a doubt that the right to control the election of members of Congress was bestowed on the Federal Government by the Constitution, and the only objection worth consideration made to its exercise is that it has been and may be abused; but this objection will lie against the exercise of almost any Federal power. That the Republicans did not intend that this act should be an instrument of abuse or oppression or of partisan advantage is, we think, sufficiently proved by the fact that the power of appointing the supervisors is given to the United States courts, and that they are to be taken from the opposing political parties, and that it was fully discussed. On its face, in fact, the measure has all the marks of fairness and impartiality. Moreover, the power of arrest which was given to the supervisors by the Act of February, 1871, which confined the supervisors to cities of over twenty thousand, was withheld by the Act of 1872, which made them appointable in any Congressional district. In fact, if the Federal Government is to interfere in Federal elections at all, less objectionable machinery for its interference could hardly be provided. If the Democrats repeal it they will commit another of the blunders which have so often robbed them of power when it seemed all but within their grasp, and which they commit whenever they get a chance with a sort of passionate avidity. It is a blunder, too, which, grave under any circumstances, has been rendered doubly grave by the occurrences of last fall in South Carolina and Louisiana. That great frauds were committed in these two States, at least, there is no denying, and that they have seriously injured the Presidential prospects of the party is just as certain. There was only one mode of doing away with their effect, and that was the exhibition of regret for them and of a show of determination to punish them and prevent their recurrence. That no such exhibition was made was bad party strategy, but it was not half as bad as a fierce effort to repeal the one bit of Federal legislation which puts any hindrance in the way of election frauds.

But, then, all this may be true, and yet the action of the Democrats will not be "revolutionary." "Revolutionary," in the mouths of some Republicans, seems to be fast becoming a name for whatever they do not like, and it is used, too, mainly to frighten business men and create a certain amount of excitement for electioneering purposes. It will not be revolutionary for the Democratic majority in this Congress to repeal the Supervisors Act, any more than it was revolutionary to appoint the Potter Committee. Any act that one Congress has passed another Congress may repeal, if it is not an act, like the appropriation acts, absolutely necessary for carrying on the Government. Moreover, the tacking on of the repeal to the appropriation bills, reprehensible as we believe it to be, is no more reprehensible or dangerous, from a merely constitutional point of view, than the mode in which the amended bill was passed in 1872, when we denounced it, June 13, 1872, in terms which we may under the circumstances be pardoned for quoting, inasmuch as they are as applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to what the Democrats have been recently doing, as they were then to what the Republicans were doing:

"The Senate, the Administration Ring in which was determined to secure some kind of 'force' legislation before adjournment, proceeded on Saturday to violate one of its own plain rules, which forbids the amendment of any appropriation bill by any provision not directly relating to the subject of the bill, by attaching a rider to the Sundry Civil Service Appropriation Bill making the Federal elective law, which is now only applicable to cities of over twenty thousand inhabitants, applicable to all parts of the country on the request of ten respectable inhabitants of the locality. Mr. Anthony, who was in the chair, ruled that this was no violation of the rules, just as the majority of the Robeson Committee declared that the construction of the wording of the act, which was plain as the sun at noon, was something on which lawyers might differ. The result was that the opposition were placed in the position of having either to submit to the rider or defeat the Appropriation Bill, and they accordingly 'filibustered' for hours until a compromise was effected, which sent the bill to the House. Nothing more high-handed has yet been attempted by the majority in either House, and its occurrence so soon after General Grant's nomination by acclamation is not a favorable indication. The amendment which has created all this uproar was at last passed by both houses, but it is likely to prove in practice of such very trifling value, either to the Administration or anybody else, that it is a little difficult to understand the intense and reckless eagerness with which the majority have pushed it. It simply provides that on the demand of ten citizens of good standing, in any parish, county, or Congressional district, prior to any registration of voters or election of members of Congress, the judge of the United States Circuit Court shall appoint two supervisors of election, who are to receive no pay except in cities of over twenty thousand inhabitants, whose business it shall be to be present at the voting and counting, but who shall have no powers of challenge or arrest. The restriction of their function to simple observation constitutes the concession of the majority which finally secured the passage of the amendment. The proceedings attendant on the attempt of the majority to force it on the House were so outrageous that Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, himself an ardent Republican, if there be one in the country, rose in his place and denounced them as 'conduct such as he had more than a score of times sentenced men to solitary confinement and penal servitude for,' when he was on the bench."

What the history of the Act teaches us is not that the Democrats are so very dangerous, but that bad precedents, even when established by good men for good purposes, are very dangerous. When the Republicans had large majorities in both Houses between 1866 and 1873, and were indulging in all sorts of reckless legislation with regard to the South, it was impossible to obtain much attention for the consideration that they were busily forging weapons which the Democrats might some day use against them. The idea that the Democrats could ever again come into power was one, however, which the Republican leaders refused to entertain, so sure were they of holding several of the Southern States. Their dreams on this point have been rudely dispelled, and they are now confronted with Democratic majorities armed with their own weapons, and we fear thoroughly determined to use them. Those who managed the Republican party at that period are, after a brief period of seclusion, again coming to the front and calling on the faithful to rally round them. It is for the faithful to reflect seriously whether there is anything so very brilliant in the history of the party during the eight years of General Grant's Administration as to make them desire to fight the battle over again under the same leadership.

One of the most unfortunate of the precedents of that time—more unfortunate in many respects than the passage of important measures as riders to appropriation bills—was the attempt to solve the Southern problem by the aid of partisan machinery. It would be difficult to conceive of a state of facts calling more distinctly for the preservation by the National Government of the character of an impartial arbitrator or director than that presented by the South at the close of the war. The party in power owed it to the negroes, above all things, to avoid the appearance of seeking party advantage through what was done for their security and elevation. Emancipation on a great scale has nowhere succeeded without the aid of a superior and judicial-minded authority, raised above the suspicion of sinister interest in settling the new relations of the masters and the freedmen. This is the part the home governments have played towards the negroes in the West Indian Colonies, and the part the Imperial Government has played in Russia towards the emancipated

serfs. It was only in the first year after the war that our Government attempted any such rôle. As soon as Congress took the business of reconstruction in hand everybody who represented the National Government at the South, and held his appointment from Washington, whether revenue collector, postmaster, district-attorney, or marshal, appeared on the scene as a passionate partisan, eager above all things to capture votes for the party in power, and to use the newly-bestowed negro franchise as a means of keeping his own place. The result is what might have been expected. The Republican example has not only imposed on the Democrats no respect for the negro vote, and no responsibility for the negro apart from his party value, but has furnished them with plenty of excuses for using the machinery of reconstruction for the furtherance of party ends, no matter how wild or base. The negro, instead of being the ward of the nation, has become the football of politics, and all the safeguards thrown around him by the Republicans are attacked with fierceness, and with a fair appearance of justification, as merely cunning devices for keeping the Republican chiefs in enjoyment of their favorite pastime of dividing the offices. Nor is a better spirit likely to be infused into the conflict by the appearance of the Chandlers and their kind in the arena, calling the warriors to the field with the old tom-tom. The men who are to settle the questions arising out of the war, permanently and finally, must be men of different antecedents and different temper.

ARCHBISHOP PURCELL'S FAILURE.

IT is safe to say that no consequence of the panic of 1873 has been so grotesque, as well as disastrous, as the appearance of a Catholic archbishop in the character of a bankrupt savings-bank. His failure illustrates in a curious way the nature of the mania—for this is the proper word for it—which preceded the crisis and brought it about. His taking about four million dollars of poor people's money and keeping no books of account, or only very imperfect ones, and putting it all, or nearly all, into churches and monasteries and schools—or, in other words, into unproductive and practically unsalable property—is a very singular phenomenon. It is very singular, too, after making every allowance for the reverence of Catholics for high Church dignitaries, that so many people should have been found willing to trust him with their funds and should have believed in his ability to manage them safely. It is true that a feeling of respect for the financial capacity of bishops is diffused through the Church by the absolute control over the diocesan property with which they are entrusted—so absolute, indeed, that we believe they are not called on for any public accounts. The Archbishop's own views on this subject, too, were forcibly set forth in a circular which he issued in 1865 to the clergy of his diocese touching the management of church property. After showing that by the canons, by "the consent of the faithful in all ages," and by the Bible, this management "is confided to the bishops," he goes on to say:

"*Fourth.* In the discharge of this duty he [the pastor of a congregation, as representative of the bishop] may be advantageously assisted by lay counsellors selected from among men of the congregation of well-known piety, probity, intelligence, prudence, and peaceableness. The evils done the Church in the United States in times past, and the scandals given by lay trustees, have caused the Holy See and all the true friends of religion to look with disfavor on the appointment of laymen as managers of church funds. Hence it is only when care has been taken to guard against unreasonable and vain pretensions and unwarrantable assumptions of authority and dictation on their part that such appointments are allowed. They are not the owners or controllers of ecclesiastical property; they are not the representatives of the congregation, as has sometimes been supposed, but simply the assistants of the pastor in the care of the temporal affairs of the congregation."

Still, the knowledge that the Archbishop had become liable for interest on an enormous sum must have been widely spread for many years, and spread, too, in a community which is tolerably well informed, even in its most ignorant strata, about the conditions on which money can be made productive and repaid when called for; and this without exciting alarm. There is nothing in the relations of the Catholic clergy to their flocks that will account for this. The Church, especially since she lost her vast endowments, would doubtless have gladly undertaken in various countries the function of keeping and managing the savings of the poor, if there were among the faithful any strong general confidence in the financial capacity of the clergy; and this we think is true in spite of the prohibition in many dioceses of the receipt of loans or deposits by the parish priest. In fact, considering the readiness which she always has shown to undertake any duties which seemed likely to give her influence, the inference that she would have widely engaged in the banking business, if people had been willing to resort to her for this purpose, is not an unfair one. The clergy have shown great ability in accumulating church property and in managing it for church purposes, but this has not, somehow, satisfied the world that they are good financial advisers or good persons to hold money "on call."

The secret of the Archbishop's success in procuring deposits undoubtedly lay in the state of mind on the part of the public, and on the part of the lay financiers, which made possible the enormous investments in railroads during the seven years preceding 1873, and which during the same period plunged so many cities and towns into the work of making "improvements." His mental condition when receiving the deposits and promising interest on them was probably, in its vague hopefulness and dislike of dry investigation, very like that of the speculators who sold the bonds of all the now bankrupt railroads. He did not clearly know how he was to provide the interest, nor they where the earnings on which they relied were to come from; but it was "in the air" that all would go well, and that real estate would rise and traffic grow and population increase and the good times never end. Between 1870 and 1873 a large number of speculators really believed that an issue of bonds would make business for a railroad; that a bond was not simply an evidence of debt but a creator of wealth. The editors of the religious papers had a feeling about a well-engraved bond somewhat like that of the Bishop of Gloucester about the effect of the Afghan war on the people of India—that if it were sold at eighty cents on the dollar it would in some manner, however obscure or indirect, tend to the spread of spiritual truth. In those days the last thing a man did was to probe anything to the bottom. The investors mostly had a financial adviser of a sanguine disposition in whom they believed implicitly, and he in his turn was satisfied that his scheme must be a good thing because so many people were willing to put money in it. The Ohio people who carried their savings to the Archbishop doubtless in the same way were satisfied that he and Father Edward, had the means of making it pay or they would not take it, and he and Father Edward were doubtless persuaded, on their part, that they must be competent to take charge of it or people would not bring it to them. Any little doubts that may have risen in their minds were perhaps quelled readily by the contemplation of the glorious work the money was doing for the Church. But all the Masses that can be sung in all the churches in America will not suffice to drown at the Supreme Tribunal the cries of the poor whose hearts have been broken and whose trust in their fellow-men has been shaken by this tremendous calamity. Nothing in the affair is more extraordinary, in fact, than the amount of sympathy expended on the "saintly Archbishop" and Father Edward, and the amount of solicitude expressed for the possible effect of the affair on the credit of the Episcopate, compared with the amount of concern shown for the unhappy crowd who surround the doors of the Archiepiscopal residence bewailing the loss of what to a large number of them must have been their sole defence against an old age of destitution.

The truth is that nothing in the financial crisis through which the country is now passing has been so unfortunate as the blow it has given to the prudence of the poor. To create this prudence is or ought to be one of the chief objects of government and philanthropy. The civilization of a country is high or low according to the amount of it which is to be found within its borders. To en

courage the poor to save and to deny themselves in seasons of prosperity, is to promote the national welfare in the highest and best sense, as it is to raise the character of the people. The result, therefore, of the panic which is most to be regretted is not the bankruptcy of traders and corporations, and the losses of the professional classes, serious as these things are, but the diffusion among the frugal and industrious workingmen and women, through the breaking down of savings-banks and insurance companies, of the feeling that there is no use in saving, inasmuch as there is no one to whom they can safely entrust money after they have saved it. The dismal process of destroying their confidence was begun on the poor negroes by the Washington Ring in the Grant period, when they plundered the Freedmen's Savings-Bank with the thoroughness and audacity of burglars. It has been continued since by the widespread breakdown of savings-banks and life-insurance companies, largely through fraudulent management, and it may be said to have received the finishing touch in the failure of an archbishop for $4,000,000, without intelligible accounts. The worst of this mischief is that it cannot be all seen. It will drive, and has driven, thousands into habits of improvidence, and into bitterness against the whole social order under which they live, and yet they will make no sign and give no minister or philanthropist an opportunity of touching the source of their recklessness or despair.

HOW PARIS IS GOVERNED.—II.

PARIS, February 21, 1879.

THE exact relations of the Imperial or Central Government to the Municipal Council of Paris, which I described in my last letter, could not be better exemplified than by a curious incident which has just taken place and which has excited much attention. A great change has come over the temper of the Municipal Council since the resignation of Marshal MacMahon. The Councillors, being elected by universal suffrage in Paris, are, with few exceptions, of the most advanced radical school ; but under the last Administration they were checked in every direction by a very firm Prefect of the Seine. A new Prefect succeeded the Prefect who had remained under MacMahon for six years, and the Councillors tried at once to overstep the limits of their prerogatives. They passed two resolutions of great importance ; one of them was a vote of one hundred thousand francs, which were to be taken out of the municipal taxes and given to a voluntary committee of help for the Communists who will soon come back from New Caledonia ; the other resolution was a vindication of the Municipal Council, tending to place the Prefecture of Police under its direct control.

On the programme of the party which is now in power is what is called the amnesty. A law of amnesty has been brought before the Chamber ; this law is still discussed in what we call the bureaux ; the report on the law has not yet been read; the vote has not been taken on this measure, which tends to free all the men who took part in the Communist rebellion. The Municipal Council, without waiting for the decision of the Chamber and of the Senate, and treating the amnesty as an accomplished fact, voted, as I have said, one hundred thousand francs in aid of the returning Communists. It is not likely that any of them will be back in Paris under four months ; the vote of the Council was in reality what we call a manifestation—it was a screw put on the neck of the Chamber.

The Cabinet examined the question, and the Home Minister wrote to the Prefect of the Seine the following letter, which I must translate in full, as it is a curious indication of the sentiments of the Ministers as well of the necessities of the Administration :

"SIR : The Municipal Council of Paris, foreseeing the return to this town of many reprieved individuals who, during the first period of their return, will find themselves without resources, has voted a credit of one hundred thousand francs, destined to come to their help. The object in view is useful. The Government is on its side preoccupied with the best means of satisfying needs which call, for various reasons, for its solicitude. But, in the form given to its vote, the Municipal Council has violated the laws which regulate its action with regard to public relief. The municipal bodies can, undoubtedly, under the control of the central power, dispose of the communal receipts, but they can only do so under the peculiar conditions which regulate the employment and control of the fortune of the community whose agents they are. The law, in its wisdom, while it allows the Municipal Council authority to create resources for the help of the poor, has instituted a special organization for the distribution of these sums. This organization consists of the Boards of Relief (*bureaux de bienfaisance*) and (in Paris) of the Administration of Public Relief. If a municipal council cannot directly distribute the public money, it cannot *à fortiori* invest with this mission a committee set up outside of itself. The law, the jurisprudence of the Council of State and of the Court of Cassation are agreed in consecrating this principle.

"I could not, without ignoring it and without forgetting the laws of good administration, authorize the credit of which I speak under the form which has been given to it. I beg you to advise the Municipal Council of Paris of this."

On the 18th of February this letter was read to the Municipal Council by the new Prefect; a stormy discussion ensued, and the letter was sent to a special committee for examination. This examination can have no object, as the decision of the minister is final. The credit of 100,000 francs for the Communists must be struck from the budget of the city of Paris; otherwise, it will be in the power of every citizen of Paris to refuse payment of the municipal tax ; and the courts would undoubtedly stand by the Central Government, if any such conflict should arise.

I must explain here the organization of public relief in Paris. The law which regulates it is a law of the 10th of January, 1849. This service is under the charge of a director appointed by the Home Minister on the nomination of the Prefect of the Seine. He is, therefore, an officer of the Central Government. He has to organize the hospitals and to distribute the charities to the poor and sick who remain at home. He is legally the guardian of children who are abandoned, as well as of people who are completely mad. He is assisted by a council composed of twenty members, only two of whom belong to the Municipal Council, and who are chosen on a triple list of candidates. His council of surveillance has no executive powers; it can only give opinions on the questions submitted for its examination. But the doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries of the hospitals, having been appointed after examination and after public competition, as well as those who take care of the sick at home, have very independent positions; they cannot be dismissed by the director, they can only be changed by the Home Minister, with the advice of the board of surveillance.

The service of the public relief has an endowment of its own, a part of which is derived from legacies anterior to the French Revolution. It can receive legacies with the permission of the Council of State. It can receive donations. The special budget of this service for 1879 amounts, in the accounts of Paris, to the sum of 24,763,000 francs. The resources of the service amount to 12,723,000 francs ; and among these resources we find the *droit sur les pauvrès*, which is imposed on all theatres, public balls, public concerts (2,728,000 francs), a duty on the profits of the Mont-de-Piété (496,000 francs), one-fifth of the product of the sale of land for perpetual concessions in cemeteries (310,000 francs). There has always been a great outcry in the theatrical world, since I have known Paris, against the tax on the receipts of theatres, balls, and concerts; a certain percentage of the gross receipts is taken away from the directors of the theatres, and when the impresario fails, which is sometimes the case, he naturally throws all the fault on the city of Paris, which has ruined him, etc. The theatres are places of public amusement, and the tax on them has always seemed to me very natural and very just. Nobody pities much an unlucky impresario, and the three millions which the theatres pay to the hospitals every year are very well employed. All the resources which I have mentioned leave a deficit in the budget of public relief amounting to 12,000,000 francs, which are directly paid by the city of Paris and are included in the municipal tax.

We make a distinction in our relief service between hospitals and hospices ; the hospices are asylums for the old, the blind, the incurable, etc. Paris has at present one hospital bed for every 235 inhabitants, and one hospice bed for 231 inhabitants. There are, besides, many poor and sick helped at home, and the tendency of the administration is to increase as much as possible the home assistance. The administration furnishes with this view 4,362,000 francs, out of which 3,423,000 are directly paid to the *bureaux de bienfaisance* of the twenty arrondissements.

These bureaux are very useful institutions ; it is always more agreeable to exercise charity directly, but direct personal charity is liable to many errors. The inhabitants of Paris, who receive many calls for charity on account of their wealth, their position, their generosity, are in the habit of sending annually or monthly a certain sum to the *bureaux de bienfaisance* of their arrondissement. Some rich bankers or merchants send every year very large sums to the bureau ; when they receive applications for money they send the letters to the bureau, which has confidential agents called *enquêteurs* (inquest-makers), on whose report the small sums are distributed out of the fund kept at the bureau. Each

charitable person has in this way a sort of account-book at the bureau, and has all the advantage of the long experience of the *enquêteurs*. These agents of the administration know every street, every house, almost every family in their district ; they can very rapidly detect the difference between real misery and false misery ; they can supply very useful information. Some persons will always prefer to give away directly, and to make themselves the necessary enquiries ; but the agents of the administration are very discreet ; they never reveal the secrets which they know; they have professional qualities which render their services very acceptable to many people, especially those who are very busy. This private budget of the public relief—I mean the budget which arises from personal and almost daily donations to the bureaux of each arrondissement—does not figure in the accounts of the city of Paris. I have reason to believe that it is extremely large ; I only mention it because, by a clever combination, private charity has been allowed to borrow all the machinery of the public administration. It is to these bureaux that M. de Marcère alluded when he said that the money voted by the Municipal Council could not be spent by a private and irresponsible committee, but could only be paid out to the bureaux of the administration.

I have told how the administration distributes help in families through the agency of its *enquêteurs*, and of its own doctors, surgeons, etc. At the beginning of 1878 there were as many as 43,662 families, composed of 113,317 individuals, inscribed at the *contrôle* of the *bureaux de bienfaisance* (the *contrôle* is the register of the bureaux). This would make one poor to every seventeen inhabitants. But this number would be somewhat deceptive, as there are many old men registered who receive fifty, sometimes not more than ten, francs a year ; old women in the same condition, who cannot be said to be absolutely poor. They are relieved, without being miserable. Real, absolute misery is rare in Paris. The relieved families pay on the average a rent of one hundred to two hundred francs. The 113,317 registered individuals are thus distributed: 38,477 women, 23,026 men, 25,207 girls under fourteen years, and 25,607 boys.

In my next letter I will touch on the second point which has made a difficulty between the Government and the Municipal Council, the question of the police.

POPULAR SCIENCE IN GERMANY.

BERLIN, January 23, 1879.

THE distinction which Virchow insisted upon, in his famous München address, between what is to be taught and what is to be sought for, is one long observed by the most scientific German minds. Nothing is more surprising, in coming into more or less intimate personal relations with these men, than to discover in some confidential hour a system of individual conjectures respecting general and ulterior questions of human knowledge, cherished with an enthusiasm which, perhaps, has long animated all their researches, but which, out of reverence for scientific methods which they have long felt with Virchow enjoin a "certain moderation and renunciation of merely personal opinion," have never found public expression. These constitute what Lotze regards as philosophy when he defines it as merely the individual expression of general culture. "The prospect of later bringing to bear the experiences and results of a life of scientific labor upon my cherished but perhaps worthless reserve-thoughts" (*Hintergedanken*), said a young professor the other day, "makes the prospect of old age seem charming in a sense that Cicero could never know." These unfinished and private speculations find expression in Germany not, as formerly, in more or less developed philosophical systems, but in the increasing literature of popular science. The latter here is not, as so often in England and America, a narration of curious facts illustrated by a dexterous use of chalk, by cartoons, and by an array of laboratory furniture, but is more commonly a discussion of the most general inferences and hypotheses, and that with a freedom which puritanism still makes impossible in America, and with a frankness and unreserve which is later often regretted.

An admirable illustration of this may be found in the writings of Prof. Philip Spiller, who died last week at the age of eighty, and whose life was devoted to the study and teaching of natural science. His amazing industry, his wide reading, the fecundity and rapidity of thought shown in his works, have long made him, as a German review styles him, "one of the heroes of the popular *scientific mind*." In three large volumes he has elaborated a system which he terms "Etherism," and which may be fundamentally characterized as follows : The essence of all life is motion ; consciousness is best conceived as the movement of atoms and molecules in brain-cells, with the inevitable accompaniment of heat-products, electric currents, etc., as in molar motions. Hence the present tyrannical fashion of dualism is denounced as the product of shallow or timid thinking. The soul is neither supernatural nor transcendent, and thought itself is a phenomenon to be one day fully explained by the chemico-physical-mathematics of atomic oscillations. Not merely is the human body a "kinetic organization of ether," but the cosmos itself is made out of, and will later, by inevitable mechanical laws, be resolved back again into, ether, which is the "mother-lye" of the universe. Light is the magnetic polarization of ether, more or less perfect according to the color. An average human brain, he conjectures, contains about 1,200 millions of cells, to each of which is attached, on an average, four fibres. If the number of notions which make up the contents of a given brain be taken as 100,000, each will have 12,000 cells and 48,000 fibres as its province. In "instinctive moments," when the outer world is forgotten and we drift aimlessly and unconsciously in thought, then it is that the "primeval force of the world, the absolute universal will, is at the helm, and its larger logic of etherical vibrations is undisturbed by intruding sense-perceptions." All men think according to the same laws of thought because the laws of elemental motion are uniform. This antique and often violently anti-Christian pantheism is gorgeously attired with unusual graces of style, and with so many facts of modern science as to present much verisimilitude to the uncritical and unscientific reader. A popular journal speaks of Spiller's "amazing synthetic power" as a "great joy and wonder in this time of dissolution and speculation." Another, after quoting Hegel's saying that "a thinking man cannot think too highly of himself," calls Prof. Spiller's system "the culmination point of modern thought, where the thinking mind celebrates its highest triumph." His work is elsewhere spoken of as a "most original and optimistic cosmology, in spite of its atheism and materialism." Even the well-known critic, Karl Müller, dubs the author the Lessing of natural science.

Another still more amusing dreamery of popular science may be seen in several articles published within the last few weeks by Prof. Jäger, of Stuttgart, and entitled "The Discovery of the Soul." The soul, according to this naturalist, is simply (*honi soit qui mal y pense*) a smell, and consists of a "chemical composition of albumen" called *nervina*. Liver, kidneys, muscle, brain, each emit a peculiar odor which the writer's olfactory nerves readily distinguish. Each of these organs has thus its own soul, and, collectively, they constitute an aura which may rise above the threshold of consciousness, and even become offensive, as in animals and in negroes, but which more commonly is a very efficient and unconscious agent mediating the instinctive attractions and antipathies of temperaments and sexes. Thus small children recognize their parents. Not only hunger but joy, love, hate, and pain emit their own peculiar odors. In people of sanguine temperament the "soul-stuff" is most loosely bound with albumen, in choleric people more firmly. Moses discovered the scientific fact that there is a soul in the blood ; Oken that the soul, like all else in the animal body, was in the cell ; but Prof. Jäger claims priority in showing indubitably, "by a long series of scientific observations," just *what* the soul is. We commend this important discovery to novelists of the intuitive school. The likes and dislikes of the heroes and heroines of 'Counterparts,' *e. g.*, is no longer a riddle or a myth. Platonic love is not platonic, and is not love but a titillation of the nerves, or perhaps of the pigment-cells of the Schneiderian membrane.

It would be very easy to make quite an anthology of curious theories recently propounded by eminent scholars in their more exoteric but serious utterances. These have all degrees of respectability, from the harmless notion attributed to the astronomer Galle that each of the planets is inhabited by beings intelligent in proportion to its age, and that thus we may expect some day to receive visits from the superior beings of some venerable world, who have solved the problem of ethereal navigation, to that of Prof. Zöllner, in Leipsic, who, after having seen the notorious American medium, Slade, has become the dupe and, to some extent, the propagandist of spiritualism. Popular science has even found its way into the university. Du Bois-Reymond explains to weekly audiences of over a thousand students his own peculiar theories of the composition of molecular forces and of electrical action in contractile animal tissues. He insists that a relapse of the world into barbarism, or a return of the dark ages, is now rendered for ever impossible only by the development of technical and mechanical science ; yet opposes the admission of graduates of the *real*-schools into the university on equal terms with the gymnasiasts, and raises a vigorous protest against incoming "Americanisms." By this term he designates materialistic and "banausic" tenden-

cies in general, which are more specifically expressed in making money-getting the prime object of life, in love of display, and in public and private corruption. With this he contrasts "Hellenism," or the love of humanistic and scientific culture for its own sake, apart from all considerations of profit or advantage. This, he thinks, should be made the German idea.

The most popular theme of popular science in Germany, as elsewhere, is evolution; it is such a portable and convenient theory, especially where it is imperfectly understood. It solves every problem, satisfies every doubt, and puts the key of the universe into everybody's vest-pocket. The very phonetic elements of the word *Entwickelung* were recently described by a humorous writer as fitting and filling the average vocal organs more completely than any other known combination of sounds. It is said that several privy councillors have argued before the Ministry that the influence of the notion of a gradual and ascending order in the universe would eventually prove a most wholesome panacea for social democracy, and against the noxious levelling French maxim of liberty and equality. Others have attributed to popular science most of the evils of socialism. Haeckel, undismayed by Virchow's strictures, continues, more vigorously, perhaps, than ever before, to insist that the truest bond of union between facts is not a plain straight line connecting them, but the most beautiful curves that human ingenuity can draw through and between them. In a popular lecture delivered in Vienna, and just published, Haeckel goes further than ever before in maintaining that the facts upon which evolution rests have now rendered every dualistic notion for ever impossible. Atom-soul, plastidul-soul, cell-soul, and so on in genetic order, he considers as established facts. All living matter is besouled, and these elements are not stones in a building but citizens of state. The simplest molecule of protoplasm must be considered as endowed with sensations and motions, the first consisting of pleasure and pain, the last of attraction and repulsion. The majority of the younger generation of scientific men in Germany are unquestionably in sympathy with him, while it is mostly the older men who applaud the *ignorabimus* creed of Reymond, and consider Haeckel's genealogy of species scarcely more credible than is the pedigree of the Homeric heroes to the historic critic. Haeckel postulates, defines, and christens with Greek names half a score of more or less new sciences to fill the gaps in the evolutionary scheme, viz.: the culture history of animals, or the development of instinct; the genesis of physiological functions; the science of rudimentary organs; the distribution of animal-life in time and space; retrogressive and abnormal development; the science of ideal ground-forms and types; the genesis of the social, moral life, and finally the instincts of natural religion, out of the inevitable association and division of labor as found not so much among primitive mankind as among the simpler forms of animal life. He now has little to say in favor of introducing theories of evolution into the schools.

In regard to the whole bitter controversy, the sensible middle thought among scientific men now seems to be that the issue between Professor Virchow and his enthusiastic pupil was far less broad and important than the religious and, in part, the conservative press have represented. Haeckel is not a "nihilistic yet superstitious prophet of a new religion." He has never affirmed that "the true domain of faith is science and not religion"; nor, on the other hand, is there any danger, as Virchow fears, that science will be generally discredited by such harmless speculations. Neither is it true that the question of the descent of man is a question so great and on which so few facts have thus far been collected that it is not yet even ripe for logical or profitable discussion. It is not a dogma but a problem, although it is not easy to determine how much is meant by the vague exhortation to a "rational resignation, renunciation, and moderation." The question is largely speculative, and as such must long remain more or less esoteric. Virchow, in his own way, is no less evolutionist than Haeckel in his, and the real question between them is only one of method and policy.

Correspondence.

WHOLESALE RATES ON RAILWAYS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your article entitled "The Railway Delusion of Wholesale and Retail" (*Nation* No. 712) you say:

"Full and regular trains will more surely follow a policy which creates a multitude of moderate shippers, as will always be the case when the conditions for creating trade exist, and the transporter adopts the car-load as the only unit for wholesale rates."

This assertion is not borne out by the facts, at least in the petroleum trade, to which special reference is made in the article. Three lines of railway compete for this traffic, the Pennsylvania, the Erie, and the New York Central. Of these, at the time the Standard Oil Company were competing for the monopoly they have since secured, only the Pennsylvania Road directly entered the oil regions; the New York roads getting their oil from local roads owned or controlled by the Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania had further advantages, as in length of haul, and in the exclusive possession of the markets of Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. But it was handicapped by a fast-freight line, the Empire Transportation Company, to which had been given the sole control of its crude-oil traffic. The president of that company, a man of the most considerable ability and of unsurpassed knowledge in freight matters, held precisely the view stated in the above extract. The New York roads held precisely the contrary, and by fostering single shippers had even by the winter of 1871 secured so much of the trade, to which naturally they were not entitled, that in the famous South Improvement Company's contract they were given 45 per cent. of the whole trade; while of the remaining 55 per cent. they stipulated that the Pennsylvania Road should give five per cent. to the Baltimore and Ohio (a then threatening competitor) if necessary to secure peace.

After the failure of the South Improvement scheme, the trade was still more effectually secured to the Pennsylvania Road by the opening of the extraordinary Butler County oil-fields, the nearest rail point to which was at least fifty miles from any termini of any local road controlled by either the Erie or Central. Further, the Empire Transportation Co. bought and built an extensive series of pipe-lines connecting the wells with the Pennsylvania Road. It would be difficult to find a parallel for the complete control of the traffic thus given the Pennsylvania line. Only a persistent following of the "policy which creates a multitude of moderate shippers" could have destroyed the advantage. That policy was pursued. Large shippers were discouraged in every way—several of them ruined. Small and transient shippers were sought after with an almost childish eagerness; and the New York roads steadily gained the business. Finally the Pennsylvania Road gave in. They, too, gave exclusive privileges to one shipper; unfortunately, this shipper possessed the same rights on the New York roads. The zeal of converts is proverbial. The president of the Empire line, convinced of his error, left nothing undone to prove his conversion. The "moderate shippers" were in the way of the new favorite. The president of the Empire line saw only one hope for them. "Sell out to the Standard," he advised. It was that or ruin, and they sold.

When all competition with the Standard had been destroyed, and destroyed chiefly by the Pennsylvania Road's persistence in this policy of favoring moderate shippers, the Pennsylvania Road saw its mistake. For a shipper responsible to them for their share of the trade, they had substituted a shipper whose control of the three trunk lines enabled him to play off any two against the third. They rebelled; they offered any rate or no rate at all (oil was actually carried to New York for less than the pipeage and terminal charges), but the "moderate shipper" failed to come. Then they shipped themselves, buying in the regions and selling in the East. In less than nine months they lost, so Col. Scott has since said, over $1,500,000; and their traffic was well-nigh destroyed. The Standard Oil Company even opened a new route to Philadelphia, and into Philadelphia and Baltimore put more oil by opposition lines than the Pennsylvania Road was able to, though these are essentially Pennsylvania Railroad points. The fight ended in the destruction of the Empire Transportation—the Standard Oil Company insisting on that as a preliminary to peace. The president of the late Empire Transportation may still hold to the policy of favoring moderate shippers; but the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad has very emphatically stated (to a committee of "outside" refiners) that he does not.

So much for the facts. The theory is wrong for the reason that no business is uniform and continuous. Seasons of activity when, because there are margins, plenty of "moderate shippers" will be found, are succeeded by seasons of dulness, usually the longest, when, because there are no margins, the moderate shipper demandeth no cars. The essence of the "wholesale rate" is that the service rendered must be continuous—the cars must be kept steadily employed. And as this can only be done in depressed states of the market by a positive loss to the shipper, the "wholesale rate" is given to save him. That a railroad can make more money by keeping its cars running at a reduction from the regular tariff

than by side-tracking them to await conditions of the market warranting their use at full rates in the temporary speculations of Tom, Dick, or Harry, seems to need but to be stated.

Respectfully, W. T. S.

February 24, 1879.

[The writer has apparently missed the chief point of our railway articles. Nothing is better understood by transporters than the fact that the most efficient known method for temporarily diverting the trade of a rival is a secret reduction in rates. It is equally plain that secrecy can be best preserved when the parties to the secret are few, and that large shippers can more quickly effect an important diversion of traffic than small ones. Hence the inevitable drift of secret rates is toward large discriminations in favor of a single heavy shipper, and also toward the consequent ruin of every other party engaged in the same business. These very facts seem to us to emphasize and establish the correctness of our position, that of the few features of the railway problem which the country can safely permit its Congress to regulate, absolute publicity of tariffs and a proper limit of the wholesale rate are two of the most important.

Had national regulations on these points been in existence, the New York roads could not have employed the dangerous means which our correspondent describes. If his history is from an unbiassed standpoint, and presents an impartial view of the subject, the Pennsylvania Road seems to have had clear and correct convictions as to the proper policy which a common carrier should pursue, but under the varying stress of the secret and effective competition of its rivals to have vacillated greatly in the line of action it actually followed. This was weak. If the public permits its carrying servants to be subject to illegitimate forms of attack, it cannot justly complain if they employ illegitimate forms of defence, and under the circumstances described the Pennsylvania Railroad would have been wiser to have adhered steadily to one course or the other. We are, however, persuaded that, taking the whole of the last ten years together, it would have had more trade, better net revenues, and a far stronger hold, not only on its oil traffic but on public confidence, had it, even without statutory protection against secret and extravagant discrimination by its competitors, steadfastly adhered to public rates, alike to all car-load shippers, and sufficiently low at all times to enable such shippers to compete successfully in the common oil markets of the world.

As we understand the position to-day, every road engaged in transporting petroleum to the seaboard holds its traffic only at the pleasure of a single shipping concern, and if that party, for any real or fancied offence, or gain, or for any object whatever, so elects, it can at will utterly and instantly obliterate the oil traffic of any one of the great trunk lines. No other policy could possibly have resulted in so unsafe a condition of affairs, nor in creating so perilous a frame of mind as now exists on the part of the shipping public.

If the closing remarks of our correspondent be correct, the solitary shipper who now is so perfectly protected should show in practice that "the essence of the wholesale rate is continuous and steady employment of the cars." If he will compare the monthly shipments since this protection has been substantially completed, we fear he will find grievous fluctuations of movement, probably as great as prevailed under a different state of things. A full and accurate history of the relations from year to year of this very peculiar petroleum traffic with each and all of the railroads interested would, undoubtedly, throw a strong and scorching light upon the question we have been considering.—Ed. Nation.]

SCHOLARSHIPS AGAIN.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It was my hope that by writing on college scholarships I might lead others to consider the subject. This hope has been fulfilled, no less than four correspondents of the *Nation* having already criticised my position; and although I did not expect to find myself thus placed, like Arnold Winkelried, with four spears at once in my breast, I must yet accept the position as best I may. I ought, perhaps, to be glad that so few of my main arguments are assailed, and that some of my critics really help my cause. Thus, the "Dublin University ex-Sizar" informs me that even the sizarships of that institution are not necessarily associated with poverty, and this I am very glad to know. "B." also confirms by his own experience my impression as to the pains formerly taken to conceal the names of those holding Harvard scholarships; while the argument he bases on this fact is utterly annihilated by the fact that the concealment has now ceased. "R.'s" argument is rather too metaphysical for me to follow, but his quotation from the *Athenæum* is of value, though not conclusive. The letter of President Eliot needs more consideration, were it only from deference to his position and ability. But I wish to say, at the outset, that I have no wish to sustain a prolonged controversy in this matter, controversy being commonly an admission that a writer has not made his meaning clear in his first statement, or has not anticipated the points of objection.

It seems to me that at two different points President Eliot's statement is unsatisfactory. He assumes at the outset the whole point at issue when he classes together "the various forms of 'beneficiary' money, 'exhibitions,' loans, scholarships, and fellowships" at Harvard College as being necessarily identical. But it is not I who have taken the "scholarships" out of this class and put them on different grounds. It is President Eliot and the college authorities themselves. The recipients of "loans" do not find their names published in the Catalogue; those who have beneficiary funds are not exhorted in Mr. Eliot's report to regard it as an honor. By doing this in regard to scholarships the college authorities themselves place them on different grounds from these more direct charities, and all I ask is to see accepted the logical consequences of that position. Moreover, in this enumeration Mr. Eliot leaves out of sight the fact that there is another large class of pecuniary foundations at Harvard University, equally intended to aid poor students, and yet offered without any restriction as to poverty. If his theory of the proper mode of aid is correct, then the thirty-four "Deturs" and the ten Bowdoin prizes for composition and the five Boylston prizes for elocution might well be administered on the same plan with the scholarships, those not in need of assistance being excluded. These prizes, like the scholarships, were established for a double purpose, the encouragement of learning and the material aid of those pursuing it. Why should not the Harvard scholarships, present or future, be administered like the Bowdoin and Boylston prizes, instead of being classed with the loans and beneficiary funds? This question my opponents have not even touched.

I do not see how Mr. Eliot can fail to see—I know that some of his professors see—that by publishing the names of holders of scholarships the college authorities have placed the whole system in a wholly new attitude. For the first time within my memory the distinction between rich and poor is put in print between the covers of the Harvard Catalogue. In doing this the authorities are attempting, in my judgment, to combine impossibilities—to announce the names of certain students as among "those who need assistance," and yet to put this announcement in the light of an honor. No doubt there is a sense in which all college aids, even the humblest, are honors. No one would have a dollar from any charity fund, I suppose, unless he had the good opinion of his teachers; and yet the instinct of all sensible people would revolt against printing in the College Catalogue that John Smith, of the class of '84, had lately received a loan of twenty-five dollars. There would be the same sort of objection that would be felt towards assigning John Smith a particular seat in chapel or requiring him to wear a particular garb, as was formerly required of certain beneficiaries at English universities. Yet, if either of these last practices were introduced, it might be claimed, for aught I know, as "in the highest degree democratic" and as "a constant protest against the unworthy idea that poverty implies inferiority." It is a sufficient answer to say that the tendency of the age is strongly against all such outward and visible badges. An honor is an honor; an alms is an alms; it is useless to treat them as identical. Publish the honor as widely as you please; but as for the alms, it is better even for Harvard College to follow the scriptural injunction, and let the bestowal be in secret.

It is possible that I may have overrated the proportion of poor young men who win the English scholarships; this is a matter that can only be guessed at, and the essential point is whether the great majority is on that side—which I fully believe. It must be remembered that this phrase, "needing assistance," as I said before, is very elastic; I find it so variously interpreted by different Harvard professors that some young men obtain scholarships who really need them less than others who hesitate to apply; and different professors in England may use the word with yet greater variation. I have not the opportunity to consult Dr. Pattison's book; but I should like to examine the context of the passage

quoted, because it is well known that the author's theory of scholarships is quite unlike President Eliot's—Dr. Pattison's wish being to restrict them, so far as possible, to the young men of most distinguished talents, instead of spreading them widely, as now.

I scarcely know what President Eliot means when he speaks of Oxford and Cambridge as places for the rich and well-to-do alone, so general is the testimony to the contrary now given to the American visitor on the spot. Moreover, when he boldly assumes "*Of course* [the italics are my own] this prize-money is won by the young men who have been trained in the best schools and have secured the best private tutors," and adds, "These are privileges and helps which cannot be obtained by the poor," he surely takes far too much for granted. He must be aware that the system of scholarships in England begins with the public schools, and that a poor boy of unusual talent may thus be sometimes carried through his whole education, from the age of twelve or thirteen, without material expense to his parents. I remember that on enquiring as to the apparent prominence of young Scotchmen at Oxford, in spite of their national poverty, I was told that it was explained largely by their success in winning scholarships, first at the great public schools and then at the universities. I know that in 1872 I was present at the annual "wine-party" of the scholars of one of the best colleges in Oxford, and that they certainly made on me the collective impression of a set of bright young fellows who were making their own way in the world. At a later visit, last year, I talked the matter over with the head of one of the very foremost colleges, a most enlightened man, well known by reputation in this country, and he expressed surprise and disapprobation when I explained to him our American practice in regard to scholarships.

As to the feeling among Harvard students, I suppose that the editors of the *Crimson* may be accepted as having some authority, when they say that I have "certainly taken the side of the case which is taken by the great majority of undergraduates; in fact, we have not yet met a single one who entirely defended the present system" (*Crimson*, March 7). This may not prove my view to be correct, but it does show it to merit some attention—which, indeed, it seems likely to receive.

T. W. H.

Cambridge, Mass.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have been both scholar and fellow in the University of Oxford, and have had good opportunities of watching the working of the open-scholarship system, and may, I hope, be permitted to make some comments on the questions raised by "T. W. H.'s" most suggestive letter, as regards England.

His facts and his inferences are, I think, quite sound; and especially is he right in holding that open competition for scholarships does not result, as President Eliot imagines, in their being monopolized by the well-to-do. To understand fully the working of the endowments, we must go farther back than "T. W. H." has gone—to the schools which send up the majority of the candidates for college scholarships. When we do so we find the open-scholarship system throughout. In the great public schools and in the smaller grammar schools scholarships are offered for open competition among boys of all ages. The poorer clergy and professional men, and often, too, the tradesmen, have thus a chance of starting their cleverer boys on the educational road, and, as it is just this sort of parent who naturally presses his son on at an early age, the scholarships, as a rule, though open, are won by boys who would undoubtedly have to give up the higher education if they did not win. I believe that a large majority of the scholarships at the great public schools and grammar schools are held by boys of this sort, and the successful candidates for open scholarships at the universities are mainly boys who have won scholarships at the schools. It is not, therefore, fair to infer with President Eliot that because the men who win open scholarships generally come from the best schools they are "in no need of aid in obtaining their education." That they are not oftener men from the poorest classes is the fault not of open competition but of the defects of primary education. This is merely a question of time. One of the prominent features of the remodelling of the primary and secondary schools of England will be the application of just this open-scholarship system to the whole scale of education, so that the poorest boy who is really clever (it is mistaken kindness to aid others) will have his chance of climbing to the top. Even as it is, it is well known that some of the highest dignitaries of the church and of the law in England at the present time have been boys of the poorest origin, who worked their way up by the help of the open-scholarship system. But here comes in just that merit of the system on which "T. W. H." rightly lays stress. If the scholarships and fellowships these men won had been alms instead of honors, would they have risen so high? Was not just this publicity and free competition the spur to the higher ambition? Was it not the warming sense of tangible and visible success over their fellows in the tussle of life that gave them the moral strength for still further successes?

Whether the system requires some modifications—such, for instance, as were proposed by Dr. Percival and have been quoted by "R."—is a question of detail. But what I am convinced of is, that the principle of open competition is not a loss to the poorer men, but a gain. My own experience confirms "T. W. H.'s" estimate of nineteen out of twenty scholars being poor men as at least approximately correct, while the moral gain to them from the open system is obvious. Dr. Pattison, whom President Eliot quotes, is hardly the fairest witness on this point, as he is one of those who would prefer endowing the research and esoteric learning of a few to increasing by a prize system the numbers of the fairly well educated. The majority of the teaching body at Oxford and of the cultivated classes in England think education the first object of the universities, and, till they find a better, approve the system of prize scholarships and prize fellowships, which, in spite of many obvious faults, has enormously multiplied the number of men of a fair standard of intellectual training.

To see how this has been brought about we must look back to the schools again. In the big public schools intellectual success means visible and tangible power. The boys who are most advanced in the school studies are made rulers over the others. But most of these boys are those who have won the school scholarships. It is just this association that makes so many young men who have stood well at their schools anxious—whether well off or the reverse—to win a scholarship at a good college when they go up to the university. Success stamps them at once as belonging to the intellectual *élite* of the undergraduates. Again, the number of candidates is large. Many fail, but have in general learned at least to work and to have a desire to stand well in examinations, which impels them to try for honors in some branch of study. The number of men who go in for honors at Oxford has, within thirty years, risen, I believe, from a small fraction to about one-half of the undergraduate body. That this is mainly due to open competition for scholarships and fellowships there can be no doubt whatever. I think, then, it may fairly be held that the "open" system does not exclude poor men, and it makes higher literary attainments more popular among the undergraduates. Now for the third point, whether it tends to promote equality of feeling. Ten years' insight into Oxford ways has made me think that there is in the English universities much more of that wholesome spirit of equality which Mr. Matthew Arnold cries for, than in English society generally. Poverty certainly carries no social stigma there, unless associated with unmanliness or vulgarity of character and manners. That this is largely due to the respect which attaches to work and success, and that this respect is due to the emulation called forth by open competition, seems to me quite clear.

With these questions, as they concern Harvard, I have no right to deal. But if, as an outsider, I may be allowed to say one word, it is that the principles of free competition and equality are so essentially "American" that *primâ facie* they would seem to be worth trying, and, if the result of such an experiment should be to diminish the sensitiveness about caste distinctions of rich and poor, and to increase the numbers of those who respect worth and try for distinction instead of "voting it *infra dig.*," it surely would be a gain.

Your obedient servant, F. A. Channing.

Boston, March 10, 1879.

Notes.

THE Duc de Broglie's 'King's Secret' will be published during this month in New York by Cassell, Petter & Galpin.——Charles Scribner's Sons have issued the English translation of Dr. Busch's 'Bismarck in the Franco-German War,' in two elegantly printed volumes. It is unnecessary to add anything to our previous criticisms on the contents of this remarkable work.——J. B. Lippincott & Co. announce that they have assumed the American agency of the London *Geographical Magazine*, the new organ of the Royal Geographical Society. They have in press a rhythmic prose translation of Virgil's 'Aeneid,' by Henry Hubbard Pierce, U.S.A.——The second volume of Prof. D. J. Hill's series of American authors will have Bryant for its subject.——A. S. Barnes & Co.

are about issuing a text-book of selections from the writings of eminent Southern authors, some of whom, like Wade Hampton and Sam Houston, are noted rather for deeds than words.——No. 72 of the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society is mostly occupied with a letter from Dr. Le Plongeon, and with readable "Notes on Yucatan," by his wife. The former is illustrated by a colored tracing of a wall-painting from the "funeral chamber of the Chaacmol monument" (interesting to compare with the late Dr. Habel's Central American tracings, now being published by the Smithsonian Institution, for its representation of speech like that used in English caricature—the words issuing from the mouth of the *dramatis personæ*); and the Notes, by views of buildings and scenery in Yucatan. A heliotype from a recent portrait of President Salisbury serves as a frontispiece.——A new periodical, supplementary to the *Library Journal* and the *Publisher's Weekly*, and called the *Title-Slip Registry*, has appeared (Nos. 1, 2. New York, 37 Park Row). It contains titles of new books systematically described for bibliographical purposes, and printed on one side of a thin sheet, to be cut out and pasted on cards, for library catalogues. The plan is an excellent one and of obvious economy.——Plans of the four prize drawings in the recent competition for tenement-house (or model-house) designs are published in the *Plumber and Sanitary Engineer* for March. The important subject of improved homes for workingmen has been discussed at two public meetings held in this city under the best auspices, and these will certainly be followed by practical measures of reform in which every inhabitant of a large city must feel an interest.——In No. 99 of *O Novo Mundo* is begun a reprint of a rare and famous tract, written by Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó in 1828 to prove the competence and the duty of the General Assembly of Brazil to abolish clerical celibacy. ——B. Westermann & Co. send us Part I. of the new edition of Stieler's Hand-Atlas. Of the three plates, N. W. France, N. E. Russia, and N. W. Africa, the last is wholly new and is a great improvement on Stülpnagel's antiquated map of 1848 with all its amendments. It is the work of the lamented Dr. Petermann, completed by Dr. Berghaus, and has for side-maps Senegambia, and the Sierra Leone, Gold and Slave coasts. ——We learn from the *Academy* that Sampson Low & Co. are about to bring out in eight volumes a work called 'The Hundred Greatest Men,' divided into as many classes as there are volumes, and with a portrait accompanying each life. Mr. Emerson is to furnish an introduction to one of the volumes. Also, that Wagner's 'Essays on Beethoven' are being translated by Mr. Edward Dannreuther, and will be published by W. Reeves.——We regret to record the death at Luxor, in Upper Egypt, on February 1, of Dr. Charles Appleton, founder and editor from the first of the *Academy*, his chief literary monument. Those who met him during his short visit to this country in 1875 saw in him a man of sanguine and ardent temperament, capable of giving himself wholly up to the cause which enlisted his sympathies. He edited, as one of the contributors, a volume of 'Essays on the Endowment of Research,' and he was a persistent advocate of international copyright. He had not quite completed his thirty-eighth year.——Last week died Elihu Burritt, the "learned blacksmith," who forty years ago acquired as a self-taught scholar and linguist a reputation which time did not confirm, for nothing that he produced gave evidence of a mind of more than very ordinary quality. He enlisted in numerous philanthropic enterprises, and as an advocate of peace, temperance, and emancipation did what he could to leave the world better than he found it. He was born in New Britain, Conn., in 1811.

—The aims and tendencies of the new management of the *International Review* are fairly exhibited in the March number, for which some indulgence as a beginning might properly be exacted. It opens with a short article by Mr. Edward Cary on "The Administration and Civil-Service Reform," noticeable for its pithy expression of the mortification which Mr. Hayes has inflicted upon the reformers who made his nomination possible, and for its indication of the only plan left them (in the writer's view) of attaining their end. He proposes that they should in any Federal district wherein a vacancy arises in the postal or revenue or administrative-judicial service "petition the appointing power to fill such vacancy by the promotion of such subordinate as, on reasonable evidence, shall be shown to be most fit for the duties required," and upon such appointment to ensure its confirmation, when necessary, by like measures. He would also have them organize with a view to affecting all Congressional nominations, and nominations to legislatures about to choose United States Senators; support party candidates according to their disposition towards civil-service reform, or make independent nominations, or at least "bolt." In addition to these methods, Mr. Cary would doubtless approve the time-honored yet too much neglected practice of addressing open letters to the candidate suspected of unsoundness. If his article be significant of the *Review's* attitude on this important question, not less do the elaborate papers by Mr. George Walker on "The Currency and the National Banks" and by Prof. Simon Newcomb on "The Silver Conference and the Silver Question" show the editorial leaning. Of both of them it may be said that they deserve separate reprint and wide circulation, as containing sound statistics and dispassionate argument, enforced in a singularly clear and popular manner. Mr. Walker is opposed to seeing the greenbacks made a permanent part of the circulation, still more to their being substituted for national-bank notes, which would mean "an increase of the public debt by $322,000,000." He shows how inelastic this currency must necessarily be, and that in fact it would speedily bring the business of the country to a deadlock. He also points out the impossibility of reconciling the obligation under the Resumption Act to redeem greenbacks in coin with that other of the Act of May 31, 1878, forbidding their cancellation and ordering their reissue. Prof. Newcomb discusses the report of the American delegates to the International Monetary Conference, and compares with it the report of the Swiss delegates, and then passes to an impartial and original investigation of the causes of the change in the ratio of gold and silver, and the prospect of future recovery and stability in their relative value. We have marked a number of passages for quotation for which we have no room. The whole article should be read by mono-metallists as well as bi-metallists. Professor Newcomb holds that the permanent absorption of gold by the German mint has been a more potent disturbing factor than the same nation's sale of discarded silver. Of the United States he says: "The radical change in our monetary system proposed by the silver law cannot be placed in a stronger light than by simply reflecting that this measure permitted the coinage in two months, and rendered obligatory the coinage in four months, of more silver dollars than had been previously coined since the establishment of the mint."

—There is one other political article, "Self-Government in the Territories," by Chief-Justice Wade, of Montana, which can hardly be called either exhaustive or weighty. Lighter if not light is Prof. Shaler's "Sleep and Dreams," suggestive like all this writer's excursuses from his own province, though we are inclined to regard his explanation of nightmare by the "singular sense of fear at the very bottom of consciousness" as rather metaphysical than philosophical. Mr. Sidney Lanier writes of "A Forgotten English Poet" of the sixteenth century, Bartholomew Griffin; and an anonymous writer, who evidently knows his subject thoroughly, begins a series of articles on the "Present Condition of the U. S. Navy" which should receive the prayerful consideration of a certain much-vindicated ex-Secretary.

—No more vigorous or convincing exposure of the true character of the Roach subsidy appeared anywhere than in the columns of the New York *Commercial Bulletin*. Its last article received the tribute of the following inimitable communication:

Philadelphia, March 1st 1879.

The New York Daily Com. Bulletin

I rearly am astonished to see such an article in your paper The Defeat of Roachs Subidey—.

I dont think you take much interest in the commerce of this country — —

To the disgrace of the Nation—the only American Line to Europe with only a local mail from Phila, & when in England to have to send your letters by English mails —

What this country wants is a general Subsidy-law without monoplies——

The Manufacturers and Agriculturers both want outlet for goods

Yours

Henry C Potter
Consul for Nicaragua.

On this the *Bulletin* justly remarks that consular incompetency is believed by merchants to be responsible in no small measure for the "national disgrace" referred to; and that people have learned to put a proper estimate upon the patriotism of private interest. It might have pointed out that "what this country wants" according to Consul Potter is just what it would not have got by the Roach subsidy, and just what Mr. Roach himself does *not* want and did not lobby for. Monopoly was the very essence of his raid upon the Treasury.

—The run of "Spell-bound" at "Wallack's" has not been a long one, and it has called out a very unanimous expression of unfavorable opinions from the press. Mr. Wallack has been found fault with even for allowing the play to be produced at his theatre, and it has been pointed out to him that the days of clap-trap melodrama are past and gone. That it

has not been more successful is certainly not due to lack of incident in the plot, or good acting. There are hardly more than two characters in it, *Raoul de Beaupré*, the mysterious tiger-slayer of the Himalayan prologue ; and *Gabrielle*, the unfortunate woman whom he afterwards marries. Both were well acted, the first by Mr. Wallack, who looked the part to perfection, and the second by Miss Coghlan, who looks almost any part well, and who quite distinguished herself in her acting of the blood-curdling midnight scene in the castle. As to incident, what with a hand-to-hand fight with a tiger for a lady's scarf in the prologue, a highway robbery, two murders, and a fatal duel across a table in the play, to say nothing of the accumulated horrors of *Gabrielle's* night in the castle of Beaupré and her subsequent madness, or her husband's attempted bigamy, there is quite enough in "Spell-bound" to furnish two or three ordinary plays with plots. It is somewhat wanting, it must be confessed, in character and in probability, and in the play as a whole there is a total absence of dramatic motive, though this is not true of particular scenes. The appearance of *Beaupré* in the prologue, where, as *Gabrielle* is explaining to her friend the strange sort of fascination he exercises over her, she suddenly sees him in the glass by means of which she is arranging her hair, is a genuine melodramatic touch ; and so too is the murder in the subterranean chamber, where *Beaupré* shoots down the woman whose life he intended to save, finding that she has recognized him. The simultaneous appearance of *Gabrielle* clinging to the inside of the door of the secret staircase did not strike us as on a level with the rest of the scene. Any trifling defects of this sort, however, were made up for in the last act, where the projected marriage of the count with *Suzanne* is interfered with by the unexpected resurrection of *Gabrielle*, and the gloomy and immoral career of her husband is brought to an abrupt termination by his being shot through the heart by young *De la Roche*. We confess to a pervading ignorance as to the period of the play. The names are all French ; but the scene in the Himalayas, and particularly the abundance of English-looking costumes, suggest Anglo-Saxon rule, while the moral atmosphere of the drama is that of the middle ages.

—The reason why "Spell-bound" has not been a success is, we think, perfectly explicable. We by no means believe that the taste for old-fashioned melodrama has died out. The success of such plays as the "Two Orphans" and "A Celebrated Case" proves that this is not so, and it is doubtful whether melodrama in the sense of a drama of the romantic order, in which the interest depends mainly on the development of an exciting romantic plot, will soon entirely lose its attractions. But the difficulty with "Spell-bound" is that it is rather an accumulation of incidents than a play. The principal character is a monster of depravity without one redeeming trait; and while it is perfectly true that we may become interested in a monster of depravity, there must be some sentimental reason for our becoming so. As a monster nobody is attractive, and if we except the slightly burlesque declaration, in the subterranean chamber, of his intention to reform and settle down as a quiet, law-abiding citizen, it is only *quâ* monster that the *Comte de Beaupré* appears in "Spell-bound." *Gabrielle*, too, is an unintelligible person, and her very genuine terror at the situation in which she finds herself in the castle is the only natural thing about her. If the motive of the play were an original attachment between the young *De la Roche* and *Gabrielle*, interrupted by the spell cast over her by *Raoul*, the whole ending by the liberation from the spell through his death, and marriage with *De la Roche*, "Spell-bound" would be a very good play. But this does not seem to be intended, and is certainly not made plain. Mr. Boucicault in his present use of his materials has avoided giving any motive, and deprived the play almost of all *raison d'être*. However, the materials of "Spell-bound" have already passed through several crucibles, and perhaps when they next issue from the laboratory the result will be more agreeable. There is no reason why it should not.

—The theatrical season in Paris has not been brilliant. No new play by M. Augier, M. Dumas, or M. Sardou has been brought out. The Comédie-Française has produced nothing new, relying upon revivals of M. Octave Feuillet's "Sphinx" and M. Dumas's fine comedy "Le Fils Naturel." According to M. Feuillet's usual fashion of trying a subject in a novel before risking it in a play, the "Sphinx" is made out of 'Julie de Trécœur'; and another comedy of his, taken in like manner from 'Les Amours de Philippe,' is likely soon to be played. In fact, it seems as though the novelists were capturing the French stage. M. Cherbuliez has possession of both the Odéon and the Vaudeville ; for the former M. Meilhac has prepared a version of "Samuel Brohl," and for the latter M. Maquet has adapted "Ladislas Bolski." Neither has met with better luck than befell M. de Najac's alteration of "Comte Kostia" at the Gymnase two or three years ago. At the Ambigu a dramatization of M. Émile Zola's "Assommoir" seems to have excited as much attention as the first appearance of the realistic novel itself. Its production was a solemnity which has been likened to the bringing out of Hugo's "Hernani," for, like Hugo, M. Zola has a theory of dramatic art which he sets forth in his theatrical criticisms in the *Bien Public*, and which may be roughly summarized by saying that he wants to see that same realism on the stage which he has already applied to the novel. He has three times put this to the proof by appearing as a dramatic author, and as many times has failed. He has not now dramatized his own novel ; this has been done by two expert theatrical hacks. M. Sarcey in the *Temps* says that the piece raises no literary questions, and is very easy to judge ; it is simply one of those plays of which the sole criticism needed is to record whether it pleased or bored the public ; it has no higher views. "The name of M. Zola and his noisily-paraded pretension of creating a new theory of theatrical art ought not to delude us. 'L'Assommoir' will regenerate nothing ; it is a play like many we have seen and shall see again." M. Sarcey then points out that the first half of the piece is light and gay, and that the final scenes are monotonous and wearisome when they are not revolting. M. Zola has recently published in a single volume the three plays written by himself which were summarily damned when acted, accompanying each with a preface in which he explains what his intentions were in writing it, and expresses his surprise that they were not more readily recognized. "Thérèse Raquin" is a gloomy drama ; "Les Héritiers Rabourdin" and the "Bouton de Rose" are farces a little less gloomy ; the second of the three was suggested, the author tells us, by Ben Jonson's 'Volpone.' In spite of failure M. Zola is not discouraged ; he believes in his theories and he has faith in himself. The final paragraph of his preface to this volume of 'Théâtre' contains these characteristic words :

"I publish my hissed plays and I wait. They are three—the three first soldiers of an army. When there are twenty they will make themselves respected. What I wait for is an evolution in our dramatic literature, a change of the public and of the critics in their attitude toward me, a clearer and juster appreciation of what I am and of what I mean. They have ended at last by reading my novels ; they will end by hearing my plays."

—For more than half a century the name of William Howitt, oftenest spoken in connection with that of his wife and literary helpmeet, has been familiar to English-reading peoples in two hemispheres ; and his death last week removes one of the most industrious and, in a peculiar sense, popular of writers. His early activity belongs in that period of English ferment when the education of the masses seemed the panacea of political evils ; when Brougham was publishing his 'Practical Observations on the Education of the People,' and founding the short-lived "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge"; and when *Chambers's Journal* and Knight's *Penny Magazine* sprang simultaneously into existence, without concert yet with similar aims. Later came the *People's Journal* and *Howitt's Magazine*, finally consolidated under the name of the former, with illustrations by Kenny Meadows, H. K. Browne, and W. J. Linton. Liberal, humanitarian, and democratic sentiments, sympathizing with revolutionists on the Continent, with Abolitionists in America, with religious free-thinkers everywhere, were the atmosphere in which the Howitts worked naturally and most cheerfully. They also did excellent service by their translations from Scandinavian literature and from the German, by their intimate pictures of German life and manners, and their enlightening account of the German universities, as well as by those works on their native country, descriptive, literary, and historical, which became a part of the culture of thousands of interested readers. The debt which young and old owe to the translator of Hans Christian Andersen and Fredrika Bremer, and the author of the poetical 'Sketches of Natural History,' to mention no other of her numerous works by which family life has been sweetened and morally rounded, ensures Mary Howitt, perhaps, a special remembrance (when her time comes) and special gratitude, but death has rarely attempted to sever a closer partnership of labor and fame and common usefulness. William Howitt was born in 1795.

—One would have thought that in this country and in England there were by this time societies for every object which it is conceivable that societies should wish to further ; but M. Léon Rousset, in his amusing 'À travers la Chine' (Paris : Hachette), speaks of a class as yet unknown here. It would be of no use to give the Chinese names, but from their object they might be called Societies for the Prevention of Disrespect to Manuscripts. The regard which the Chinese have for any-

thing connected with education has led them to an almost Mohammedan reverence for every scrap of written paper. These societies send round hired officials from house to house to collect writings that have become useless, and even to collect in the streets fragments of written paper that might come to a dishonorable end. These are placed in little decorated brick temples built by the societies, where from time to time they are burnt, and the ashes, carefully gathered, are thrown with due solemnity into the nearest stream of running water.

—In an essay written in 1781 by H. A. Vezin, Hanoverian Registrar in Chancery, the author speaks of the discovery, which had recently been made, that it was a violation of common sense to let corpses rot where human beings breathed the air, and that the Almighty should not be worshipped in a building under the roof of which worms were engaged in eating carrion. As the laws establishing graveyards outside the limits of the towns were meeting with much opposition, he collected a number of examples showing the danger resulting from the burial of people in churches, or in graveyards within the city walls. Thus, he cites the Abbé Girauld-Soularie, who ascribed the high death-rate among the nuns in the convent of Argentière to the fact that their drinking-water was drawn from a well which drained the churchyard. In Chelwood a person of note was to be buried in the church, and, for want of room, a grave was opened in which a man, who had died of small-pox, had been buried thirty years before. A blow from a spade broke the lid of the coffin, whereupon a dreadful stench arose. The church was crowded, and in a short time all the inhabitants, not only of this town, but of all the surrounding villages that had sent representatives to the funeral, were down with the small-pox. The essayist suggests that the periodical return of small-pox epidemics might be caused by the disturbance of the earth over some one who had died of that disease long before. In Saulieu, in Burgundy, a very stout woman was to be buried in the church. In digging her grave the coffin of a person that had been buried six weeks before was uncovered. While lowering the body one of the ropes broke, and the new coffin, striking against the old one, broke it. A horrible smell arose, so that all the people who were present ran away. One hundred and twenty children were in the church at the time to be confirmed, and of these one hundred and fourteen, together with the vicar, the priest, the grave-digger, and seventy other persons, became very ill. Several days after the grave had been closed a marriage was celebrated in this church, and immediately thereafter the bride, the groom, and sixteen others, among whom were three strangers, were attacked by the same disorder. Fortunately only eighteen died of the two hundred that were stricken. Vezin quotes a number of other cases showing how poisonous are the fumes that arise from dead bodies, and answers the objections that are made regarding interference with the rights of people in their burial grounds, by stating that no one would be permitted to recover the value of a wild beast or of a mad dog that endangered human lives in case such an animal were killed.

—An excellent illustration of the manner in which one after another of the old metaphysical illusions in regard to the life and habits of the lower animals are dispelled by the progress of scientific investigation, is afforded by Dr. Weissmann's paper on the "Migration of Birds" in the *Contemporary Review* for February. Ever since the appearance of Darwin's 'Origin of Species' the best scientific authorities have agreed in regarding instinct as "inherited habit," or, as Haeckel defines it, "a psychic habit, which, originally acquired through adaptation, in the course of generations becomes hereditary and finally appears as innate." But while many of the so-called instincts, and among them some of the most complicated, could thus be readily accounted for, even with our present imperfect knowledge of the habits of animals, other cases remained which could not be so satisfactorily explained. Conspicuous among these has hitherto been the migratory instinct; but, with the assistance of some valuable data recently supplied by Professor Palmén, Dr. Weissmann is able to show that in its general principles the phenomenon of the migration of birds is now capable of explanation with reference to known laws of nature. We now know that only those species migrate, either south in winter or north in summer, which are not able to procure sufficient food in either climate during the whole year. In the north the ground for several months is covered with snow, while in the south during the hottest months lakes and rivers dry up, vegetation withers, and insects disappear, so that famine would in both cases await the birds if they remained. The difficulty apparently lies in accounting for the *origin* of the habit of migrating. This, however, is removed as soon as we take into account the various stages of its development which we now find represented—from the resident birds, which merely make larger excursions in winter to find their food, to those which traverse somewhat greater distances, until we come to the extreme cases of birds which cross the ocean and go as far as from northern Europe to equatorial Africa. As long as the course is confined to the land it is easy to see how the annual excursions of each species may have been gradually extended as necessity required it. Birds have a very acute sense of sight and a capital memory for locality, which by constant use, by hereditary transmission, and the continued survival of the most talented individuals, has acquired a perfection which neither civilized man nor even savages can remotely rival. It is, therefore, easy for them to find their way as long as terra firma is beneath them. A good memory of locality, however, would be useless when the passage is across the sea. Nor would the fact that birds have been seen flying at a height of several miles, or the existence of the islands between Europe and Africa, account for the actions of the birds, for only some of their courses are across these islands. The past geography of this globe must here be taken into account. European birds now cross the Mediterranean at places where the continents *formerly* met. "The land has been gradually withdrawn from beneath them, and imperceptibly their flight over connecting belts of land has been changed into a passage over the sea." Dr. Weissmann concludes, therefore, that the present tracks of migratory birds are simply the old ways by which they originally spread themselves out towards the north. Only one more factor now remains to be accounted for. Who taught the birds to go south in winter, instead of north, east, or west, where they would perish? It has been repeatedly suggested that birds may have a magnetic or electric sense which guides them in the proper direction. But this theory, though not irrational in itself, is superfluous, since a well-established law of nature, natural selection, suffices to explain the whole matter. At first, it is very probable that some flocks of birds went in the wrong direction—perhaps some do so now—but all these perished from want of food, and only those survived which went south. These would naturally go the same way in the following winter, and take their young ones with them; and thus the habit of going south would gradually become an inherited impulse, and be converted into what is now known as the migratory instinct. We cannot too strongly recommend Dr. Weissmann's paper to all those who still harbor in their minds any metaphysical vagaries such as those taught by Hartmann, who would have us believe that the instincts of animals are due to a faculty of clairvoyance (*Hellsehen*) which they possess.

VON HOLST'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.*

WE have given in full the titles, with their divisions and sub-divisions, of Professor von Holst's new volume—because, with what may seem an excess of system in the plan of the work, they present after all an admirable statement of the line of thought and reasoning which the author has had in his mind in composing his work. It was the conflict and the development of the organic law on the one side and radical democracy on the other, as illustrated in the political history of this country, that he wished to depict; and of this the constitutional history formed only one phase. The first great division of the work was to be devoted to the alliance and influence of State sovereignty and slavery; of this division the present volume forms the second. For some reason, in changing his publisher, the author found it necessary to change the title of his book, or rather to add a new one; for the old title is retained by the side of the new one. This has, at all events, the advantage, he says, that the scope of the work is thus more completely defined, as neither title by itself is quite adequate; the present instalment, too, is more distinctively a constitutional history than the last.

This volume consists of an introduction of twenty-four pages, and seven chapters; one upon Jackson, three upon Van Buren, one upon Tyler, one upon the slavery question, and one upon Texas. The chapter upon the "rule" (*Regierung*) of Andrew Jackson is in the main identical with the address noticed by us in the year 1874 (see the *Nation*, No. 448), with some additions in the way of notes. The reader cannot help wishing for a little more help in the way of subdivision, running titles, etc.; for of these important aids the book is wholly destitute. A table of con-

* 'Verfassung und Demokratie der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Von Dr. H. von Holst, Professor an der Universität Freiburg i. B. Erster Theil. Staatensouveränetät und Sklaverei, Zweite Abtheilung: Von der Administration Jackson's bis zur Annexion von Texas.' (Also with the title: 'Verfassungsgeschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika seit der Administration Jackson's.' Erster Band.) Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer; New York: L. W. Schmidt. 1878. 8vo, pp. 611.

tents of twelve lines is absolutely the only guide there is to a volume of over six hundred pages, and to chapters two of which number over one hundred pages each. Even one who merely reads the book through continuously would be glad of something more; and for purposes of reference, which is a principal use of a history like this, its value is seriously impaired by this deficiency.

The period embraced by this volume is that in which the rule of the Democratic party was fixed upon the country. The election of Polk, following upon the brief Whig triumph of 1840, established the decisive supremacy of this party; for the four years of Taylor and Fillmore were hardly an interruption to that long domination of the Democratic party which brought the country at last into a civil war. And side by side with the triumph of the party we have the story of its alliance with the slavery interest—the most momentous fact in the history of this period. Still more important, in a constitutional point of view, is the fact that it was in these sixteen years that the rule of party, as it has existed to the present day, was firmly established. By rule of party we do not mean rule by party; for this was the practice before Jackson, as it has been also for two hundred years in England. Rule by party is, if not an indispensable, at least a natural and legitimate feature of free government; in a healthy state of political society the party organization, selected by the people to administer its affairs, never forgets that it is but the agent of the people, and that its responsibility is to the nation and its laws. Party rule, on the other hand, as introduced by Jackson, looks to no interests but those of the party, and recognizes no responsibility but to the party. It never says it in so many words—that would be too gross; but its acts nevertheless show that, with the loudest professions of devotion to the country and of being the people's servant, it never for a moment thinks of any country or of any people, except the party. This was the principle of government which triumphed in 1828, and upon which every victorious party has acted from that day to this. No institution or custom, however unreasonable or harmful, can ever establish itself in a community without some rational cause; and it is easy to see that party rule of this type is simply an outgrowth of the old-fashioned rule by party, under the influence of the spirit of radical democracy. Nor is it hard to see how this rule *for* party degenerates still further into rule *through* party, under which we have no longer any genuine loyalty even to party, much less to country, but a pure scramble for offices and emoluments, in which every politician is "on the make." It is hard to see what lower depth party rule can sink to than this. It would be mere carping, however, to imply that our politics, at their lowest estate, have presented this aspect exclusively or even prevailingly.

Prof. von Holst has vigorously depicted party spirit and party rule as they exist among us. "Everywhere," he says, "the number is very small of those who are clearly conscious to themselves that the party is only a means to the attainment of certain ends, and not itself an end. In the United States party spirit has penetrated the entire political life more than anywhere else. For this reason the party has also here more than anywhere else won, in the conceptions of people, an existence independent of the individuals composing it. The party is the political church. Its traditions and its programme have something of the binding obligation of dogma" (p. 592). Of the practice of nominating for high office the men who have the fewest enemies—men, that is, who possess neither eminence nor marked individuality—he says: "A party which neither is held together by enthusiasm for an eminent personality, nor has a positive programme, because it dares not offer one to the heterogeneous elements of which it is composed, is really no longer a party, for opposition to the party in power can never by itself afford the basis for a party" (p. 327).

We have said that the first step from government *by* party to government *for* party is an outgrowth of radical democracy; an effort honest in the main, although violent and unenlightened, on the part of the masses to realize more completely their notion of a democratic government. Plainly enough the result, so far as the personality of the individuals who administer the government is concerned, is that described forcibly on page 84: "The undeniable fact, one which in truth lies in the most glaring light, is that from that time [the triumph of Jackson] the people began to exchange the *leadership* of a small number of statesmen and politicians of a high order for the *rule* of an ever-increasing horde of politicians of all ranks, down to the saloon-keeper who plays the politician, and the common thief in the mantle of the demagogue." That is just it, and we all know in our hearts how true it is—party is no longer an agent of administration, it is no longer even our ruler, it has become an instrument for the greed and ambition of politicians.

The process of substituting rule for party in place of rule by party is admirably described in detail in the volume before us. Its especial merit, we may say the most characteristic feature of the author's method, is the analysis of motives and influences derived from a careful and extended study of the very words of the men of that day; and, as a result, a full and luminous portrayal of the successive steps of the revolution in question. It is as if one talked with the men themselves; it is made even more comprehensible than it could have been to a contemporary; for contemporaries are bewildered by the multiplicity of ideas and expressions which fill the air, and are unable to determine which of them belong to the prevailing current of the time, which are reminiscences of something that has been outgrown, and which are mere sound, signifying nothing. But the author of this book, looking back over many years, and seeing clearly what it all ended in, is able to eliminate everything which does not belong to the great movement, and to set before us the movement itself in all its completeness and in all its details. Then he sees more than any contemporary could, even the keenest-eyed, because he has documents before him which, at the time, were seen by only a few eyes. The sentiments, the reasonings, the interests, the underhand influences at work are set before us in a masterly manner; very copious citations, moreover, in the foot-notes, enable the reader to follow every step of the analysis in the very language of the actors themselves. As we said when speaking of the address which makes the first chapter of this volume, General Jackson is shown to have been only the agent by whom the revolution was accomplished, not by any means the cause of the revolution. The spirit of radical democracy, the eager confidence of the masses in their capacity to carry on the government without training, the feeling that democracy meant government, not merely by the people, but *immediately* by the people—this spirit had been besieging the gates of government ever since the establishment of the republic, and of this spirit Andrew Jackson was the incarnation. And when it triumphed, it triumphed all at once. There is, at least, this comforting fact in the unpleasant picture presented by Professor von Holst—that we at the present day need not think our politics are deteriorated since a generation ago. Perhaps there is a larger proportion now of mere interested politicians; but it is only a difference of proportion—the system of administration set up by Jackson and Van Buren is just that which flourished under Grant. The abuses are identically the same, and the cry for reform was just as loud; often in reading these pages one would almost think it was his own day that was described.

On the whole, therefore, the reader rises from the perusal of this volume with a feeling of increased courage and hopefulness. It is true he has had many of his idols broken and his illusions dispelled; he has been taught that the good old times were fully as bad as the bad times of to-day; he has been forced to see that the giants whom he has reverenced, the Clays, Calhouns, and Websters, were as self-seeking and as capable of mean and dishonest acts as our Blaines and Tildens. It is true he can look back over weary years of fruitless efforts at reform, and there is a tone of discouragement to-day that there was not then. But it is even here that he finds his best assurance. It was the people that forced upon the country the ill-fated experiment of 1828; it was done in all the enthusiasm and hopefulness of a generous theory, and in the face of the warnings of experienced statesmen. At the present day it is different. It is nobody but the politicians now who believe in the present system of party rule, or who have any interest in keeping it up. If the people appear to acquiesce, it is only because they see no way to amend it. Both parties were forced in 1876, in the sheer necessity of self-preservation, to raise the banner of reform, to abjure publicly the principle of party rule; perhaps the next time they will find themselves forced not merely to talk but to act.

The extracts we have given will convey some notion of the strong and keen criticism, and the profound intelligence, which appear in this book. Such extracts could be multiplied almost without limit; we have space, however, for only a few. Mr. Hoar's recent article in the *North American Review* finds support in these words: "One could write a book upon the part played by the 'Rules of the House' in the history of the legislation of the country. But the shortest and emptiest chapter would treat of their employment for the fulfilment of their legitimate ends" (p. 304). The author gives high praise to General Harrison as a man of honor and integrity; and of the "hard-cider" campaign of 1840 he says: "It has been too common to find only occasion for derision and censure in all this. It should not be overlooked that under the mask of a fool's play, which was often pushed to the point of being really discreditable, there lay the honorable and warm protest of the people against a shameless party spirit aiming to depreciate and befoul genuine merit" (p. 331).

FRENCH PROTESTANTISM.*

FRENCH Protestantism, which has long manifested a worthy interest in its noble history and martyrology, is not likely to take a less interest in its past for the inspiring future that is rapidly—almost suddenly—opening before it. The little residuary Huguenot Church, a remnant left over from so many persecutions and banishments that failed quite to extirpate it, depressed with hindrances and disabilities, and distracted by the schism between orthodox and rationalist, has always had a weight and value in the commonwealth vastly out of proportion to its numbers. For these have been infinitesimal—hardly one in sixty of the population ; and yet, by every test that can try the character of different classes of a population, the Protestants show, at every fair opportunity, a magnificent superiority. Just now, for instance, their newspapers are counting up, with pardonable exultation, the great proportion of honors at the Paris Exhibition that have been carried off by Protestant artists and artisans. Their prominence in authorship and literature, and in the profession of teaching, has been admitted, and has been one ground of clerical opposition to the system of public education. But the most signal and "stunning" demonstration of how much more the French Protestants weighed than they counted, was given at the time of the reconstitution of the ministry a year ago, when, on counting the noses of the new ministry, it actually appeared that a majority of them were Protestants. The fact had no political significance whatever ; it had not come about by any contrivance. But on this very account its larger significance was the more impressive—that the 600,000 should furnish one-half the governing heads for the 36,000,000 ! At its exit, the Dufaure Ministry counted three Protestants out of the nine ; and now the Waddington Ministry numbers six Protestants (including Jules Ferry, Minister of Public Instruction, a new convert) to three more or less Catholic. Admiral Jauréguiberry is also a convert, but his change from the Catholic Church to the Protestant is of some years' standing.

Under the Republic the French Protestants possess, for the first time since the Concordat, the liberty of propagation ; and they have not been slow in feeling the sense of responsibility which this is adapted to impress. The two schools of doctrine among them, whose mutual conflicts have been sometimes acrimonious, have shown a disposition, not to compromise their respective convictions, but to act fraternally on the basis of the principles which they hold in common for the general interests of France. They have by no means reached "the end of controversy," but a visible sign of their improved temper toward each other is found in the *Journal du Protestantisme Français*, which, since last October, has been representing the common interests of both parties in its little weekly issue ; and a still more important sign of the same is expected to appear next April, when the new Protestant daily, *Le Réformateur*, "journal anti-clérical," is to make its *début* among the political journals of Paris. It has added interest, and we think it has also added strength, to the position of French Protestantism that within two or three years three or four of the most eminent leaders of the "Free Church" have returned to the Established Protestant Church from which their fathers seceded. The first of these, Pastor Bersier, is unquestionably the foremost preacher in France, of any communion. Théodore Monod, heir of a name illustrious in his communion, and a widely popular evangelist, is another. A third is M. Bost, founder and director of the noble system of charities at La Force. This accession strengthens and tends to broaden the orthodox party, which has been for some time widening both numerically and theologically.

Now, upon this conjuncture in the history of the French Protestant Church comes one of the most remarkable spontaneous religious movements known in church history. It calls itself *religious opportunism*, and does not pretend, to begin with, to be governed by religious motives at all. It is the spontaneous movement of serious, thoughtful, patriotic men, Catholics by birth, baptism, and civil registration, who are disgusted with the fanaticism of pilgrimage and miracle-mongery, and with the latest additions to the creed, and impressed with the injury to the country in the affairs of this life by the domination of the Catholic Church ; and who reason that inasmuch as it is impossible for a people to exist without some religion, and inasmuch as no man in France can effectually and definitively get out of the Roman Catholic Church except by distinctly connecting himself with some other, therefore the best solution of the religious question is for a man or a community to quit the Roman Catholic Church and join the Protestants. And it is astonishing how fast they are doing it. The movement began, if we are rightly informed, not in France, but in Belgium ; and the first conspicuous leader in it was no less a man than Émile Laveleye, the publicist, whose statistical studies had been of a nature to set the case well before his mind. Like all the rest of the "opportunists" he became at once a zealous propagandist of his principles, or rather his policy, in which he is zealously reinforced by others who act from more purely spiritual considerations. The consequence in Belgium has been, in some instances, the transfer of whole villages from the Roman to the Protestant communion, and in others the founding of flourishing congregations made up of converts from the Roman Church.

In France the movement began suddenly and spontaneously by a letter written to his bishop by M. Paul Bouchard, ex-prefect of a department in the south of France, asking him to take note of the formal withdrawal of himself and his family from the Roman communion and their adhesion to the Reformed Church. This letter, without any recent precedent in France, made no small stir in the Republic, and was received by the Protestants with a very doubtful and hesitating welcome in view of the reasons on which the act was predicated. But its seed was in itself after its kind, and the sort of fruit that sprung from it is indicated by the men who have followed M. Bouchard's example. One of the earliest was M. Renouvier, editor of *La Critique philosophique, politique, scientifique et littéraire*, who has added to his Review a Quarterly Supplement, the *Critique Religieuse*, as an organ of the new movement. With him goes M. Pillon, his associate in the Review. Another adherent is Jules Favre, who manifests his faith by occasional newspaper articles. The pamphleteer of the new party is Eugène Réveillaud, whose brochure, "La Question Religieuse et la Solution Protestante," is the best brief exposition of the reasons of the movement. These are names enough to show the character of the party. Its numbers may be guessed at from the fact, announced a few weeks since by the *Journal du Protestantisme Français*, that there are now on file in the Bureau of the Minister of Public Worship no less than forty-five applications for the organization of new congregations in the Established Protestant Church. There is no doubt that we are in the presence of a bold politico-religious movement to carry republican France over from Catholicism to the Protestant Church ; and if the open war which the Catholic clergy has waged against the Republic is the occasion of their loss in the impending contest, there will be few outside of their own communion to sympathize in their griefs.

Of the two books that have given us occasion for these remarks, the first is not new, only now issued in a new and convenient cheap edition. It has been a fruitful mother of books, no less than three smaller lives of Palissy having come forth from it since it first introduced its hero's name to the general public in 1852. There is excellent biographical art, and too much consciousness of art (how could the writer help it, being a professor of literature ?) in the construction of it ; it takes the reader forward with a continual progress, like a good novel. But it is mortifying to find the Professor of English Literature in University College, London, speaking of "eliminating valuable ideas" (p. 228) in the sense of eliciting them. It makes us blush for our common origin, and reflect what would be the expressions of an English critic if he had found the word so used by an American author.

The life of Du Plan is a valuable little book, but not fitted to be a popular one. It is a careful contribution to the history of one of the most thrilling periods in the life of "the Church in the Wilderness," and tells of the efforts of a chivalrous gentleman to obtain succor in foreign courts for the persecuted remnant of his co-religionists in the Cevennes. The English translation, made by an English descendant of this gentleman and martyr, is exceptionally well executed.

* 'Palissy the Potter. The Life of Bernard Palissy, of Saintes. By Henry Morley, Professor of English Literature in University College, London.' New Edition. London and New York : Cassell, Petter & Galpin.

'Benjamin du Plan, Gentleman of Alais, Deputy General of the Reformed Churches of France. 1725–1763. From the French of D. Bonnefon, pastor of the Reformed Church of Alais, Department of Gard.' London : Hodder & Stoughton ; New York : Scribner & Welford.

RECENT NOVELS.*

'SIGNOR MONALDINI'S NIECE' is full of the charm of Rome. The author feels, and can reproduce, the loveliness of form and color which makes it an enchanted place ; its glowing light, its soft air, its profuse succession of flowers, the steadfast beauty of the hills, the infinite variety of the Campagna, the power of its architecture, affecting the mind almost as the work of natural forces ; the varied beauty and abundance of its fountains—all these rise like visions before the reader who chances to be also a lover of Rome. Not only the wonderful city but

* 'Signor Monaldini's Niece.' (No-Name Series.) Boston : Roberts Bros. 1879.

its surroundings are familiar to this writer: the writhing olive-trees, the stately neglected buildings, the wide purple distance, the hill-sides steeped in varying light and shadow, are all used in the setting and the background of the story, and for the moment one forgets the curdling wind and the bitter outlines of the North. The *mise en scène* being so good, what are the actors? One girl with wonderful beauty and an ignorance of the world which transcends naïveté; one mysterious man of rank, who, being specially a man of the world, yet behaves with a simplicity fit for a boy; one coarse-natured family wrapped in an ignoble prosperity; one rather vague and cold-blooded artist; and around these, who are the high lights of the picture, are grouped various characters all more or less shady. We take it to be the writer's intention to protest against the usual conventional restrictions on women's freedom of action, but *elle s'y prend mal*, and almost all her characters turn out as her opponents might desire. The beautiful Camilla, Signor Monaldini's niece, walks alone through the streets of Rome, and is indignant and disgusted at the displeased comments of her relations; yet a single glance as he passes her inflames Don Filippo with an undying passion, and Camilla finds life richer and more endurable because of his existence. Camilla, whose French father seems to have inspired her with the most liberal views as to what is possible for the *jeune fille*, sickens in the uncongenial atmosphere of her uncle's house and is carried for recovery to Assisi, to be with a sort of family dependent. All the description of the town and Camilla's life there and of her hostess is charming. On her return to Rome an eccentric German lady, Baroness von Klenze, who is captivated with Camilla's beauty and distinction, invites her to spend the summer with her at Frascati. Camilla is enchanted with the prospect, and, almost before the matter is settled, Don Filippo takes an apartment in the same villa, and determines to give himself the happiness of seeing Camilla in the peace and freedom of the country, while he expects to persuade the public that he has not left Rome. For Don Filippo has a wife living, insane and never likely to recover, but likely to live as long as he; and, being a Catholic, no divorce is possible. A rejected lover of Camilla, the Count of San Claudio, who has married her cousin, discovers the arrangement at Frascati and communicates it to Signor Monaldini, who goes instantly to the villa and overwhelms Camilla with the coarsest reproaches. Camilla desires him never to speak to her again; and having lost her home in this house, and the Baroness being slightly cool in consequence of Camilla's refusal to marry her protégé, Carlile, she goes to Rome, hoping for counsel and assistance from Miss Conroy, an American lady who has appeared and disappeared in the story, and who in great poverty has given lessons. Camilla finds her in a charming apartment and the aspect of her surroundings entirely changed. She gives Camilla welcome and sympathy, and when she hears her story begs her to come and live with her, but suddenly checks herself and tells her own story first. Her apartment is provided by a lover—a married man—and she endeavors to argue that her position is blameless. Camilla recoils, and while they are talking the lover appears by a secret staircase and Camilla goes to Frascati. There comes Don Filippo, and in the midst of a talk of love and renunciation San Claudio (apparently) dashes out of the darkness, throws Camilla into a pond, and vanishes. Camilla is drowned, San Claudio kills himself, and twenty-four hours afterwards Filippo, who is watching the coffin, receives news of his wife's death. He passionately embraces the body, whereupon Camilla comes to life, and the rest is left to the reader's imagination. We believe, from internal evidence, that this book is written by an American woman; it is very clever, but its atmosphere is rather what we expect in the work of certain clever Frenchmen.

Heyse's stories have always a certain charm of freshness and actuality; the world seems wide and life various as one reads. The beauty of lake and wood and sea is vividly and simply indicated, and, above all, in his shorter stories his theories find less place, though they are sufficiently suggested. One of these stories, "L'Arrabiata," here called "The Fury," was published many years ago in this country—we believe by Putnam, in a collection of translated stories—but it comes in well here and we think it the prettiest of the four.

'Pretty Little Countess Zina' is the name which the publishers have thought fit to give to the book by Henri Gréville known as 'Les Koumiassines.' It is one of the best of the author's stories, neither tragic nor passionate, with some very agreeable and many very natural personages.

'Tales from the German of Paul Heyse.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.
'Pretty Little Countess Zina: A Russian Story. By Henry Gréville. Translated by Mary Neal Sherwood.' Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brother.

"Jarl's Daughter" is a short, painful story by Mrs. Burnett. The others in the same volume are too unnatural to deserve criticism.

To describe a story by Dr. MacDonald seems a good deal like explaining that mustard has a sharp taste, or that oranges are generally orange-colored. He has written many books, and all readers of such books know his particular flavor. The proportions of story and sermon vary a little in his different books, and he formerly made more effort than now to blend the two elements. In 'Paul Faber' the sermons are given pure and simple, and though the book has the interest that inheres in honest and imaginative dealing with the most interesting subjects, the plot is very inartificial, and incidents of a very exceptional nature are used more than once in its construction. Paul Faber is an active, able atheist, whose highest life is in his profession, and the book describes his gradual conversion by means of the severe experiences of his life, applied and explained by the clergyman of the parish. He is called to see a beautiful stranger whom he finds at his second visit almost dead from loss of blood. He transfuses blood from his own arm to hers and saves her life. He falls in love with her, and, knowing nothing of her antecedents, marries her. After a time she is wrought up to confess to him that she had been another man's mistress. He rushes away and when he returns finds her gone. He endeavors to put a good face on the matter, and to go about his work as usual, but falls into a severe illness and suffers in every way, discovering, by the bye, that a little girl whom he has seen growing up in the village is an illegitimate child of his own. Mrs. Faber is all the while hidden in the neighborhood with a friend, and her husband being called in to her, again performs the operation of transfusion, *without recognizing his patient*. We see in some of the English papers enthusiastic praise of this book, and we do not profess to have said all that may be said in its favor, but we doubt if it is by books like this that men are convinced or sins abated.

Mr. De Kay's notions of Bohemia are not precisely those of Murger. His hero mildly makes change at a dry-goods shop and sees the heroine first through the railing of his desk, and his *beau moment* is when he quarrels with a shopman to save his lady from being searched as a shoplifter. The heroine, a rich and dashing young lady, living quite alone, is supposed to move in the best society of New York, but is unable to spell correctly, and when excited sings, *à haute voix*, in any company, a blasphemous camp-meeting song. The men described are the appropriate companions of such a lady; in fact, we do not remember to have seen so many odious people in so small a book. There are three or four powerful pages which describe the wanderings of Lee just before his suicide. But for these we should call the book a disastrous piece of vulgarity.

We are never thoroughly aware how full the commonplace world in which we live and move is of romance and adventure except when we dip into the thrilling evidence of a criminal trial or the pages of a work of fiction. 'His Heart's Desire' is a tale of New York life, of life on the Hudson, a river connected in our minds, to be sure, with plenty of romance in the early colonial times, but recently with nothing more exciting than daily and nightly steamboat and railroad journeys, and the residence on one side of it of a considerable number of extremely well-to-do people who are popularly supposed to represent the "old Knickerbocker" families. It is in one of these very houses, however, that the scene, or a great part of the scene, of 'His Heart's Desire' is laid; and let no one who has not read it presume upon his knowledge of the Hudson. There are so many persons in the book that we should despair of being able to enumerate them in any reasonable space; but the principal characters are these: Clement Chilton and his nephew, Philip Grey; Walden St. John and his sister, Nora St. John—a strangely beautiful woman, no longer very young but not old either, over whom there hangs a mystery; Miss Florence St. John, her niece, in love with Grey, who is in love with her but suspects her of coquetry; Colonel Etheridge, a man of the world and of pleasure, in middle life, and in love with Florence St. John; young Clarence St. John; John Wilton, a village blacksmith and philosopher with a pretty daughter, Annie Wilton, who unfortunately attracts the attention of young St. John; and finally Mr. Sistare, the villain of the story, whose heart's desire it is to marry Nora St. John, and who comes very near doing it. Clement Chilton is a mysterious and somewhat sarcastic man, who has an extremely low opinion of women and particularly of the St. John women. The book opens with a conversa-

'Jarl's Daughter, and Other Stories. By Mrs. F. H. Burnett.' Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brother.
'Paul Faber, Surgeon. By George MacDonald, LL.D.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.
'The Bohemian: A Tragedy of Modern Life. By Charles De Kay.' New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
'His Heart's Desire: A Novel.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

tion between him and his nephew, in which his peculiar characteristics are brought out with some force, as one or two extracts will show. This is the way in which he looked when he first heard of Florence St. John's existence: "He had grown pale, his eyes burned like coals, his lips wore the cynical expression of his worst mood." On hearing of Philip's attachment to her, he says: "Begin to doubt her at once; a girl who, at sixteen, was ready to fall in love and pledge herself to you against your own better judgment, is probably well matured in intrigue long before this." Miss St. John has had an unfortunate history, having been deceived by a lover in her early youth, and having spent the rest of her life in concealing this early incident. Mr. Sistare, her brother's secretary, finds out some part of her story, and being determined to marry her, gradually, by threatening exposure of her secret, forces her into complete submission, when he is suddenly murdered by Annie Wilton, whose unfortunate relations with young St. John he has discovered and made use of. Annie drowns herself, and Sistare being dead, Miss St. John cannot marry him; besides which, she has been already married all the time to Clement Chilton, though this obstacle Sistare had thought removed by a palpably fraudulent divorce procured by himself. Of course, Philip Grey marries Florence, and the pretty Mrs. Archer marries old St. John, and the misery of Miss St. John's life is brought to an end by the discovery of her long-lost child, who conveniently dies at the same time, and a reconcilation with the cynical Clement, who, it seems, was a warm-hearted man after all. Such is life on the Hudson, and all we can say of it is that it is much worse than we suspected. In the hut of the lowly blacksmith and the palace of the wealthy Knickerbocker capitalist Care stands behind the chair of each one of the company assembled for the banquet, and at his touch the feast turns to ashes. Murder and suicide are quite common things on the Hudson, as are also slips of a serious character by noble ladies and humble village maidens. The men are sadly unprincipled when they are not priggish, but they are brave, handsome fellows, well qualified to break the hearts of the Knickerbocker ladies. Altogether it is a romantic though somewhat wearing life, and, if 'His Heart's Desire' gives a correct picture of it, one of which there is very little conception in New York.

Goethe and Schiller: their Lives and Works; including a Commentary on Goethe's 'Faust.' By Hjalmar H. Boyesen, Professor of German Literature in Cornell University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879.)—This volume contains a very readable collection of facts and opinions concerning Goethe and Schiller, and a commentary, not textual but discursive, on 'Faust.' The latter, like most commentaries on 'Faust,' takes too little account of Goethe's own utterances about his poem. Certainly it is not necessary in commenting upon a "barbaric composition," "mad stuff outside of all ordinary feelings," something "which will always remain a fragment," and is the "whole" of it "subjective," to show that every inconsistency is only apparent, nor to assume that there is a deep meaning lying hidden in every detached scene, and that it is our fault and not Goethe's if we do not grasp this meaning. Goethe often wrote not to be understood by the public but to please himself: as Lewes remarks, he had not the fear of Quarterly Reviewers before his eyes, and he declared with emphasis that he did not know himself what idea he had embodied in his 'Faust.'

Interesting as Professor Boyesen's book will prove to most persons desirous of gaining a knowledge of German literature outside of that literature itself, its value is diminished by the absence of an index, and its interest and value both are diminished by a haziness of statement contracted possibly during the author's studies of hazy German books, and fostered by an awe of Goethe and Schiller which tempts him to balance praise and blame till we know not which is meant to predominate. His criticisms are not brisk enough to impress themselves on the student's memory, and his subtlety has a perfunctory air—an air as if he were convinced that no history of German literature ought to be written without a certain quantum of subtlety, and convinced besides that subtlety and definiteness could not be coexistent.

"Goethe was the last man to attempt the writing of a creed. . . . He had too great a reverence for the truth to wish to confine it within the narrow bounds of a phrase which it must, in time, necessarily outgrow. The absolute truth, he would have said, no man can fathom and no words express, and a creed is, therefore, a mere subjective expression of what one man or a great body of men at a certain time believed" (p. 218).

"The unnaturalness of the restraints to which he [Schiller] had been subjected in his . . . early youth had inspired him with a vehement hunger for nature, by which, like Rousseau, he understood absence of civilization. . . . The nature which he now strove to approach was no longer the fictitious felicity and innocence of the savage state, but a natural civilization—a civilization ennobled and regenerated by culture and art, and untrammelled by artificial beliefs and prejudices" (p. 388).

Somewhat akin to Professor Boyesen's passion for subtlety is his fondness for accounting for what is not worth accounting for by reasons which are really no reasons at all. "He [Goethe] was a Goth, and as such could fathom all the dim profundity in a Gothic legend" (*i.e.*, the legend of 'Faust') (p. 154). "He [Faust] has recognized the progressive development of all living creatures (*die Reihe der Lebendigen*); he sees 'his brothers in air, in water, and in the silent wood.' Whether it is his love which has thus suddenly cleared his vision, or the long career of sensuous impressions through which Mephistopheles had been leading him, is difficult to determine" (p. 212). But does love, do voluptuous impressions, ever sharpen the scientific sense? "By a wide survey of the grand area of human action, Schiller gained that calm equilibrium of spirit which his friend [Goethe] had acquired by what, at times, appeared like Buddhistic absorption (!) in the immensity of nature" (p. 387). Goethe's scientific and Schiller's historical studies are here made to account for the perfection of form which finally took the place of extravagance in their writings. But is it not much more probable that whatever had been their studies, polish would finally have come with increase of years and longer practice in composition? It does with most poets. How Goethe resembles the Buddhists is not clear; we have no knowledge that they pursue the natural sciences, nor that he desired to be absorbed in the divinity.

What we mean by Professor Boyesen's awe of Goethe and Schiller will be clear from the following passage: "At a party . . . he [Schiller] drank an immoderate amount of wine, and had to be carried home to his lodgings. . . . The poet, however, though he may have indulged in occasional excesses, . . . was never unfaithful to his better nature" (p. 309). The author cites with a serious face these sentences from Schiller's "glorious letter of July 2, 1796," to Goethe. They seem to need both explanation and comment: "I shall entirely devote the next *four months* (!) to it [the study of Goethe's novel of 'Wilhelm Meister'], and with joy. . . . The beautiful relation which exists between us makes it, in a certain way, a religion with me, to make your cause my own as regards this book, *to develop whatever there is that is real in me into the clearest mirror of the spirit which breathes through this volume*" (p. 93). The italics are our own. Professor Boyesen asserts on page 164 that "It was not in Goethe's nature to philosophize," and on page 115 that "What especially dignifies" Goethe's poem of "Hermann and Dorothea," "and gives it an epic grandeur and movement, is its connection with the French Revolution." Now, as a matter of fact, Goethe is extremely fond of philosophizing, as witness innumerable passages in his prose writings, and the source of the "epic" grandeur of "Hermann and Dorothea" is certainly to be sought (we appeal to any one who has ever read the poem) very far off from the French Revolution—namely, in the metre, the Homeric epithets, etc., etc. Besides, "Hermann and Dorothea" is neither founded on any incident of the French Revolution, nor does the latter, Professor Boyesen himself informs us, come in at all in the poem except as a topic of conversation between the *dramatis personæ*.

We notice several Germanicisms and mistranslations; thus, p. 96, "romances" (*Romane*) for novels, and "pragmatical" (*pragmatisch*) for practical; p. 51, "Herrnhuttean" (the *u* is long, however) for Moravian; p. 164, Philosophers "break their heads," for philosophers puzzle their brains; p. 320, "gouty (*gichtisch*) foam bubbles," for bubbles of convulsive foam, and p. 370, "daintily timbered bed" (*zierlich gezimmertes Bett ?*), for daintily-fashioned bed.

Plans of Twenty-seven Doric Temples, taken from the best Authorities, and drawn on a Uniform Scale, by Charles H. Burr, Student in the Lawrence Scientific School, Harvard University. (Cambridge: W. L. Titus. 1878. One volume folio, twenty-two plates.)—These "plans" are ground-plans only. Most of them are complete in so far that they give each the whole perimeter of the temple represented, and all the walls and columns; though two or three are shown as slighter traces only, from which the whole scheme cannot now be inferred. The presentation of all these ground-plans, side by side, and on the same scale, for easy comparison, is obviously very interesting and very valuable to students. The immense size and elaborate plan of the great temple at Selinus, compared with the famous Parthenon, which is very much smaller, and with the scarcely less famous Temple of Theseus at Athens, which is smaller still, call attention forcibly to the extraordinary nature of

those Sicilian colonies of the Greeks, an inferior one of which produced such buildings, not singly but in groups. This book gives plans of six temples at Selinus: three of these must be the famous three which stand on a hill without the walls of the city, the smallest of them about as large as the Parthenon, or as the well-known temple of Neptune at Paestum, the largest having nearly four times the area of either of those more celebrated monuments. The two temples at Olympia are given, taken from Hirschfeld's work of a year ago, describing the excavations; and these will be of interest to those persons who have read accounts of the "Ausgrabungen" in question, while they have not Hirschfeld's book at hand. The publication before us is very simple and modest, with no pretence of title-page and fly-leaves and preface, and is, in fact, only a student's note-book or commonplace-book made public; a simple list of the plates, with the authorities for each one, is the only adjunct to them. We should have nothing but praise for this book of reference but for the need there appears of some warning to the beginner not to take all the plans as of equal authority. There is great difference between one antiquarian and another—between their opportunities, their devotion to their work, their power of accurate observation, and their candor. It should be stated, however, that in every case in which we have been able to compare the plan given with the best authorities other than the one followed, the result has been to confirm the wisdom of the choice made by our author.

Forty-six Social Twitters. By Mrs. Loftie, author of 'The Dining-Room.' (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1879.)—To say that this book is better than its name is saying little, for a more absurd title could hardly be devised. The 'Twitters' are forty-six short essays which appeared originally in the *Saturday Review*. They deal with a variety of small social problems, many of which are so essentially caused by English conventional rules that all the liveliness of style is needed to interest American readers. These essays also include various pleas in behalf of greater variety and freedom in women's lives, and, aside from the inevitable air of omniscience appropriate to a Saturday Reviewer, there is reason and good sense in many of the suggestions. Any one who likes to have what serves him for mental food minced beforehand will find that this preparation has some flavor, if too much is not taken at once.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 1879.

The Week.

MR. RANDALL has, we are happy to say, been elected Speaker without difficulty, the Greenbackers showing neither strength nor courage. He has proved himself the determined enemy of jobs and subsidies and all forms of corruption and disorder, and is as nearly a friend of sound finance as a popular Democrat can be expected to be. His competitor, Mr. Blackburn, represents nearly everything that is bad and dangerous in the tendencies of his party. The letter of acceptance he wrote when he was nominated for Congress, and which has just been disinterred to the confusion of some of his supporters, shows that there is hardly a craze of the day which has not found a lodgment in his brain. He declared himself in favor of legislation to force the circulation of silver, and to issue silver certificates; to substitute greenbacks for national-bank notes; to prohibit any further contraction of the currency, which he said was already below "the wants of trade" (money was then to be had at two per cent., and he did not know what this meant). He also denounced resumption, and advocated an income-tax for the purpose of forcing "balked capital" to share in some measure the burdens of government. The only redeeming feature in his programme was a proposal for the reform of the tariff, but of course this might mean something or nothing, coming from a person whose financial views were so hazy.

The Democrats have now a difficult task before them. They have already incurred a very disagreeable responsibility in making an extra session necessary. If they use it in trying to overcome the President's veto by means of riders to the appropriation bills, though it will not be "revolutionary," inasmuch as they will simply be following a vicious practice of their opponents, they will nevertheless disgust and alarm the country to an unusual degree, and throw away utterly whatever opportunity the remembrance of Republican shortcomings still affords them. There is at this moment nothing that would so chagrin and disconcert the "Stalwarts" as their passing the appropriation bills and going quietly home. But even if they do try to coerce the President, we would strongly advise the Republicans not to arm themselves and engage in town and county civil wars. The spring business is just opening with good prospects, and the crops have to be put in, and the fighting can be done just as well in the fall as now.

The great event of the week—if one were to judge from the newspapers and from the crowds in front of the bulletin-boards, the most important event since the war—has been the walking match in the Hippodrome for the Astley Champion Belt, won last year in London by O'Leary, an Irish-American, and now competed for by four candidates—O'Leary himself, struggling to retain it; Rowell, an Englishman; Ennis, a Chicago Irishman; and Harriman, a New-Englander. The man who first finished 500 miles within six days was to be the winner, and all who accomplished 450 miles within that period were to share in certain proportions the gate-money, which reached the enormous sum of over $40,000 net. O'Leary fell out exhausted on Wednesday, and then the struggle continued between Rowell and Ennis, Harriman having no chance and contending merely for a share in the gate-money. The reporters probably never before had such a chance for the use of their peculiar dialect, and the editors gave them full swing. Rowell came out victor, completing his 500 miles on Saturday evening, against Ennis's 475. Neither of these seems to have exhibited any very marked signs of distress, in spite of the prodigious drafts they must have been making on their vitality; but Harriman, who was really not competing with anybody, or engaged in any more honorable occupation than dragging himself round the ring in the hope of a sum of money, was a shocking and brutalizing spectacle during the last three days. He was in the last stages of exhaustion and very lame, his skin of a dark hue and drawn tightly over his cheek-bones, his eyes sunken and bloodshot, and his body greatly attenuated.

There were fears towards the end that the roughs would by some sort of foul play prevent the Englishman from completing his walk, and a strong force of police was in attendance. But his own manly bearing and the fraternization which took place on the track between himself and his competitor, and their joint kindness to the wretched Harriman, touched the hearts of the vast audience, and the match was closed in a scene of the wildest enthusiasm, the spectators jumping, running, cheering, and waving their hats and handkerchiefs. "The strong men," about whom the reporters tell us, who "cry like children" at Republican conventions when "harmony" is restored about the offices, and in churches when the debt is paid off, and in court-rooms when the girl who has shot her lover is acquitted, were present in considerable numbers, and wept copiously. In fact, this performance of theirs has now become so necessary to a really moving scene that we would suggest the formation of a company of athletic professional weepers to go out with the band for hire, and sob in each other's arms on a signal from the chair or the manager.

The House Judiciary Committee, which was directed to investigate certain charges brought against District Judge Blodgett, of the Northern District of Illinois, by three Chicago lawyers (Messrs. Cooper, Knickerbocker, and Sheldon), upon which his impeachment was demanded, made a report at the close of the last session of Congress. The two principal charges were that Judge Blodgett had corruptly conspired with A. C. Hesing to defraud the creditors of the Germania Insurance Company of Chicago, a bankrupt corporation, which held among its assets certain notes and collaterals of said Hesing worth $20,000, which Hesing was enabled by the judge to get back into his possession for $5,000; and that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully prevented the Grand Jury from bringing in an indictment against H. N. Hibbard, Register in Bankruptcy, for perjury in swearing to an untruthful statement of his official fees. As to the former charge, the Committee say that, "while the facts in the possession of the memorialists as shown in the case made by them fully justified their demand for an enquiry into the official conduct of Judge Blodgett, yet in view of all the evidence brought out in the investigation an impeachment could not be sustained on this charge." Upon all the other charges the judge is acquitted without qualification, although as to one of them the Committee imply that he may be censurable for a harsh exercise of lawful powers. The Committee were unanimous in reaching these conclusions. We notice that some of the Republican papers think that Judge Lapham owed it to his party to have brought in a minority report showing that the memorialists were *not* justified in demanding the enquiry.

There is no concealment of the fact that cases of yellow fever have occurred sporadically all winter in the Mississippi Valley, and the experience of former years points inevitably to the recurrence of the outbreak as soon as the warm weather sets in. Naturally a feeling of deep anxiety prevails throughout the entire South, where apparently little if anything has been done to repair the neglect of sanitary precautions which gave such scope to the ravages of the contagion last summer. The measure urged at the late session of Congress by Southern members to establish a national system of quarantine failed for various reasons, but more regret has been wasted upon it than was called for. Local cleanliness is of more importance than quarantine, and it is in the power of every community

that wishes to escape pestilence. We have little doubt that the national system will come in time, but the salvation of the South does not depend upon it. Congress was not, however, insensible to the need of a national board of health, and in fact passed an act creating one. It consists of seven members appointed by the President and the Senate, one medical officer from the army, navy, and Marine Hospital service, detailed by the heads of departments, and an officer representing the Department of Justice. Its duty is to obtain information on all matters affecting the public health, and to advise the Executive Departments and State governments on all questions submitted to it, or voluntarily, as it may see fit. In connection with the Academy of Science it must report to the next session of Congress a plan for a national health organization, with special attention to the subject of quarantine, both maritime and inland, and the relations of local systems to a national system.

The Bar Association has just performed an excellent piece of work in procuring the removal of Gumbleton, the County Clerk, by the Governor, on the charge of exacting unlawful fees, and refusing to exhibit on demand, as required by law, the books in which he is bound to record them. He really had no such books and received the demand for them with insolent defiance, and baffled his pursuers for several weeks by appealing against the mandamuses issued against him, and then obtaining a stay of proceedings pending the appeal. The prosecutors finally went to the Governor, who, after a full hearing, found him guilty and summarily removed him. He had not, in fact, the shadow of a defence, except that his abuses were of long standing, and he gave a touch of bouffe to the proceedings by telegraphing to the Governor at the last moment, requesting him to stay execution until the appeal before the courts could be heard. Loew, the Register, who was brought up on similar charges, escaped by confession, penitence, and promise of reform. Gumbleton's case was closed in a not uncommon New York fashion, by his successor taking forcible possession of the office at four o'clock in the morning, so as to compel Gumbleton to institute the legal proceedings which so often follow a dismissal from office.

The curious and diverting feature in the affair is that though Gumbleton had no defence, and his guilt was fully proved, the politicians all talk as if his guilt can have had nothing to do with it, and as if it must be "a Tilden move," or, in other words, an effort to secure patronage that will affect the nominating convention in Tilden's interest. The tradition that a public officer can be removed by a superior, either of his own party or the other, because he has failed in his duty, is becoming very faint in New York politics, so firmly imbedded in the political mind is the usage which makes an office a reward for party services rather than a trust for the public service, and so deep down in the administrative machinery does the preparation for the Presidential election go. The nomination is still a year and a half distant, and yet the preparations for it are heard even among the scrubbing women in the City Hall. The Mayor has called on the Police Commissioners to show cause why they should not be removed for neglect of duty, but the question oftenest asked is not, Are they guilty? but, Is this "a Tilden move," or what *kind* of "move" is it?—meaning what effect is it likely to have on the next Presidency.

The affairs of Barron, the cashier of the Dexter Savings-Bank, who has been accused of committing suicide to cover up a defalcation, have been thoroughly examined, and he has been pronounced guiltless of any wrong. The *Tribune* now says very properly "that the accusation was one that should not have been made lightly, for it attacked the memory of a dead man, and must have inflicted incalculable anguish on his family." This is very true, but you should have thought of it, esteemed contemporary, when, the day after the accusation was made, you gave it a column of leaded type, headed "A Thief, not a Hero." If the feelings of families are to receive consideration from journalists, they should receive it "first, last, and all the time," as the politicians say. The dread of "beats" on the part of journalists is the curse of American families, and indeed of every man in the community whom trouble of any kind threatens or overtakes.

A correspondent writes to us to say we were mistaken in calling St. Stephen's College, where the late students' row occurred, a "theological seminary"; that it is really a lay college, but that the majority of the students intend after taking their degree to study divinity; that those who went on the sleighing party and belonged to the minority, he thinks, do not intend to become "teachers of religion," but he admits that some of the intending divinity students did participate in the ensuing fight. As there are students intending to become ministers in all colleges in the country, he thinks it unfair therefore to say, as we said, that the St. Stephen's professors will not be able to prepare the fighting men for orders "within any reasonable period." We are willing to modify our expression so far as to say that the professors will have great difficulty in preparing the fighting men to graduate in a frame of mind that will make it proper for them to begin the study of divinity. We think a young man who fights with a chair is distinctly marked out by nature for a secular calling.

The feature of the week in Wall Street has been the advance in the rates for money. The call-loan rate a week ago was 3 to 4 per cent.; it is now fully 5 per cent. and the tendency is still upward. The banks have been depleted of legal-tender notes by the payments into the Treasury on account of 4 per cent. bonds, and the reserve in excess of the 25 per cent. required by law has fallen to $3,840,000, or to less than one-fourth of what it was a year ago. As this low reserve comes just at the beginning of the usual outflow of currency for the April settlements there is some uneasiness about the working of the money market, and the Secretary of the Treasury has thought it necessary to publish a letter assuring the public that he will exert the full power of the Treasury to prevent "tight money." Money in London is down to 2 per cent., and rates are unusually low at every European city. Sterling exchange was near to the gold-exporting point until late in the week, when on account of higher rates for money it fell off. Subscriptions to the 4 per cents continue on a moderate scale, but another $10,000,000 of 5.20 6 per cents have been notified for redemption, making $270,000,000 of the debt on which the annual interest has been reduced one-third since January 1. Silver has taken another tumble in London from 49⅝*d.* to 49⅛*d.* per oz., the latter being the lowest price since remonetization in this country. The bullion value of the 412½-grain silver dollar at the close of the week was $0.8295.

The new Canadian Administration redeemed its campaign pledges last week by "bringing down," as they say across the border, a revised tariff based on the principle of protective retaliation against the United States. The Finance Minister, Mr. Tilley, introduced his budget with a long speech explaining the difficulties of the situation which seemed to call for an abandonment of the policy of a revenue tariff. He described the effect of the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1865 as making Canada the "slaughter market" of the United States; that is, an outlet for the sale of their surplus manufactures at any price below the cost of the Canadian production. Nevertheless, for twelve years, he said, American goods to a very great extent had been admitted free in the hope of inspiring a more liberal spirit in the American breast, and even now that a different course is to be pursued, the tariff will be coupled with a resolution providing for reciprocity as fast and as far as the United States may invite and concede it. In the meantime, Mr. Tilley proposes to take a larger amount of the $2,000,000 deficit he seeks to cover out of his disobliging neighbors than out of the mother country. He showed that while the imports for consumption from England had fallen off nearly one-half in the past four years, those from the United States had diminished only one-eighth, and that they were in 1877–78 (in round numbers) $37,000,000 and $48,000,000 respectively. Moreover, while the average percentage of duty on all Canadian imports is 13¾ per cent., last year the

amount collected on British goods was about 17½ per cent., and on American about 10.

As the decline in the revenue is attributable in part to the natural operation of an *ad-valorem* tariff on falling markets, the number of specific duties has been increased in the proposed tariff. To recover the lost West India trade in sugar, that imported direct will pay no duty upon packages and charges, and the duty on molasses for refining purposes will be reduced from 25 to 15 per cent. In fixing the differential line for sugar, No. 14 is selected, and there is a slight increase in the *ad-valorem* duty for grades above and below the standard. The tea trade is to be courted back by a 10 per cent. duty on teas coming from the United States. Wool is admitted free, and manufactured goods protected heavily, on the theory that the farmer who now has to sell to the States at a loss will find a better market at home. Similarly, cotton wool and waste enter free, and the goods are protected. The farmer is also favored by duties on wheat, coarse grains and flour, potatoes, tomatoes, and vegetables generally. Coal, in the interest of Nova Scotia, pays fifty cents a ton. Earthenware, carriages, furniture, sewing-machines, clocks, organs, agricultural implements, stoves, locomotives, are all more or less heavily protected. Cordage is taxed ten per cent.; but the duty is returned on this as on other dutiable articles entering into ship-building when the vessel is for export. The duty on books is rated by the pound, so that the post-office will have no such difficulty in determining it as ours now experiences under the *ad-valorem* system.

The impeachment of the Ministers of the 16th of May which was recommended by the report of the Brisson Committee has been badly beaten in the Assembly. M. Waddington made it a Cabinet question, in his speech in opposition to it, announcing that if it were carried the Ministry would resign. It was defeated by 317 to 159. It was immediately followed by another resolution declaring that the De Broglie Ministry and that of General Rochebouet which preceded it had, by their culpable schemes, betrayed the Government they were employed to serve, and were accordingly delivered over by the Chamber to the judgment of the nation, and ordering the resolution to be placarded in every Commune in France. This was carried by 240 to 154. The placarding is probably the thing that will sting the ex-Ministers most, as every Frenchman has a horror of being "posted," a feeling of which great use is made in French criminal jurisprudence, by compelling defendants to bear the cost of publishing and circulating, or placarding, the story of their own disgrace. The ex-Ministers are said to be preparing a protest. The Government got a majority of forty in the Moderate Left, but M. Waddington's speech was not satisfactory, and one phrase, in which he spoke of the present régime as an experiment, was very unlucky and gave great dissatisfaction.

The charge against M. Léon Say of having withheld from the public information about the conversion of the five per cents which he communicated to a syndicate of brokers, has been examined by a committee of the Assembly, and has not been sustained. He has accounted satisfactorily for every day of the delay by showing that at no moment before the announcement was actually made to the public was he in a position to make it or did he make it, and the Paris correspondent of the London *Times* alleges that it was first made known in Paris by his despatch to that paper being telegraphed back. The Cabinet has already had so much to bear that all who are interested in the success of the Republic must be glad that it has escaped the misfortune of seeing the character of a man of M. Léon Say's standing broken down. It is all the more gratifying because the Extreme Left, which has been most prominent in the attack on the Ministers, has apparently passed under the leadership of an able fanatic named Clemenceau, of the destructive school, who promises to give a good deal of trouble.

The English mind is still full of the Zulu disaster, which has now been as fully described as it can ever be, Lord Chelmsford's despatches having reached England; but it remains as great a mystery as ever how so large a force got round his flank without being observed. He was himself on the point of riding into it with his escort when he met another officer running away from it, and thus escaped, but very narrowly, sharing in the massacre. It is quite certain, however, that "somebody blundered" in the management of the troops that were slaughtered; that he was at first deceived and then surrounded. The losses of the Zulus have been enormous, which probably accounts for their subsequent inactivity. The inadequacy of the military establishment to the needs of the "imperial policy" has been strikingly illustrated by the fact that, though only three infantry regiments have been called for by Lord Chelmsford and two of cavalry, not one was ready for active service, and each had to be filled up to its fighting complement by drafts from other regiments, who will thus take the field without any knowledge of their officers.

Lord Dufferin has been sent as ambassador to St. Petersburg, and excused himself in his usual graceful fashion, at a dinner given him by the Liberals at the Reform Club, for taking service under a Tory Government by saying that he held diplomacy to be, like the army and navy, outside the sphere of party politics. He goes out to urge upon Russia with gentle firmness the propriety of getting her protégés in Eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria to carry out the Treaty of Berlin in a peaceable and orderly manner. The fact is that the Eastern Rumelians are determined not to submit to Turkish rule in any form, or to have the Balkan Passes garrisoned by Turkish troops, if they can help it, and they are encouraged naturally in their resistance by the meeting of the Bulgarian Parliament at Tirnova, inasmuch as this body seems to be fully as much occupied with their fate as with the affairs of its own province. Some of the English papers keep exhorting Lord Beaconsfield to give up Eastern Rumelia; but this is asking a little too much, because this he considered the great stroke of his Berlin mission. Nevertheless there are rumors that he is beginning to think of doing it, provided he can get something from Russia in return that will help to cover his retreat.

A correspondent gives elsewhere a curious account of the *émeute* of the dismissed army officers at Cairo. At the bottom of the trouble is the fact that the Khedive has promised so much to his creditors that he has little or nothing left for the ordinary expenses of the state. After England bought the Suez Canal shares she sent Mr. Cave to investigate his affairs and report on them, and the Khedive then asked the English Government to send some one out capable of putting them in order. They sent Mr. Rivers Wilson, who, on looking into them, declined the job. The bondholders then sent Messrs. Göschen and Joubert, who made a very cheering report. But it soon appeared that the Egyptian officials had deceived them, and the Khedive's private creditors began to sue him in the new courts, and in suing him attacked the public revenues, because all Government property was, in the eye of the Egyptian law, the Khedive's private property. Then the creditors became greatly alarmed, and France and England, under their pressure, made him pay the coupon next due; but to do it he had to neglect all the public works, including the Nile canals. Then there was another investigation, this time by Mr. Rivers Wilson, and the Khedive made over his private property to the state in return for a large salary, and set up a constitutional ministry under Nubar Pasha. Mr. Rivers Wilson, representing England, and M. de Blignières, representing France, were put in charge of the finances. But the total revenue of Egypt is only $41,000,000, and after paying the charges imposed by the public debt there only remains for the army and all other public expenses $7,500,000. One result of this state of things was the reduction of the army and the consequent *émeute* which our correspondent describes, in which Mr. Wilson and Nubar Pasha received corporal chastisement. Then Nubar Pasha was dismissed, and now England and France have forced the Khedive to take him back again.

THIRD-TERM PLAN.

THE Democrats took possession on Tuesday last, after eighteen years of opposition, of the legislative branch of the Government. Their majority in the House is not as large as it was in the last Congress, but it has appeared plainly from the vote cast in the caucus on the nomination of the Speaker that it is a working majority even without the aid of the Greenbackers. This result has been brought about, too, in spite of the most unfortunate history that any political party ever had. The Democratic party has been associated with the defence of an odious institution which was condemned before it fell by the moral sense of the civilized world, and which since its fall no one has ventured to regret. During the civil war the party was covertly or openly in sympathy with the public enemy, and would at any time have acquiesced in or have been pleased by his success. During these eighteen years, too, it has distinguished itself by attacks on the public credit, and on nearly all the conservative forces of society. It has been discredited by the most monstrous frauds committed by prominent members in places which they had reached through its votes. It has appealed to the basest passions of the basest portion of the community. It has steadily resisted everywhere even the mildest legislative attempts to prevent cheating at elections. No registry law has ever been loose enough or ineffective enough to satisfy it. It has completely abandoned, too, the sound and conservative position on monetary questions which constituted its chief merit in the early days of its history, and become the ready advocate, not simply of a certain wild financial idea, but of any financial idea that was wild. A Democratic platform has rarely been drawn since 1865 which did not contain a new theory about money, that ignored the facts of history and the principles of human nature. In fact, no party has ever more effectively earned the title of dangerous.

But in spite of this unfortunate history, in spite of its follies, its excesses, and the incapacity of its leaders, it has, during the last ten years, been steadily recovering its old place in the Government. In 1868, three years after the war, when General Grant entered on the Presidency, there were 63 Republicans in the Senate, and only 9 Democrats; there were 170 Republicans in the House, and only 66 Democrats. These proportions continued to change steadily during the ensuing eight years, until, when General Grant went out of office, the House contained 107 Republicans and 184 Democrats, and the Senate 46 Republicans and 29 Democrats. Now the Democrats have a majority in both branches; but the change was most significant in the lower House, which is renewed most frequently, and therefore most faithfully reflects popular sentiment. Nor was it due to the entrance of the South on the scene. Mr. J. W. Forney recently furnished a little table to the New York *Tribune*, which was most instructive as showing how the tide ran against the Republican party in the Northern States during the eight years of General Grant's Administration. Here it is:

REPRESENTATIVES.

	1868 to 1870.		1874 to 1876.	
	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.
Indiana	8	3	5	8
Illinois	11	3	6	13
Massachusetts	10	0	6	5
Michigan	6	0	6	3
New Jersey	3	2	2	5
New York	20	11	16	17
Ohio	17	2	7	13
Pennsylvania	18	6	10	17
	93	27	58	81

It certainly was not the good government of the Democrats which effected this remarkable transformation. They were not in possession of the general Government, and their administration of such State governments as they happened to control was not very creditable. What did effect it was the manner in which the general Government was carried on by General Grant and a small body of counsellors who came to be known as the "Senatorial Group." As regards foreign affairs, in which this Camarilla took no interest, his Administration was very respectable; the scandals and abuses which marked the administration of the internal affairs of the country, and more particularly the Treasury, the Interior, and the War and Navy Departments, were simply shocking, and roused the indignation and disgust of the country, in spite of the strong and well-founded regard for General Grant as the successful soldier of the war. This indignation and disgust, too, were aggravated by the morals and manners of the class of persons with whom General Grant surrounded himself as his companions and confidants, and whose complicity in frauds on the Government was gradually brought to light. It was the spectacle of these things, combined with the support given by the Republican chiefs to the carpet-bag régime at the South, which gradually broke down the Republican majorities, sent tens of thousands into the Democratic camp odious as it was, and originated among others the determination to accomplish "reform within the party" which found such remarkable expression in the Cincinnati platform. That it found expression in the nomination of Mr. Hayes, we deny. The men who nominated Mr. Hayes did so in the belief that he would serve their purpose well enough, without offending the reformers. He has disappointed both them and the reformers by refusing either to do evil in the old way or do good in the new way. He was not given the nomination with any expectation that he would improve on General Grant's methods. In so far as he has attempted to do so he has been bitterly opposed.

Now, what is the remedy which a large body of excellent Republicans propose for what they consider the great evil and danger of a Democratic majority in both branches of Congress? How do they mean to escape from the present distressing situation? We are serious when we say that they propose the toper's cure for his headache—"a little of the hair of the dog that bit him." In other words, in order to recover the Republican supremacy which General Grant found so overwhelming, but which had disappeared under eight years of his rule, they propose to give him another term of four years. They say, "We cannot stand this sort of thing any longer" (*i. e.*, the spectacle of Democratic government); so they are going to vote for the man once more whose faults and indiscretions have bought it about. We do not intend to try to analyze the state of mind which makes this plan seem attractive, nor is it necessary to gainsay all that is put forward by way of commendation of General Grant as a man or as a soldier. We are here only concerned with the probable effect of a third term of General Grant on the Republican party; of this we must judge by the history of his last two terms, and judging by it we are driven to the following conclusions:

1. That the effect of foreign travel on a man of his age and stolidity and general mental equipment has probably been hardening rather than opening—that is, that it has probably strengthened his respect for money and his confidence in his own judgment, and that he will come back substantially unchanged, but, if changed at all, a less valuable civil administrator than he was.

2. That he will find all his old friends and advisers who are still living waiting for him eagerly in Washington, many of them restored to the positions which they had lost before he went away, and prepared with arguments drawn from Mr. Hayes's failure, and the revival of his own popularity, to show that the kind of government he carried on was after all the best one, and the one the people demanded, and that those who objected to it were dreamers and calumniators.

3. That he will thereupon commit himself anew to their hands with increased confidence and with tenfold greater insensibility to criticism than he formerly displayed, and that their audacity in jobbery and corruption will be in the direct ratio of this insensibility.

4. That the state of things which will then follow will be in many respects worse than that which revolted the public from 1870 to 1876, inasmuch as it will be marked by greater contempt for hostile opinion, and that the public—whose memory, as we see, is very short—will forget the shortcomings of the Democrats as readily as it is now forgetting those of the Grantites, and will express its indignation once more by increased Democratic majorities, until in

1884 the Republican party will be reduced to a worse plight than ever, and hopelessly excluded from power.

There could hardly, in fact, be a worse sign for the future of the party than that in its twenty-seventh year, after eighteen years of such power as no party has ever had, it should be so barren in men, should have done so little to bring talent and character to the front, that it should not be able to produce a single civilian to save it from the necessity of giving a third term to a soldier whose want of civil capacity had already deprived it of the control of the Government.

THE NEW YORK LEGAL-TENDER LAW.

A LAW of this State, passed March 22, 1875, provides that all taxes levied within the State, including of course municipal taxes, shall be collected in gold. The State debt was made payable in gold by a previous act, and all the later issues of New York city bonds were specifically made payable in the same kind of money. Another section of the Act of March 22, 1875, provides that all contracts payable within the State shall be payable in "United States *coin* of the standard of weight and fineness established by the laws of the United States at the time the contract or obligation shall have been made or implied." The reason of this act was that the State of New York desired to express her faith in and co-operation with the Specie Resumption Law of Congress, which had been passed two months earlier, and to contribute as much influence as she possessed to the realization of that then doubtful endeavor. Silver dollars had been demonetized by law two years before, and having been demonetized in fact more than forty years, nobody took any other kind of coin than gold coin into consideration. But since fractional parts of a dollar could not be paid in gold the word "coin" was used instead of the words "gold coin" in the section referring to private contracts and obligations.

Last week the Legislature repealed that portion of the law which requires taxes to be paid in gold, and left the remainder of the law unaltered. If the Governor signs the repealing bill, or if it is passed over his veto, all obligations within the State which are not made specifically payable in gold will be payable in silver, State and municipal taxes included. But inasmuch as the State and municipal bonds and interest are for the most part payable in gold the public authorities are liable soon to be confronted with the problem how to convert the one metal into the other, so as to make the revenue balance the expenditures. The further difficulty may shortly be presented to them of providing places of storage for silver, the banks having refused *en masse* to receive it on deposit, except under special contracts to be returned in kind, and some of the leading ones having decided not to receive it at all. It is true that the United States Treasury is obliged to receive it and give silver certificates for it, but silver certificates are not legal tender for anything except United States dues. The State and city treasurers may carry their silver, whenever it begins to come in in embarrassing quantities, to the Sub-Treasury and get it into the form of certificates, and sell these to brokers or importers for gold or its equivalent, with which to meet their own obligations. This roundabout and costly process may not come in play immediately, but the folly of throwing away the particular kind of money with which one's debts must be paid, and taking the chance of getting it back again by hook or crook, can hardly be characterized in fitting terms. It is by no means certain that other States will receive silver for taxes, none of them being obliged to do so. The Supreme Court held in the Oregon case (7 Wallace 71) that the legal-tender laws of the United States have no reference to taxes imposed by State authority. It is quite certain that some States will not receive silver for taxes, especially if a convenient outlet is furnished to them by the Legislature of New York for any superfluous silver that may drift into their respective jurisdictions, so that it is only necessary for their citizens to send it in the way of barter to the taxpayers of the Empire State. That the public treasuries which receive silver at par will be the ultimate receptacles of whatever is afloat is altogether certain. Nobody wants the trouble of handling it even though it be at par with gold. In France it accumulates in the vaults of the Bank despite very urgent measures adopted to force it into circulation, and in Austria the same popular repugnance to it is manifested. The Austro-Hungarian Bank has been so pestered with it by depositors that it discharged £200,000, or about thirty tons weight, upon the Imperial Treasury in a single payment a few weeks ago, which led the London *Economist* to remark that whatever be the legal-tender laws of civilized countries, their people will have as little to do with silver as possible.

Those who fancy that the New York and Boston banks will recede from the position they have taken regarding silver deposits, or that the banks throughout the country will adopt any different policy, will do well to make a note of the prevailing and almost universal desire to get rid of it, to avoid taking it, and to pass it off as soon as possible. This inclination possesses the advocates of the Silver Bill as much as other people. Those who have any silver dollars pay them out in preference to any other kind of money, and they are extremely anxious that the banks shall take them in order that they themselves may have some place not merely to deposit them but to get wholly rid of them. When asked to sign an agreement to take them back again they say that the banks are making a discrimination against silver, whereas *they* make a discrimination by refusing to sign. Their real position is that everybody has the right to discriminate against silver except the banks. Some Western and Southern banks, yielding to what they conceive to be the public sentiment of their neighborhoods, have already become inconveniently loaded with it. A Kentucky bank recently offered to lend silver without interest to a railroad company to be used in paying off its hands, the loan to be repaid at maturity in greenbacks, national-bank notes, or gold. The proffered loan was declined. The bank had taken silver on deposit, and the holders of checks against the bank had made objections to receiving it. Although they might have been compelled to take it by law, the bank could not afford to provoke a quarrel by forcing it on them. It could more easily incur a loss by lending it without interest, or by selling it at a discount. The stakeholders of the great walking match at Gilmore's Garden seem to have had a clear conception of the financial situation. According to the *Herald's* report they took in a large amount of silver for admissions, but each day they sent it to Wall Street and sold it for current funds, which they deposited in bank.

How long the silver mountain in the Treasury can continue to grow without crowding everything else out, is a question not easy to answer. Very much depends upon the balance kept between the public revenue and the public expenditures, and upon the views entertained by the Secretary of the Treasury for the time being. Mr. Sherman has announced that he holds himself at liberty to sell bonds to make good any inroad upon the fund held for resumption purposes, whether that inroad be caused by excessive appropriations like the Arrears of Pensions Bill, or by diminution of revenue like the reduction of the tobacco tax, or by any other eventuality. The wording of the Specie Resumption Act clearly gives him that authority, since it requires him not only to begin resumption but to maintain it, and puts the national resources, including the power to sell bonds, in his hands equally for both purposes. But he can disgorge his silver upon the community before selling any new bonds, if he chooses to do so, and the more extreme silver-men are already insisting that he shall. Some of them insist that he shall pay the arrears of pensions with silver dollars—in other words, that he shall discriminate against invalid soldiers. Meanwhile the price of silver has fallen in London below the "dead line" of 49½*d.* per ounce, about which it has hung so long, and the Indian Government, which has been struggling for some years with the problem how to pay gold debts with the proceeds of silver taxes—the same problem which the New York Legislature is now voluntarily taking upon itself—has announced its intention of negotiating a new gold loan, presumably to gain a breathing-spell against a further depreciation of the rupee.

These facts may have no effect upon the American Congress, but

they ought to make some impression upon men of business. That debts contracted now upon a gold basis may be paid in silver, and are liable to be so paid at the bullion value of that metal in the absence of a specific contract for payment in gold, and that a crisis of this sort may be precipitated suddenly by any one of a variety of accidents or personal whims on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury or a majority in Congress, is plain enough for the comprehension of anybody who has had the prudence to lay up a dollar against a rainy day. Nevertheless a profound lethargy and torpor has pervaded all classes, from the life-insurance and bank president down to the humblest savings depositor, each and all of whom are lending gold and agreeing to take silver in payment at any depreciation, however great, and the Legislature of New York is deliberately altering a wise law in order to put itself in a favorable attitude to incur similar losses. The risks which people take in this way are wholly needless. There is no law to prevent men from making contracts in such money as they prefer. The courts stand ready to enforce contracts in gold, silver, tin, coon-skins, or wampum. Nobody can complain of the injustice of a legal-tender law as regards contracts made or obligations incurred *after* its passage. It is desirable that the law shall construe a contract payable in dollars as meaning gold dollars unless a different kind of money is specified; but in the absence of such a law the struggling mechanic who puts a portion of his earnings in a savings-bank or a policy of life insurance, and the capitalist who lends this same money on bond and mortgage, are alike free to stipulate for repayment in as good funds as they part with. In all such affairs the poorer and weaker are entitled to look to the wealthy and educated for a right example, which we regret to observe has not yet been set before them, while the Legislature of New York has done its utmost to lead them astray.

PULPIT BOUFFE.

THE proposed trial—perhaps we should say the pending trial—of Mr. Talmage, of Brooklyn, for untruthfulness and charlatanry, is an attempt of the Church to deal with a growing evil, namely, the tendency to make church-going attractive by a bouffe treatment of religious subjects in the pulpit. It is not likely to succeed, because to put down a bouffe preacher he must be attacked in the very beginning of his career, and none of the existing organizations of the Protestant Church ever prosecute a minister at all if they can possibly avoid it, or prosecute him one minute sooner than they can help. All ministers naturally recoil from the task of holding up a brother minister to public odium, and most church-members naturally dislike making a church scandal, if for no other reason, on account of the discredit it is likely to bring on religion itself. Then, bouffe treatment, too, is a thing difficult of definition. In its earlier stages the line which separates it from merely picturesque or warm treatment may be very faint. No preacher becomes markedly bouffe all of a sudden. Consequently he may go on for years grieving the judicious and making the worldlings laugh before there is anything positive enough in his performances to warrant an ecclesiastical court in laying hold of him. By the time it does make up its mind to call him to account he has, by the ordinary process of selection, collected a congregation who like him for his defects, and are prepared to stand by him, come what may, and who, in fact, would not "sit under him" if he were not guilty of the very offences with which he is charged. Under these circumstances he is, of course, prepared to defy the constituted authorities, and indeed comes into court not to plead but to rebuke them for annoying him, knowing well that their verdict will not be and cannot be followed by any penalty which he will heed. The trial, therefore, is apt to be a farce, in which the culprit plays the leading and popular part, and by which the church organization is made ridiculous.

The bouffe tendency is one result of the change in the minister's position wrought by the decay of popular interest in doctrinal theology. When the minister was the trained and duly commissioned exponent of what was accepted as a science, the conclusions of which every man felt bound to ascertain from authorized sources, the poorest preacher could rely with more or less confidence on his subject to secure him a hearing. Those who refused or failed to hear him because he was dull, felt that they did so at their peril. He was really in the position of a physician charged with the cure of souls, and his knowledge was his main qualification, his manner of communicating it a minor consideration. With the decline of interest in dogmas and the growth of doubt about all the principal points of the Christian creed, the minister has become more of a lecturer on morality, and less of an expounder of the law. In other words, he speaks with less authority than he used to speak, and has to rely more than formerly on his natural gifts. This change in his position has been strikingly illustrated by the history of the practice or weakness of sleeping in church. This is distinctly a Protestant weakness. It was unknown before the Reformation, and is unknown now in the Catholic Church, where the frequent changes of posture, and the duty of praying himself instead of following the priest, keeps the worshipper's attention aroused. Drowsiness made its appearance in the Protestant Church as the accompaniment of long extemporaneous sermons and prayers, which imposed upon the worshipper the simple duty of listening in one position, and at the same time exposed him to that most soporific of all influences—the sound of a steady flow of words the sense of which does not excite eager attention. The result was that the difficulty of keeping awake in church was for two centuries among Protestants one of the serious questions of a religious life, and all sorts of artificial contrivances were resorted to to combat it, such as standing up, and the application of titillating substances to the mucous membrane, like fennel seed or "meetin' seeds," lemon-peel, and calamus or "sweet-flag," and at a later period pepper lozenges. It furnished, too, the material for a very large proportion of the ecclesiastical facetiæ of the eighteenth and the earlier part of the present century. What was remarkable about it then, however, was that the blame of it was not thrown on the preacher. It was considered the hearer's duty to stay awake, not the preacher's duty to keep him awake. A minister was not liable to be dismissed for not rousing the attention of the somnolent, and people kept up without faltering their attendance at a church where they knew that as soon as the sermon began sleep would come upon them as a strong man armed. Under these circumstances there was little temptation to pulpit extravagances or oddities of any kind, or to anything like what may be called inflammatory treatment of sacred subjects. The idea that the Gospel could be made an amusing theme never entered any one's head. A minister's main concern was to avoid flaws in his theology and defects of logic in his argument, and sermons had a good many of the characteristics of the oratory listened to by judges sitting *in banco*.

In our time, however, a great change has come over the churchgoer's spirit. He has thrown away his "meetin' seed" and pepper lozenges, and has imposed on the preacher the task of keeping him awake. If he finds himself sleepy in church, he either goes off to another or gets up an agitation for the pastor's dismissal on the ground that he "doesn't interest the young people," or stays at home altogether. He unconsciously compares him with the popular lecturer on slavery, or on temperance, or on the Holy Land, who has within the last forty years made a practice of visiting him every winter. If he lives in the city, he compares him with his neighbor's pastor, who has filled all the pews at high rates and set the trustees to talking of building further up-town. The consequence is that the pressure on the clergy for popularity of method among us is, at this moment, such as has never been known in any other age or nation. It has converted the churches into competing lyceums, or places of entertainment, and the competition is not confined to particular groups or denominations. Every church, no matter of what denomination, competes with every church of every other denomination, because denominational ties now sit so lightly that a Presbyterian has little difficulty in becoming an Episcopalian, Methodist, or Baptist, in order to get the benefit of a more attractive service; and the Episcopalian, Methodist, or Baptist, in his turn, is equally facile. It is but just to the congregations to say that they are very ready to help the minister out in the struggle with costly architecture and music and other external attractions. In fact, nothing is left undone to make the church a place where people shall not only find it easy to stay awake, but shall be enlivened and entertained, and have their sensibilities touched by the most efficacious methods.

Of course this pressure operates very differently in different cases. It has probably made a good deal of change in all preaching. It has made doctrinal sermons, properly so called, very rare, and in fact made nearly all pulpit oratory didactic rather than exegetical. The pulpit's prevailing themes are the duties and temptations of every-day life. It devotes itself mainly now, as has been said, to touching morality with the fire of emotion. It discusses politics a good deal under the

name of "questions of the day." It has always done so, perhaps a good deal more so formerly than now, but with this difference, that the old preacher discussed politics distinctly as a theologian from the point of view of authority, and judged men and measures *a priori* by the aid of Scriptural texts. The modern minister, on the other hand, does not hesitate to meet the utilitarian statesmen on their own ground, and to dispute with them over their own tests and standards, and to put temporal happiness in the foreground as the reward of wise legislation. The amount of preaching of this kind one can hear nowadays is very great. In fact, the most spiritually-minded ministers feel the absolute necessity of supplying a certain amount of it through the year, both as something the congregation looks for, and as part of their own mission. The Rev. Joseph Cooke's "prelude" or preliminary remarks on current events with which he prefaces his lectures on religious themes, is a curious recognition of the popular requirements on this point. The "prelude" is evidently intended to put the audience in good humor preparatory to the dryer and more exacting matter which is to follow, and recalls, if one may say so without disrespect, the chromo by which the editor of the religious newspaper induces the new subscriber to listen to him for one year on the solemn themes of life and death and judgment. Other regular ministers have resorted to the same expedient, and treat their congregation to a few minutes of "secular matter" before beginning the ordinary religious exercises of the day.

But the rôle of a didactic moralist is a very trying one. It is not every man, no matter what his parts or training, who can fill it even moderately well. The rules of right living are few and simple, and are well known. Nothing has been added to them in eighteen hundred years, and the world, in these days of endless iteration, has almost grown weary of them. But the application of them has been rendered increasingly difficult by the immense complexity of modern life, by the wondrous tangle of conflicting rights, and opposing duties, and delicately divided interests which constitutes what we call civilized society. To lead even the humblest and simplest through it in safety is a task for which hardly any training but that of an experience of life such as but very few men can boast, will prepare one. Nothing requires a higher order of talent and a more varied acquaintance with trials and temptations, than to make a sermon on the conduct of life strike an average business or professional man in our day "right on the top of the head," as we once heard a car-driver describe the way one of Moody's discourses affected him. No college course and no amount of reading can make up to the average preacher for not having seen and suffered much. Nothing can make up for it but genius, for genius has travelled in all lands and lived in all ages, has wept beside the graves of a household and charged in the forlorn hope in the raw dawn of the winter's morning. But then genius is rare, and the coarse-fibred and ill-equipped man, when he seeks the means of keeping his congregation awake, and paying the church debt and the salaries of the choir, not unnaturally falls into the humorous and grotesque vein, which is almost always successful if pursued with a certain moderation at the outset. Talmage, for instance, makes no attempt to conceal the fact that bouffe is his specialty. He defended himself, one Sunday not long ago, against the charge of unseemly levity by showing that while other churches were, as he said, "the great dormitories of civilization," in his church nobody ever slept a wink. In fact he keeps the congregation in a roar or with a twinkle in their eye during the whole service. It is not very long since his invitation—"Let us sing a hymn"—brought out a shout of laughter, just as it would have done at the Comic Opera, owing to the queer collocation in which he produced it. And yet no one can listen to his discourses or examine his mode of stimulating the religious sense without seeing that there is nothing new in his style; that what he has done is simply to go a little further than some others of his popular brethren, who also have been eminently successful in keeping their people awake.

The main ingredient of pulpit bouffe is, however, essentially the same as that of opéra bouffe. It consists in the irreverent treatment of things which people have been in the habit of looking on with reverence. In the first stage of this the shock is too great for laughter; but when people have become a little used to it, it supplies a kind of fun which they relish enormously, especially if they have been strictly brought up. In the opéra bouffe the humor lies in a kind of reversal of the moral order of society. A cowardly colonel who runs away in the field is at once promoted and decorated. A defaulting banker is made State treasurer. The king's privy councillors, grave and elderly men, go out of the royal presence dancing a jig. In the pulpit in like manner there are two essential features in the bouffe method. The first is the presentation of the Deity as governing the universe justly, but still, on the humorous plan—that is, convicting the sinner by getting the better of him—or in other words, being too smart for him. In fact, the sinner usually appears in the sermons of the School as a person who suffers for his simplicity, and generally cuts a ludicrous figure when his wickedness is brought to light. The second is an appeal to the risibility which always lies concealed in decayed reverence. When there has been a distinct decline in a man's capacity for awe, his sense of the comical is always touched by seeing the old objects of his worship treated with a good-humored disrespect and familiarity. People who have received a religious education, but who have fallen away from their early teaching, are therefore apt to be much tickled by a slightly comic handling of what they once held sacred. The sweetness of laughter on solemn occasions and in forbidden places is known to everybody, but it is hardly any sweeter, though usually more open, than the laughter of the irreverent religious man at the attempts of his pastor to make the Gospel entertaining to him and present the wicked in the light of greenhorns. The fatal defect in the plan is that to keep it effective a steady broadening of the humor is necessary. The jokes have to become day by day more palpable and the colors to be laid on more deeply as the congregation's sense of decorum declines, and its appetite for amusement grows dull. The result is that a preacher of the Talmage school is condemned by the law of his method to continued progress towards the extreme. If he once begins to make points in order to send a smile round the pews, he cannot stop till his flock begins to watch for jokes in his prayers or greets him now and then in his sermon with the regular theatrical roar. It is desirable, for the sake not of religion only but of all the virtues on which society rests, that such preachers should have no organizations outside their own churches to be responsible for them. For if there be anything certain in the lessons of history it is that no community was ever long capable of great things in which the serious element in character has been successfully attacked and either destroyed or enfeebled.

THE REASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT.

London, March 4, 1879.

PARLIAMENT met again three weeks ago, but I have not written before to call attention to the fact because I was waiting for something to happen which would justify such a proceeding. Up to the present moment I have waited in vain, and I must now content myself with remarking that the session is characterized by extreme vacuity. The course of legislation is dull, and there is nothing exciting in prospect. It seems probable that the remainder of the session will be very humdrum, and that its interest will have been exhausted in those lively debates upon the Afghan war (if lively is the word) which took place before the recess. There was no second Queen's speech, as it had been thought possible there might be, and the national legislators have settled down to the discussion of domestic measures more or less substantial indeed, but not calculated to renew the strife of parties or to agitate the public mind. The Opposition, for the moment, is not aggressive, and the Government is not jubilant. There is just now no particular reason for jubilation, and whatever excitement exists in the country is outside of Parliament. It carries the minds of Englishmen very far from the Westminster shore to that remote South African territory, of its connection with which the country has never before had so acute a consciousness. This consciousness has become, all of a sudden, terribly painful, and we have got some time to wait before it can be transmuted into something brighter. Even then, too, the brightness will be questionable, for it will simply mean that a large number more of young English lives have been expended in castigating a multitude of brutal savages. You will long since have heard all the details of the military disaster in South Africa, and have learned that the public suspense, since it occurred, has been greater than on any occasion since the first news of the Indian mutiny reached England twenty-two years ago. Telegraphic communication with Natal is only partial, thanks to the economical principles of successive governments ambitious of achieving the remarkable feat of reconciling the possession of great and distant dependencies with comfortable ideas of cheapness. After the almost complete destruction of the Twenty-fourth Regiment at Isandula, and the momentary paralyzation of Sir Bartle Frere's aggressive movement, it seemed very likely that the whole colony of Natal lay at the mercy of the victorious Zulus. There was no means of knowing in what degree the Zulus had followed up their victory, so that for many days after the news of the massacre of Lord Chelmsford's troops arrived the anxiety was of the most painful sort. Little by little

it has abated, and as successive mails have shown that Cetewayo, in spite of his horrible triumph and of the panic he had produced at Natal, was still holding off, there is every reason to hope that he will not have followed up his advantage before the arrival of the reinforcements which, with all the speed that has been found possible, are now embarking for the Cape. It is assumed without unwarrantable fatuity that the six regiments now despatched from England will promptly turn the tables upon the Zulus.

It cannot be said, however, that there is any great comfort in this assumption, or that the outlook in this and in several other directions is particularly gratifying. People are glad to be able to feel that a tragic accident like the hopeless resistance at Isandula and the defence at Rorke's Drift serves at least to remind them of the solid quality of English courage. There has been, inevitably, a considerable flourish of journalistic trumpets over this exhibition. One would almost have thought at moments that it had been supposed that the great tradition of British bravery had got mislaid. In fact, it is evidently in excellent keeping. The British soldier, as one observes him in the streets of garrison towns, is apt to seem rather slim and juvenile; but if his resolution in putting the best face upon imminent slaughter by an overwhelming force of bloodthirsty savages be taken as a measure, his fighting qualities in the gross are still such as a great nation may count upon. No one, however, has ever seriously doubted the capacity of contemporary Englishmen, in case of absolute necessity, for drinking, as Tennyson says, delight of battle. But the country is averse to fighting, and it has formed the habit—an eminently proper one—of looking very hard at the occasion or the provocation before enjoying itself. Exercising at the present moment this scrutinizing faculty, it is by no means gratified by what it perceives. Sir Bartle Frere has all the appearance of having undertaken a Zulu war upon his own responsibility, and as the affair has opened with a deplorable catastrophe, it is obvious that he will not be let off so easily as if he had made a more impressive beginning. At the time I write Sir Charles Dilke is moving in the House of Commons a vote of censure upon the whole business. It remains to be seen with what cordiality the motion will be taken up by the Opposition. I think I may say, without speaking cynically, that the Liberals will lack the incentive of feeling, in this case, that they shall embarrass the Government. The case is a very different one from that of the Afghan war, which afforded a much more convenient handle for making out a grievance. This is not a Governmental war. The Cabinet has already done a great deal towards washing its hands of Sir Bartle Frere's performances, and it is not impossible that it may completely cleanse them by sacrificing him altogether upon the altar of popular indignation. If it does so, however, I cannot help thinking that it will pay to this irritated divinity a tribute unduly large. It may be thought that nothing less will serve to propitiate the public conscience, for the Cabinet is slightly compromised in the matter by the fact that only six months since it went altogether with Sir Bartle Frere in his showing cause why the Afghan war was an eminently desirable enterprise. It was upon the demonstration drawn up by Sir Bartle that the Government avowedly took its stand. He has apparently a weakness for colonial aggression—or, in politer terms, expansion—and a relish for conflict with dusky races. However this be, the Government had distinctly differed with him as regards the policy he was preparing to institute in his new governorship. He was eager for an anticipatory war; he was alarmed at the growth of the Zulu power and the facility with which the subjects of the corpulent Cetewayo appeared to assimilate European military notions. He wished to do what Prussia has the credit of having desired to do some five years since with regard to France—to fall upon his menacing neighbor and crush him before he should grow stronger. Sir Theophilus Shepstone had begun by annexing the Transvaal—it will be remembered that this little transaction took place, rather awkwardly, more than a year ago, at the moment that the outcry against the absorbent tendencies of Russia was at its height—and Sir Bartle Frere, appointed for the purpose of imparting an official gloss to a rather rough proceeding, appears to have found no better way of regularizing, as the French say, the situation than to take up the quarrel of the Dutch settlers, whose policy with regard to the natives had made hostilities chronic.

It may have been that he has behaved very improperly, and in the happy consciousness of immunity from telegraphic control has snapped his fingers at the home Government. As I said just now, the tone that the Government has already taken in Parliament points to this; but I cannot help repeating that even if he has been a trifle precipitate in taking for granted that hostilities were inevitable, there is a point of view from which it would not be especially inspiring to see him sacrificed. This point of view is perhaps a little too much that of the disinterested stranger, the irresponsible spectator of English public affairs; but it coincides with that of a certain type of British patriot quite closely enough to make it defensible. I am almost tempted to say that a friendly American, living in England, suspects himself at times of being a better Englishman, in the old-fashioned sense of the word, than a certain proportion of her Majesty's subjects. He is fortunate, at any rate, in this respect, that he is exempt from the obligation of party allegiance—he is at liberty to contemplate philosophically, among numbers of his friends and of the nation at large, the moral ravages of party passion. He is at liberty to say to himself, and to passive listeners across the sea, that it sometimes narrows down rather pitifully the proud consciousness of being an Englishman. The hatred of Lord Beaconsfield and all his ways and works has a regrettable as well as an estimable side. It is, very properly, displeasing to many honorable minds to see a charlatan of genius at the head of affairs—a gentleman who irresistibly suggests the performer at a circus, in the spangled *caleçon*, turning somersaults upon a piebald courser and leering mechanically at the spectators. It is certainly disagreeable that the British nation should be assimilated to a piebald courser. But Lord Beaconsfield is an accident, and those idiosyncrasies of the British Empire which have given him his chance are, it is to be hoped, a permanence. These idiosyncrasies are an "imperial" spirit (the word is in dreadfully bad odor, but if we are free to use the substantive I don't see why we shouldn't use the adjective), a collection of great colonies and dependencies, an immense artificial cohesion, the need to keep things up, to spend money, the liability to fight. It can hardly fail to strike an American observer that the attitude of a great many very reasonable and sensible Englishmen with regard to these points is extremely illiberal. I hardly know what to call it without using invidious epithets; it is stingy, grudging, parsimonious. I have lived in various countries, but I have never heard so much about the "taxpayer" as since I have lived in this opulent and comfortable London. And I have heard about him in the most unexpected places; I have heard pathetic appeals made for him at luxurious firesides in South Kensington, in circumstances which seemed the last expression of the tendencies of a luxurious generation. I have been startled in the midst of five-o'clock tea by indignant allusions to the increase of a penny in the pound on the income-tax. There is scarcely a nation in the civilized world which of late years has not been obliged to enter more or less cheerfully upon a great national war, and to accommodate itself to the pecuniary burdens of the case. Have the English lost this useful faculty, and are they weaker in this respect than the French and the Germans, the Russians, the Italians, ourselves? Have they been corrupted by making themselves the most comfortable nation in the world, and their country the most convenient to live in—by their immense elaboration of the arts of peace, of leisure, of extracting large enjoyment from large incomes?

I am far from believing it or from saying it; and yet I cannot help saying that a good sympathetic American cannot help feeling a little alarmed at times, and wishing, in a friendly way, that the country might be thrown on its back, suddenly, for half an hour, by some incalculable accident, so that it might give a little play to unused muscles in the effort to sit upright again. It is a theory of a good many positive people who don't all go with the Opposition just now as an opposition, that the Liberal party had completely forgotten the existence of colonies, of foreign nations, of "imperial" responsibilities, and that its present ill-humor arises from having been too abruptly reminded of them. However this may be, it certainly appears to the perhaps rather vague-minded speculators with whom I here identify myself, that the British Empire is an immense artificial structure which can only be sustained by very handsome arrangements—by a large army, a large expenditure, and a considerable confidence in the powers, whoever they be for the time, administering colonial affairs. The British Empire is an heroic creation, and it seems to me there must be a grain of heroism in the usual management of it. It is on these general impressions—I will not do them the honor of calling them principles—that I should deprecate that sort of agitation of which the precipitate condemnation of Sir Bartle Frere would be an example. It may perfectly well be that in this case such a catastrophe is well merited. But none the less one might almost regret the encouragement it would give to a fashion of which it would be hard to foresee the outcome—the fashion of contesting and overhauling in detail, at home, every step taken by the Government abroad, of compelling it to account, on the instant, for every motion of its foreign policy

at the bar of the daily papers. It is impossible to eat one's cake and have it, and it is out of the question to administer the British Empire on what the *Pall Mall Gazette* is so fond of denouncing as "parochial" principles. If the English people establish their dominion in a land of bellicose savages, it is surely conceivable that hostile relations with such savages should be on the cards.

THE LATE EGYPTIAN ÉMEUTE.

CAIRO, Feb. 24, 1879.

ON the 9th of February, Nubar Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, issued an order for upwards of two thousand army officers to be placed upon half pay, which in this country is nearly the same as being discharged altogether from the service. These officers, together with all other employés of the Ministries of War and Marine, had between fifteen and twenty-five months' arrears of pay due them. The order for retirement appeared without the slightest warning, and was accompanied by no intimation whatever as to the payment of even a portion of the arrears. After the lapse of a few days, however, these officers were told semi-officially that they could have *one month's* pay, but that they would probably have to wait some time before they got the rest.

The long-forbearing creditors of these officers, hearing this, naturally became uneasy. Credit came to an end, and at Kafr-el-Zyatt the families of officers were turned into the streets and shelter and food denied them. Men already in poverty and wretchedness were told that their misery was to be increased, and the result might easily have been foreseen. On February 18 about three hundred discharged officers went in a body to the Ministry of Finance. Five or six of them, as spokesmen for the rest, entered the Ministry, and in very respectful terms requested that their arrears be paid them. Nubar Pasha and Mr. Rivers Wilson, the Finance Minister, told them that they could make no promises. The officers demanded a more definite reply, and Nubar Pasha told them that he had no time to discuss the matter further, and ordered his carriage to drive away. The officers still insisted upon a reply to their demand. Nubar Pasha nevertheless got into his carriage and started off. His horses were, however, stopped at the gate of the court-yard of the Ministry, when the coachman struck an officer, a major of the staff and a professor at the Military Schools, with his whip. The coachman was immediately pulled from his seat and soundly flogged. Nubar Pasha himself was also dragged from the carriage and rather severely beaten, but sustained no serious injury. Mr. Rivers Wilson, who in his carriage had followed Nubar Pasha, raised his cane in a threatening manner. The cane was immediately struck from his hand by a sabre, and himself drawn by his beard from his carriage and severely *spanked* with the flat of several sabres. Neither of these gentlemen was seriously injured. They were merely told to go back and give a proper answer to the demand which had been addressed to them. Aly Pasha Mubarek, the Minister of Public Instruction, who happened to be present, was also roughly handled, but managed to run away, not without leaving behind him the skirts of his Stambuline coat.

The Khedive, who had been telegraphed for, now arrived and was received with cheers. He told the officers that he would make their cause his own, and that justice should be done them, but that it was now their duty to disperse. This order was obeyed by all but a few hot-headed ones, whom the Khedive's guard arrested. A few shots were exchanged during this part of the proceedings, but not more than half a dozen wounds were inflicted. While the Khedive was talking to the officers, Nubar Pasha and Mr. Rivers Wilson escaped from the Ministry by a side entrance. All army officers were consigned to their quarters for the night, and Nubar Pasha and Mr. Rivers Wilson probably owe their lives to the promptitude and tact of the Khedive. During the night there was a council of the Ministers, and Nubar Pasha accused Ratib Pasha, the War Minister, of having connived at the affair. Ratib Pasha replied :

"Fortunately for yourself and Mr. Rivers Wilson I had nothing to do with the matter ; because if I had arranged it, instead of having a handful of officers to deal with, you would have had battalions marching upon your Ministry with fixed bayonets, and neither of you gentlemen would have gotten away so easily."

Nubar Pasha gave in his resignation, which the Khedive at once accepted.

The feeling here—excepting, of course, among the numerous high-salaried "Jingo" protégés of Mr. Rivers Wilson, who is himself a protégé of Lord Beaconsfield—is decidedly against the Government for their persistence in refusing to pay these officers their monthly dues while the rather high rate of interest on the public debt was punctually paid, and while some of the highly-paid English and French functionaries had even received their money in advance. The injustice of refusing to pay the army and navy is the more apparent when we bear in mind that when the Khedive handed over the entire control of the country to Nubar Pasha and the English and French Ministers, it was decided that the payment of all employés, *except* those of the War and Marine Ministries, should take precedence of even the payment of the interest due on the coupons. The result was that the army and navy were left out in the cold, as it were ; while young Englishmen, lucky enough to command sufficient interest in London, were brought out here at unnecessarily large salaries, and have at times worked side by side with men possessing equal ability and greater experience in the country, but who had the ill-luck to be attached to the moderately and irregularly paid War Department.

This affair of the 18th inst. occurred when the religious feelings of the Mohammedans are most susceptible. It is during the month of February that the greatest number of pilgrims return from Mecca. The large caravan bearing the *mahmal*, or sacred carpet, which for the past year has covered the tomb of the prophet, was encamped in the environs of Cairo. The entry into the city of the procession bearing the carpet to the Mosque of Sultan Hassan, its final resting place, is one of the most important religious ceremonies. In view of the excited state of the people the Khedive postponed the entry of the pilgrims until to-day, when, due precautions having been taken, the ceremonies took place without the slightest disturbance, and everything will go on well unless there should be some indiscretion on the part of the English or French Ministers, Mr. Rivers Wilson and M. Blignières, the former of whom has caused a great deal of ill-feeling here by telegraphing to Lord Beaconsfield to ask whether the British Government would permit him to resign his position as an Egyptian Minister.

Correspondence.

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE SUPERVISION OF ELECTIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : In your editorial of the 6th inst., in reference to the late Congress, you assert without qualification that

"There is no honesty in accepting, as most Democrats profess to do, negro suffrage at the South as a lawful fact, and then professing to see no necessity for any extraordinary police measures for its protection. Everybody knows that negroes have and will have extraordinary difficulty in exercising their legal right, and that the State governments are not likely to protect them in it efficiently, and that it is a piece of self-stultification for Congress to repudiate all responsibility in the matter, at least so far as the enforcement of order at the polls at Federal elections goes. Any Democrat who denies all this ought in decency to advocate the disfranchisement of the negro."

Protest might well be entered by Democrats against this sweeping and *ex-cathedra* consignment to dishonesty and indecency, seeing that they have sacrificed so many of their traditional and inherited convictions in their effort to conform to the new order of things growing out of the war and the Constitutional Amendments ; but waiving this, as without profit, is there not wide room for difference of opinion as to the alleged facts from which you deduce your conclusions ? *Every one* does not *know* that negroes have and will have extraordinary difficulty in exercising the right of suffrage, and while it may suit Republican politicians to force this assumption upon those in the North who depend upon the press for their information, there are thousands of Republican as well as Democratic citizens who know that it cannot be sustained by proof. It is not denied that it was bitterly resisted when wielded in mass by corrupt and unprincipled carpet-baggers for their own emolument and the ruin of the States ; but it is plainly and unhesitatingly denied that such is now the case. In the State of Maryland, where in a number of the counties the negro vote is nearly as large as the white vote, the polls have always been absolutely free to all ; and even in the Gulf States, since they have been relieved of carpet-bag and military government, the negro vote has been in the main free and unobstructed. It is an element of power which the white race, itself divided politically, is already seeking to divide, and the State governments, therefore, may be reasonably expected to protect it efficiently. Democrats believe that police measures for the preservation of order at the polls at all elections belong to the several States and not to the Federal Government, and for this belief they cannot be *fairly* arraigned as dishonest or indecent. If the negro is ever to be made

a useful and harmonious factor in our political system, it can only be brought about by the voluntary political assimilation of the most intelligent and independent of the race with the wisest and kindliest of the whites; and while this result may be accomplished in a comparatively short period if the solution of the problem is left to the good sense and kindly relations of the parties, under existing Constitutional guarantees, it can never be the fruit of Congressional interference, which nine-tenths of the white people of the South feel to be unnecessary and offensive, and believe to be without Constitutional warrant.

It is much to be regretted that you should intimate your approval of the use of soldiers at the polls, since, whatever the differences between you and your Democratic readers, they have respected your political methods, and the broad and lofty views which you are accustomed to take of matters touching Constitutional right and the genius of republican government. History is too full of precedent to require any citation to establish the abhorrence of all English-speaking people for the presence of military forces at elections, and even the existing act of Congress on the subject expressly prohibits the use or presence of soldiers at elections "except to keep the peace at the polls." This act was passed by a Republican Congress in 1865, when the army of the United States was in occupation of all the Southern States; yet even then our traditions were such as to secure this safeguard against the presence of the army before the termination of the war which brought this army into the field. At that time there were no recognized State governments in the South, and the law referred to was designed for a protection against troops necessarily present by reason of the state of war. Now there is no pretence that any Southern State is unable to preserve order, and if such should be the case its legislature or executive can invoke the aid of the United States in accordance with the original Constitutional provision for this purpose. Yet it is sought to distort the restriction in the act mentioned into a sanction of the maintenance of troops at the polls upon the pretence of *apprehended* disturbance of the peace.

It would seem that your question, "What is the objection to supervisors of election chosen from both parties?" is substantially answered in your own words almost immediately following it—namely, "that the Federal Government always appears on the scene not as a peacemaker or arbiter, but as a fierce partisan eager for the triumph of one party"; but more fully the objections of Democrats are these:

1st. They do not believe that Congress possesses the power to appoint such supervisors, and they are unalterably opposed to the assumption of arbitrary power.

2d. It is notorious that such supervisors, though in terms appointed from both parties, really represent only the party in possession of the Federal Government. Those taken from this side are fierce partisans, while those nominally taken from the other side are either spies who have joined it for the purpose, or weak and inefficient men dictated by local Republican politicians because of their lack of nerve and character.

3d. They believe that the object of the law is to substitute these supervisors for the soldiers whose functions were terminated by the *posse comitatus* clause in the Appropriation Bill of last year, and thus to control the Presidential election in 1880.

4th. They are opposed on principle to any system which tends to beget a spirit of distrust and hatred between the States and the Federal Government, as this system must do, and which any party in power will inevitably seek to use for the perpetuation of its own power.

In all these objections they are honest, however mistaken they may be—your assertion to the contrary. They are prepared to continue a sincere submission to all the Constitutional Amendments, but they do not believe there is any present necessity for legislation in aid of these amendments, and they cannot accept as "appropriate legislation," within the Constitutional meaning of the term, all the political machinery which the Republicans have devised under this name.

Yours respectfully, JAMES A. PEARCE.

CHESTERTOWN, MD., March 8, 1879.

[The Democrats would be entitled to more credit for their sacrifices made in order to conform to "the new order of things growing out of the war" if they had preserved such of "their traditional and inherited convictions" as did not conflict with this order. But as they have from time to time since the war thrown overboard every one of these convictions in order to win elections, and are really no longer recognizable by those who knew the party before the war, we do not think they can be so sensitive as our correspondent seems to suppose. We acknowledge freely that the Republican press has been guilty of both falsehood and exaggeration in describing the difficulties thrown in the way of negro voting; but any one who says he does not "know" that there exists any such difficulties at all must be set down as a person who does not take the trouble to follow the events of the day. We quite agree, however, that the most efficient and perhaps only permanent protection of the negro voter will come from a division of the whites, and the strongest objection to the attempt to array the North against the "Solid South," and blackguard the South *en bloc*, is that it will postpone this division indefinitely. But whatever may have been the state of things before the war, the *fact* is that since the war a large body of voters, possessing no physical or mental force, have been added to the Southern constituency, and that they are, as voters, viewed with dislike or contempt by the least peaceable and orderly portion of the Southern whites. It is also a fact that they have been made voters by Amendments to the Federal Constitution which have armed Congress with new powers. Therefore, the state of things which existed before the war, and which the State authorities then dealt with efficiently, no longer exists, and a new state of things does exist, which we do affirm it to be dishonest for a party to pretend not to see and to refuse to provide for in any way. The Republican way may be bad—in some of its features, the deputy marshals for instance, it is atrociously bad; but any one who seeks to abolish it is bound, we still maintain, to propose something in its place, and ought not to allege that the electoral machinery which was good enough in South Carolina in 1860 is good enough in 1879. About the soldiers at the polls, all we need say is that we do not stickle for them, and think the use made of them at the South during the carpet-bag régime was abominable; but it makes to us all the difference in the world whether soldiers used to preserve peace at the polls in a country in the condition of the South are a detachment of ten men from a scattered army of 20,000, or a detachment of ten men from a compact army of 200,000. Objection to the latter might be grave when objection to the former would be ridiculous. In passing on questions of this kind reasonable men take all the circumstances into account. There is nothing inherently terrible in a soldier *per se*. His danger as a policeman depends on the size, organization, and disposition of the force to which he belongs. Our correspondent's account of the supervisors may be and probably is true; but the contrivance is on its face a fair enough one, and the Democrats, if they choose, by concert with the Republicans might make it efficacious enough. But they persist in opposing to the Republican fictions about the South other fictions of their own, which if not so mischievous are still mischievous.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

THE prevailing rage for twice-told tales in biography is to be still further gratified by Macmillan & Co., who intend issuing a series of small volumes upon Greek, Latin, and English authors whose works are studied in schools. Mr. J. R. Green will be the editor, and among his assistants are Prof. James Bryce, Prof. Mahaffy, Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, Mr. F. J. Furnivall, and others. The same house issue this week 'Mixed Essays,' by Matthew Arnold, of which those on Democracy, Equality, Irish Catholicism, and British Liberalism have already appeared in the *Fortnightly* and *Nineteenth Century*.——Mr. A. R. Spofford's 'American Almanac for 1879' is a good second to the first volume, and is to a large extent composed of new matter. We need only mention the official statistics of the States, giving in brief compass the personnel of the principal State officers, the constitution of the judiciary, the last election totals, the debt, expenses, taxes, etc.; the election statistics of 1878 for all the States; the insolvent laws of each; and general articles on the census, the history and principles of taxation, on specie resumption in England, etc. We regret to learn from the preface that this useful work did not pay for itself last year, and that its continuance depends upon the reception of the present volume. Very desirable, if the series is to

go on, would be the publication each year of the preceding indexes; better still if they could be incorporated in one index, with typographical distinction of the current contents.——Daniel Slote & Co., 119 William Street, who are the publishers of Mark Twain's happy device for a scrap-book, have brought out 'The American Plant-Book,' a well-imagined blank-book for the preservation and scientific record of flowers, ferns, leaves, and grasses. Instructions for collecting, drying, pressing, and mounting are given, and tabular pages are intercalated for the description of the mounted specimens. The book deserves the attention of amateurs. When filled it is all ready for the shelf.——Geo. Routledge & Sons have issued the tenth edition of their valuable 'Men of the Time,' in which a great number of changes are to be noted. Among the American accessions by good right are Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel Jones Tilden, together with Secretary Sherman. Mr. Schurz was already in the edition of 1875; but Mr. Timothy Howe does not yet appear to have come within the editor's horizon. Among our men of letters Mr. Higginson and Mr. Howells find a place for the first time; perhaps in the next issue Mr. James's title will have been made clear. We have not looked for shortcomings, but if the editor will follow up his reference from Alecsandri (the Rumanian poet) he will see that nothing comes of it.——Number (11) of the Harvard Library Bulletin begins a noteworthy list of instruments of precision "available for scientific researches involving accurate measurements," which has been obtained by circular addressed to heads of colleges, etc. They are, under restrictions imposed by their owners, "at the disposal of any properly qualified person for the purposes of investigation." The Coast Survey Office, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and several departments of Harvard University, report in this number.——The late Congress appropriated the sum of $250,000 towards erecting what will ultimately be a wing of the National Museum at Washington, in accordance with plans proposed by officers of the Smithsonian Institution, whose building it will adjoin. It will cover two and a quarter acres, and can be finished in the course of a year. That the same body should not further have distinguished itself by liberal provision for a National Library building is much to be regretted.—— The popular-science series of brochures edited by Virchow and Von Holtzendorff (*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*) has now reached Nos. 313, 314 ("Blücher") and 315, 316 ("On Deep-Sea Animals"); while the parallel and complementary series of *Zeit- und Streit-Fragen* (or *Burning Questions*, as it might be called), edited by Von Holtzendorff, reaches No. 113 ("On the Materialistic and Idealistic View of the Universe"). It is doubtful whether in a country so well provided as ours with periodicals and newspapers similar publications could sustain themselves; yet one cannot but wish that we might have a similar medium of communication between learned authority and the magazine-reading class. Carl Habel, Berlin, is the publisher (New York: L. W. Schmidt.)——A subject not well understood, "The British Peerage," is to be treated by a lecturer thoroughly acquainted with it, Mr. Reginald Lewin, at the Union League Theatre, on Tuesday and Friday afternoon of next week. The treatment will be historic, but not without enlivenment.

—Harper & Bros. make public in a neat brochure a letter addressed by them last November to Secretary Evarts in respect to International Copyright. They recall the overtures made by Great Britain in 1870, and the reason why these failed to lead to any understanding, and urge the propriety of the United States now in turn taking the initiative. For this purpose they suggest an arrangement by which the Secretaries of State in both countries shall appoint a joint commission or conference of eighteen American citizens and British subjects, equally divided, and consisting on each part of three authors, three publishers, and three jurists; their deliberations having for an end the adoption of an international treaty, which would serve as an example for other countries. We do not know what steps Mr. Evarts may have taken in accordance with this suggestion, but we are very clear in our belief that it deserves to be acted upon and that the chances of a successful issue are very great. To the copy of their letter the Messrs. Harper append the convention proposed by Lord Clarendon in 1870, side by side with amendments proposed in America; Mr. Wm H. Appleton's plain-spoken letter to the London *Times*, in October, 1871, and the draft of a bill proposed by him for Congressional adoption in 1873; and an extract from Mr. Geo. Haven Putnam's recent address on international copyright. These "Memorandums," taken together, show a disposition on the part of American publishers entirely favorable to the protection of literary property wherever owned, and ought to persuade Englishmen of the good faith of the present movement.

—The sale of the first third of the Brinley library closed on Saturday night, when the total receipts were found to be $48,830 75. We can notice only a few of the higher-priced rarities. The catalogue opened with books relating to America in general, and accounts of voyages of discovery, among which the following were notable: Sir Francis Drake's 'Expeditio in Indias Occidentales,' with maps (Leyden, 1588), $110; Sir Humphrey Gilbert's 'Discovrse of a Discouerie for a new Passage to Cataia,' Heber's copy (London, 1576), $225; the famous 'Peter Martyr,' the copy used by Richard Eden in translating 'The Decades of the Newe Worlde,' $100; a fine copy of Champlain's 'Voyages,' with map (Paris, 1632), $280; John Brereton's 'Briefe and True Relation of the discouerie of the North part of Virginia' (London, 1602), and James Rosier's 'True Relation of the most Prosperous Voyage, made this present Yeere, 1605, by Captain George Waymouth in the Discouerie of the Land of Virginia" (London, 1605), both beautifully bound and enclosed together in a morocco case labelled, "The Verie Two Eyes of New-England Historie," $1,600; Captain John Smith's 'General History of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles' (London, 1624), remarkable as being the dedication copy of the first edition in its original binding of dark-blue morocco, richly gilt, with the arms of James I. stamped upon one side of the cover, and those of the Duchess of Richmond and Lenox, to whom the book was dedicated, upon the other, was purchased by the Lenox Library for $1,800. The 'New English Canaan' of Thomas Morton, uncut, brought $180, while another copy cropped by the binder sold for $37 50. 'The Meritorious Price of our Redemption, Justification, etc., Clearing it from some common Errors, etc., by William Pinchin, Gentleman, in New England,' on the guard-leaf of which are the autographs of Crescent Mather, 1653, and Cotton Mather, 1673, was a copy of the first edition, which the General Court of Massachusetts "utterly disliked and detested," and ordered to be "burned by the executioner in the market place in Boston," the author having dared to maintain the "damnable heresy that Christ did not suffer for us those unutterable torments of God's wrath that commonly are called hell torments," $205. Five almanacs printed at Cambridge, 1646–1650, comprising specimens of the work of the first three printers in English America, found a ready buyer, as well as 'A Declaration of Former Passages and Proceedings Betwixt the English and the Narrowgansetts,' the only copy known to be extant. Eliot's Indian version of the New Testament fetched $700. White Kennett's copy of the first edition of Eliot's Bible, containing both the Old Testament and the New, was sold for the single bid of $1,000. The 'Bay Psalm Book,' the first book printed in the British American Colonies, by Stephen Daye, Cambridge, 1640, brought $1,200. The *American Magazine*, from 1744 to 1746, three volumes, sold for $75. The *Royal American Magazine* of the same period, and the *Boston Magazine* and *Boston Gazette* of later date, were also highly valued. The first edition of the 'Connecticut Colonial Laws,' printed at Cambridge in 1673, is the only copy of the work which has been offered for sale during this century; it brought $300.

—In the April *Atlantic* most readers will turn first to Mr. Henry James, jr.'s account of "The Pension Beaurepas," a sketch of some Americans at Geneva, which, although it is amusing and realistic, does not provoke such lively interest as his latest stories, perhaps because all the principal characters described are very disagreeable, and in such way as to make one sad rather than angry; nor are the mistress of the pension and the old Frenchman prominent enough to mollify the reader with their pleasant peculiarities. Mr. James should make us laugh more at his satire, or else he should put more that is delightful in itself into his work; as it is, we sometimes yield him our sympathies to be tortured by him. The promised "Irene the Missionary" hardly affords grounds for anticipation of its merits in the first five chapters here printed. The description of the voyage of the missionary party through the Eastern Sea to Rhodes, Cyprus, and Beirut affords an opportunity for some very romantic natural description, and Irene herself is made charming from her first appearance, although she does not show any distinctively individual quality as yet. The other literary articles are an interesting collection of Easter hymns written by the monks; a discussion of New York theatres, in which the author asserts with much confidence that there has been considerable improvement in this art within a quarter of a century, and assigns some very probable reasons for our backwardness in it; a courteous but severe criticism of Mr. Story's design for the Washington Monument, which points out how incongruous an Italian structure will be in the locality where the monument

is to stand, and indicates in detail the reasons why the design is likely to be ineffective as an artistic work; lastly, an article by Richard Grant White on "Living in London," which is full of a gossipy information and entertaining, but we cannot help feeling that he opens his bedroom door a little too wide for good taste. There are two other striking contributions, one from a workingman, to tell workingmen that the rational solution of their difficulties is not in checking production, for which they have only shortsighted, tyrannical, and ineffective means, but is in attending to the character of their own consumption, and seeing that they spend so as to afford employment to others instead of unproductively; the second is upon "The Indian Territory," and contains a description of the Indians settled there, their laws, habits of government, expenditures, resources, etc., with a discussion of the wisdom of opening the Territory to white settlement.

—The Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill as introduced into the late House of Representatives contained provisions following strictly the report made by the National Academy of Sciences, relative not only to the national surveys of a scientific character, but to those of the Land Office. It directed the discontinuance of the geographical and geological surveys of Dr. Hayden and Major Powell under the Interior Department, and of that in charge of Lieutenant Wheeler under the War Department; also abolished the existing surveys under the Land Office, and provided that the Coast and Geodetic Survey should be transferred to the Interior Department, with its title changed to Coast and Interior Survey, and assume the entire mensuration of the public domain, excepting only those surveys necessary for immediate military purposes, local improvements, etc., which were left to the Engineers of the Army. It further established an office of Director of the Geological Survey, to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, and defined the duties and powers of that survey. A commission was also created to report a codification of the present laws relating to the survey and classification of the public domain, a system and standard of classification, and a plan of land-parcelling adapted to the several classes.

—What followed is a curious illustration of the course of legislation in this country. In the long debate upon this section in the House the chief opposition shown was to the immediate abolition of the offices of the sixteen surveyors-general, which are political appointments made during late years under Republican rule; and on the ground that no change should be attempted in this direction until after the report of the commission provided for, the Republicans, being joined by a sufficient number of Democrats, succeeded in striking out the paragraphs on that one subject. In the Senate, besides slight verbal alterations, an addition was made, as recommended by the Senate Committee, allowing twenty thousand dollars to each of the discontinued Hayden, Powell, and Wheeler surveys to finish their work. In the meanwhile the Sundry Civil Appropriations Bill had been rushed through the House in such an incomplete shape, with reliance upon Conference Committees for correction, that the appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars to carry into effect the provisions of the survey part of the Legislative Bill was eked out with blanks referring to the last-mentioned bill, as if it had in fact been passed and approved at a date yet unknown. When it was evident that the Legislative Bill would fail in the Conference Committee on account of its political riders, the chairmen of the Appropriation Committees of both houses, happening to be on the Conference Committees on both bills, agreed to save the reform by removing it from one to the other. In the compromises, however, the part relating to the increased powers of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, with its change of title and transfer from the Treasury to the Interior Department, was omitted. The net result, therefore, is a law establishing the office of Director of the Geological Survey, at a salary of six thousand dollars, an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars for the expenses of that office during the next fiscal year, the definition of its duties and publications, and the creation of a commission permitted to expend twenty thousand dollars in preparing a further report within one year—all substantially in the terms recommended by the National Academy of Sciences. The status and duties of the Coast and Geodetic Survey and of the surveyors-general remain unchanged, but the three temporary organizations above mentioned under the Interior and War Departments are discontinued from the 30th of June next, with twenty thousand dollars for each to close up its work and complete its publications. The new and permanent office of Director of the Geological Survey will be one of the most important and most practically useful in the country. The prominent candidates for the President's nomination are Dr. Hayden and Mr. Clarence King, Major Powell having, in favor of the latter, declined to present his own claims, though he warmly supported the plan of the Academy, the success of which is largely due to his exertions, in spite of its apparent conflict with his personal interests.

—Le Monnier's successors, Florence, send us the first fascicle of a 'Dizionario Biografico degli Scrittori Contemporanei' (Aars–Baccaredda), edited by the untiring Prof. Angelo de Gubernatis. The idea of this dictionary was conceived some ten years ago, we are told; that is to say, when the editor was barely twenty-nine years of age, and had not yet acquired an international reputation. The thought of his youth and literary obscurity determined him to wait till time and his own energy had changed all that; and now that he flatters himself to be tolerably well known all over the republic of letters he invites his colleagues to the hospitality of the 'Dizionario,' and in return for their information about themselves he will not do them the discourtesy of refusing to "exchange cards": "sento l'obbligo mio di confessarmi, per mia parte, con la stessa fiducia, ad essi." He does this, not in his alphabetical place in the body of the work, but in a long "autobiographic proemium," to which the word confession is not improperly applied, there being even a resemblance to Rousseau's 'Confessions' in the school incident of the badge of merit unjustly taken from him ("Io non ho dimenticato ancora la dolorosa impressione ricevuta per quell' atto"), and in the planting of the Indian horse-chestnut, more fortunate than the willow for which the famous "aqueduct" was devised. Prof. de Gubernatis was born in Turin, "of a noble and ancient family established in Piedmont since the twelfth century," April 7, 1840, the seventh son of Chevalier Giambattista de Gubernatis, then employed in the Ministry of Finance. The father is further described as an active and practical philanthropist, of wide learning (*enciclopedista*), a man of few words but resolute performance, and a severe disciplinarian. We pass over the interesting details of the young Angelo's precocity at school, of the histories and biographical dictionaries he began and partly achieved, of his friendly disposition towards the sciences and his disgust at mathematics; of the private literary academy he founded; of his translations from Plautus by way of preparation for the University; of his first visit to the theatre, when (lucky youth) he saw "Hamlet," and received a "profound impression," so that he at once wrote out a drama in verse of his own. The playwright side of De Gubernatis's intellectual fecundity will be perhaps to foreigners the chief revelation of this autobiography. The first journal of his founding was *L'Italia Letteraria*. Chance led him to betake himself to Semitic studies; and ambition, to repair to Germany to prove that an Italian could study like a German. University honors awaited his return, and as Professor of Sanskrit he went to live in Florence in October, 1863. Here an evil chance threw him in with Michael Bakunin, the Russian socialist, whose influence proved irresistible, and in Febru ary, 1865, De Gubernatis resigned his position that he might be free to attack the established order of things. The story of his experience while laboring under this mania is very interesting, and has a romantic complexion because the new apostle of socialism gained a Russian wife by his temporary connection with Bakunin; and much domestic happiness, as is to be seen from the verses addressed to his children, *dolce Cordelia* and *prode Alessandro*. By-and-bye sanity returned; he broke with secret societies and red republicanism, and the Government generously received him back as a public instructor in the spring of 1867, and a sadder and a wiser man. His apology for his error and his return to the ranks of conservative monarchists, and an account of his multifarious literary work since the dawn of his new life, conclude one of the most readable chapters in contemporary memoirs.

—As for the *capolavoro* to which this proemium leads up, we may leave one side the question whether its merits are so great as to make it the natural occasion on which to take the world into the editorial confidence. It at least does for the author's obscurer countrymen what no other dictionary or cyclopædia does, and it is original as well as handy in embracing only the men of letters of all nations. It has had the advantage of special editing for the Dutch, Rumanian, Polish, Bohemian, and Croatian portions; and in what concerns Greece, Servia, Hungary, Russia, and Scandinavia it promises to be exceptionally full and correct. For this reason it must prove a welcome addition to even the best lexicons, and one has only to compare the *Dizionario* with Brockhaus to be persuaded that such is the fact. The execution is not remarkable in the editing at second hand, while there is a lack of proportion arising from the too free use of inedited materials, of which the most glaring in-

stance is the space given to Madame Ackermann—more than three pages. This exceeds the allowance to About or to Augier, to Auerbach or Asbjörnsen, to Albini, Amari, or Antinori. Still, if the purchaser does not pay too dearly for it, faults of excess are easily overlooked in a book of reference. Dictionaries of a broader scope would grudge the room required to state that About succeeded Philarète Chasles as the French literary correspondent of the *Athenæum*, and still holds the position ; but there is freshness in such particulars, and even an insufficient notice like the following shows a certain alertness which is commendable : "Angyal, John, a Hungarian writer, published in 1878 a translation of the 'Divina Commedia' in Hungarian." Finally, we must praise the idea of inserting portraits of the writers whose lives are sketched, though such as we are able to judge from photographs or otherwise—*e. g.*, About, Dom Pedro, Matthew Arnold—leave something to be desired. Thirty of these adorn Part I., which contains upwards of two hundred titles. The work is, so far as we have tested it, essentially accurate. The American portion is of course meagre : few of our great names are enrolled under the first letter of the alphabet. The Abbotts, Jacob and Lyman, are denied their final *t ; Timothy* Shay Arthur appears as *Tommaso ;* "Oliver Optic" is the only Adams admitted from this side of the water among the *scrittori contemporanei ;* Miss Alcott is not overlooked, but neither Mr. Alger nor Mr. Allibone is honored with a mention.

—Prof. Karl Knortz, who has just published in German (Boston: Carl Schoenhof) a critical study of the writings of Longfellow, some of which he has himself translated, is now engaged in compiling an anthology of modern American lyrics for a Berlin house. The collection, when made, should have its usefulness among us also, for, from the fact that it is meagre or the reverse, some interesting conclusions may be drawn as to the bent of the American genius for poetry. It will also facilitate an enquiry into the relation (whether as cause or effect) between poetry and music in the United States. Mr. Longfellow undoubtedly enjoys as a song-writer the position held in England by Mr. Tennyson, and he may on that side of the water have received the compliment, so profitable in the case of the latter, of being frequently set to music. At home his "Hiawatha" inspired a respectable yet still-born opera, and occasionally one hears a piece of his in the concert-room; but as regards either the parlor or the streets he is, like his fellow-poets, practically unsung. We recall one love-song of Lowell's of which the music is unpublished, we believe; Dr. Holmes can point to at least one bit of "occasional" verse expressly set to music by a competent hand; Whittier can hardly do more; Emerson perhaps not so much; Pierpont, though often sung, generally if not always found the air ready-made. What one of these poets, in our civil war, enlivened the tedium of the camp with songs of sentiment or affection, or stirred the blood with strains that twenty years had made familiar to the generation that took part in the anti-slavery struggle ?

—Reflections like these are sure to arise on looking over any German collection of popular melodies, such, for example, as G. W. Fink's 'Musikalischer Hausschatz der Deutschen,' embracing a thousand numbers, now appearing in a new edition (Part I., Hamburg : Haendcke & Lehmkuhl ; New York : L. W. Schmidt). In a note to "Gottes Rath und Scheiden" the editor remarks: "The words are by Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben, in imitation of ancient German poesy; one proof more how many of the so-called folk-songs sprang not from the people in the secondary sense of the word, but from considerable poets." And, indeed, among the writers of the 333 songs of the part before us one meets with such names as Luther, Lessing, Bürger, Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Matthias Claudius, Kotzebue, Uhland, Arndt, etc., etc.; as among the composers with Mozart, Weber, Mendelssohn, Schumann, etc. The first 220 songs are "Volkslieder" proper; the remainder "Jugendlieder." Favorites like "Die drei Reiter," "Einsam bin ich nicht alleine," "Der Wirthin Töchterlein," "Der Zimmergesell," "Das Mädchen aus der Fremde," occur in this as in every collection; but one is struck more by the points of difference than of resemblance, since these suggest the endless wealth of songs which will continue hereafter as heretofore to give employment to editors like Herr Fink, himself a popular poet-composer. To the same air are frequently appended several sets of words, and on the other hand words familiarly associated with a certain air are here set to quite a different one. As for the "Jugendlieder," the songs of youth, what like them have our American boys and girls; and what is the common body of school and home melodies, from nursery to college, that children from Massachusetts to Minnesota (to go no farther West) know by heart? We could not answer the enquiry lately made by an eminent German scholar visiting this country for a characteristic collection of this sort.

—A very significant little pamphlet by Helmholtz which has just appeared in Germany recalls to mind the assertion of G. Kirchhof, made some years ago when these two leaders of physical science had already expressed very different views respecting the nature and limits of knowledge. The latter held that all logic was definition, and that mechanics was only the description of motion. Helmholtz seems now to have concentrated his interest on questions which, in the new latitude which that word has lately acquired, may be called psychological. The greatest intellectual progress of recent years, he says, is the analysis of the supposed simple processes of vision and audition into many more ultimate and simple processes. These latter language (which is a product of a relatively perfected consciousness) is not capable of describing save by circumlocution and wide analogies. This result has led scientific men back to the standpoint of Kant's 'Critique,' but with a slightly different solution of his problem. Space, for instance, is an innate force in so far as its perception depends on the possibility of motor impulses of the will ; yet its existence does not belong to the mind as color does to the eye, but is demonstrably real and objective. This, however, is very distinct from the question of the contents of space. This question, now so widely known as that of the fourth dimension, may be very simply stated—viz., Are geometrical axioms transcendental forms of perception or products of experience ? Helmholtz holds the latter to be possible, and insists that by a little knowledge of analytical methods, of mathematics, of perspective construction, and of optic phenomena spacial relations which contradict the three central axioms of Euclid may be distinctly conceived, and that the series of sensuous impressions which would arise in a metamathematical space developed within the parts of the Euclidean space, can be fully and serially described. It is difficult to think in terms of such a space simply on account of our lack of experience. The motive of all knowledge is the law of cause, which never leads to a final cause or hypothesis, but only expresses an instinctive trust in the perfect comprehensibility of the Universe. We have no guarantees for the validity of any given application of the law of cause save its practical result. This law is *à priori*, is primal instinctive induction. In the persistency of force, in physiological processes of sensation and thought, in geologic times and astronomic space, in the physics of light, sound, electricity, etc., we have already far higher, more philosophic, and more religious themes than any of the Oriental dreams of pantheism or modern idealism, which, like everything purely subjective, can never be finally disproved.

CONWAY'S DEMONOLOGY.*

A SCOTCH song says that the devil is dead and buried at Kirkcaldy ; but Mr. Conway is ready with the biography of the deceased, prefacing it, as biographers are wont, with a complete genealogical history of his ancestors. As many American family records carry us back to three brothers who emigrated simultaneously, so this book traces back to Demon, Dragon, and Devil every figure of ill-omen that has perplexed the world. Since Mr. Conway first wrote the 'Natural History of the Devil,' in this country, twenty years ago, the subject has haunted him ; he has explored libraries in its behalf, ransacked the British Museum, visited cathedrals ; he has had the aid and counsel of men like Tylor, Lubbock, and Max Müller ; he has given a course of lectures on this theme at the Royal Institution in London ; and these lectures, still further expanded, take form in two thick octavos, profusely illustrated and crowded with information, quotation, and allusion. Mr. Conway's long practice as a journalist has given him the literary instinct as to selection and arrangement ; he is always readable and commonly spicy ; and, while his book has, to our thinking, some marked faults, it has predominant merits which do him honor and make the work a real addition to the history of human thought.

Of the three forms of evil power which he discriminates, the elder birth is assigned to the Demon. This first-born of the dark brood, according to Mr. Conway, was not, as in Milton's definition of Lucifer, "archangel ruined," but a far less developed power ; he simply worked evil indirectly in pursuing his own ends, but he had no special love of evil, no malevolence. He had no moral or immoral character, any more than the man-eating tiger. Indra slays Vitra without moral indignation ; Apollo's face is serene when his dart pierces the Python. "It required a much higher development of the moral sentiment to give rise to

* 'Demonology and Devil-Lore. By Moncure Daniel Conway, M.A.' With numerous illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo. New York : Henry Holt & Co. 1879.

the conception of a Devil. Only that intensest light could cast so black a shadow across the world as the belief in a purely malignant spirit" (i. 13, 14). A devil loves evil for its own sake ; a demon is simply the embodiment of some natural power or bodily need, and has no malevolence, but only a heedless self-seeking. This distinction is intelligible and well-sustained. The Dragon, in Mr. Conway's view, is an intermediate type, and is perhaps more arbitrarily employed ; still, our author finds abundant material for his delineation, and can classify for this purpose all the vast collection of saurian and lacertine myths ; the Garden of Eden, Uther Pendragon, St. George and the Dragon, the Lambton Worm, Melusine, and Elsie Venner. All this series of traditions came from a combination of uncanny objects, the Egyptian crocodile, the fragments of saurian monsters, and the malign and stealthy movements of the snake. The basilisk is of the same family, and the cockatrice, which is *cocatrix* in Old-French, and *cocotriz* in Spanish, is simply another name for the crocodile, once little known and deemed half-fabulous.

The first volume, which relates to the demons only, is the best sustained, most systematic, and least digressive part of the book ; it is, indeed, an excellent piece of literary work, from beginning to end. Later, the author grows more polemic, being brought into closer antagonism with the more forbidding aspects of Christian art and tradition, and thence easily passing to the offences of the contemporary church. In the first volume he writes as a student of human history and art, pure and simple ; he has collected materials with immense industry, and has found in every mediæval church-building a botanizing ground for new species of these baneful blossoms of superstition, the demons. For it must be remembered that it was not the saints and heavenly virgins which most taxed the ingenuity of the myriad unknown architects and artists of those days, but the demons who glared from the gargoyles and leered from the cornices, and doubtless represented to many pious minds the pagan deities that had been cast out. The portrayal of the powers of good was often conventional and feeble ; but that of the demons was endlessly quaint and vigorous and varied, as the visitor to Rouen or Nuremberg knows well. Many a myth otherwise meaningless is traced by Mr. Conway from cathedral to cathedral, as patiently as Colonel Chester tracks an American family record from one set of English church records to another ; and where the Roman Catholic Church fails, the Greek Church helps him out. His travels in Russia have furnished him with a store of quite new material in this direction, and with some of his most unpleasant and instructive wood-cuts. There it is that he finds a "Dives and Lazarus" in which Satan is inflicting an infernal baptism on the condemned soul, to correspond to the religious ceremony (i. 281); and there he finds the missing delineation of the diabolic trinity, piously arranged to match the heavenly; the "procession of the Serpent of Sins" in which the snake appears as the counter-agent of the celestial dove (ii. 253). But, indeed, his wealth seems endless ; and he reminds one of the German monks, mentioned in his own preface, who hid themselves near the witches' orgies, that they might count the demons, when the chief of these, discovering the intruders, said : "Reverend Brothers, our army is such that if all the Alps, their rocks and glaciers, were equally divided among us, none would have a pound's weight."

This first volume describes the twelve chief classes of demons—namely, of Hunger, Heat, Cold, the Elements (storms, lightning, tides, etc.), Animals, Enemies (as giants, dwarfs, were-wolves, etc.), Barrenness, Obstacles (mountains, rocks, whirlpools, etc.), Illusions (mermaids, swan-maidens, phantoms, etc.), Darkness, Disease, and Death. It is curious under all of these to see the constant connection between ancient practices and modern ways. Take, for instance, the demons of cold. The old New England farm-house, with its door fronting the south, may not have been so placed merely because of the warmth on the doorstep or the convenience of knowing just when noon-time came, but it may have been a survival of the tradition which bade the doors of English parish churches face south, recognizing that evil spirits dwelt northward. On the Continent, witches sometimes heard their parents calling them from England ; in England they were ascribed to Norway as a colder region, or to the Hebrides, where fire is still carried round the cattle to protect them from demons of cold. Brand and others have pointed out that the south side of a church-yard was often the consecrated part, the north side being reserved for unbaptized infants and executed criminals, so that people were allowed to dance and play tennis there. In some parishes in Cornwall, when a baptism occurs, the north door of the nave, opposite the font, is thrown open, so that the demon cast out may return to his own home, the north. Thus, in the prose Edda, the hall of punishment, whose walls are made of wreathed serpents with their heads inward, opens only towards the north (Conway, i. 85–7).

Our author draws his materials not from the carvings of churches and the vagaries of oral tradition only, but from the quaintest treasures of European libraries. He has inspected, for instance, the 'Raven Book' at Dresden, printed in 1501, and professing to give all the wondrous secrets of Faust. Its cardinal rule for magic is that the "magister" should mark a circle on parchment with a dove's blood ; should write in Latin, within that circle, the names of the four quarters of heaven ; should inscribe around it the Hebrew letters of God's name, and beneath it write *Sadan;* and, standing in this circle, should repeat Psalm xci. In this book the infernal hierarchy are inscribed as formally as are earthly dynasties in the *Almanach de Gotha:* "*King*, Lucifer ; *Viceroy*, Belial ; *Gubernatores*, Satan, Beelzebub, Astaroth, Pluto ; *Chief Princes*, Aziel, Mephistopheles, Marbuel, Ariel, Aniguel, Anisel, Barfael" (Conway, ii. 299, 333).

He has also examined the *Fan's Bibel*, or 'Devil's Bible,' in the Royal Library at Stockholm. It is supposed to be the largest book in the world, and requires more than one man's strength to lift it from the floor ; it contains three hundred parchment leaves, each one made out of an ass's hide, the cover being of oak planks. It was part of the booty carried off by the Swedes after the surrender of Prague, A.D. 1648 ; it bears the signature of a German emperor in 1577, and no one knows how much older it may be. Within its covers are the Old and New Testaments, Josephus, and several other works, including a treatise on "Evil Spirits" and various prescriptions in "White Magic." The legend is that a monk, condemned for witchcraft, was granted his life on condition that he should reproduce before morning all the books here contained ; and, with Satan's aid, he wrote this volume in a night (ii. 283–4).

Mr. Conway's tracings of myths through successive languages affect one often like a series of puns. Godiva becomes Good-Eve (ii. 89) ; he tells us that "Devel" is the gipsy name of God, and that "deuce" is the Armorican *teuz*, a phantom (i. 16). The "Thou shalt not be afraid of any *bug* by night" of the Bishop's Bible—and, he might have added, the "Tush, tush, fear boys with *bugs*" in "Taming of the Shrew"—recalls the familiar "bogey," the Welsh "bwg" (goblin), the Slavic "bog" (deity), the "Baga" (God) of cuneiform inscriptions, and the "Bhaga" (Lord of Life). There is always danger, however, in these striking analogies. We can remember to have found momentary weight in the suggestion that "elf" and "goblin" were clearly derived from Guelf and Ghibelline, until a little reflection showed the supposed derivatives to to be really the older words.

Mr. Conway has his own theories of Adam's fall ; and while he is convinced that the forbidden fruit was the physical relation of the sexes, he yet keeps wholesomely clear of the tendency of the Payne Knight school to find some indecency in every ancient symbol. He restores Lilith—who is known to most persons only as a figure in Goethe's 'Faust'—to a picturesque and important place in tradition. The legend is from the rabbinical traditions ; they represent her to have been created with Adam in the same way, but to have refused to obey him, asserting that they were equals. This being denied, she gave herself wings by magic and flew away ; three angels found her hovering over the Red Sea and tried in vain to bring her back, but she would not come, was divorced from Adam, and Eve was then created from his side, that there might be no question of supremacy. Lilith had power over Jewish children till the eighth day, but promised the three angels to disturb none whom they protected, so that Jewish children formerly wore a charm bearing these angels' names. She conspired against her rival Eve, and was held by many to have been the real tempter, in guise of a serpent ; Pietro d'Orcagna thus painted her at Pisa, and Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel, in a beautiful fresco which Mr. Conway gives (ii. p. 97). In 'St. Mary's Psalter' (1553) she appears offering apples from the tree to Adam and Eve, the temptress having the head of a woman, the body of a cat, and the tail of a serpent (ii. 301)—a conception that Charles Baudelaire might have envied.

Some of our readers may have noticed at Notre Dame, in Paris, this last summer, a bird's-nest built between the projecting horns of a carved fiend, where the mother-bird sat peacefully upon her eggs. This graceful combination has not escaped Mr. Conway, and the artist Hennessy has commemorated it in a vignette which appears both within and without the book. The whole work is a mine of curious learning and vivid delineation ; sometimes it is too polemic, has too many local and temporary allusions, and the latter part is too discursive, as if the author had grown a little weary with his long labor ; nevertheless, it is a work well

worth doing and, on the whole, faithfully and felicitously done. It might be said to Mr. Conway, as he tells us that a bishop wrote to Father Delaporte about a similar work: "Reverend Father, if every one busied himself about the Devil as you do, the Kingdom of God would gain by it."

The Lady of the Aroostook. By W. D. Howells. (Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1879.)—Mr. Howells's story, the pleasant qualities of which we have called attention to from month to month, has deservedly received universal praise. It is rightly called the best work he has yet done—quiet in interest, finished, well conceived in its proportions, well executed. He has described with the accuracy almost of self-consciousness a type of the girl whom our New England village-life produces. Our modern inherited Puritanism has not found so fine an illustration before, nor has the *aplomb* quality of Puritanism been better delineated, for it is this which underlies the simplicity of the heroine's self-possession, which springs from ignorance; her self-confidence, which makes her think she guards herself when others are really guarding her; her self-repression, which yields so slowly to the influences of the larger life made known to her; and her self-belief, the tenacity with which she holds to the conventions of her training and to the absolute rightness of her convictions, which caused her violent and sudden revolt from the customs of Venetian society. Mr. Howells has made himself acquainted with this character, and has realized it with the faithfulness of portraiture, just as he has succeeded equally well in the easier task of painting to the life the good, stupid Dunham, commonplace Staniford, and the Venetian aunt. The story is so simple, the taste so nearly flawless, the success in what was attempted so undeniable that one distrusts his judgment when he finds a vague regret in his mind as he reads and after he has laid down the book. This being so good in its kind, would anything be better? But we must confess to sharing this regret. Like Mr. James, Mr. Howells is a realist—he copies life; and realism in literature, although not so plainly a disappointment as in art, is quite as unsatisfactory. The poor we have with us always—Dunhams and Stanifords and Hickses in shoals. What is valuable in literature is not the miniature of life, but the illumination of life by the imagination; not common things set in the light of common day, but the revelation of what is hidden in common things by the light that never was on sea or land. To say this is not to detract from the author's praise, but rather to add to it by saying that, though what he has given us is good, there is better than it for him to give us. He has imaginative as well as portraitive power. We wish he would employ both, giving to himself more freedom, binding himself less to his object, and so show us things not merely as they are under present conditions, but as they are best under present conditions. Our regret is that Mr. Howells has built in stones of the street when he might have built in more durable and beautiful material. But, not to press this too strongly, for it lies in the choice of the author and not in that of his friends, there seems to us one other defect in the workmanship of the story. It is less strong as a whole than in its details. The charm of it lies not in its very subdued incident and plot, but to a considerable extent in its minute felicities, in half-sentences, half-lines, sometimes in single words and the turn of a phrase, in the attitudes, movements, and *belongings*, rather than in the theme itself—an error which is avoided only with great difficulty when the mode of work is so painstaking as it evidently is here. To write in this way is to appeal to the reader by moments, to please the greatest number, because it is easiest to please by moments; but it is to lose form, for when one thinks of the story a multiplicity of details come back to his memory, which has lost in them the great lines that alone make a whole of any artistic work. Notwithstanding all this, we are glad that this story has met with so much favor, and in closing this brief notice of it we cannot refrain from calling attention to the contrast between it and 'Daisy Miller,' for the type of American girl which it describes is so fundamentally different, so much more frequently met with, and so much more peculiarly national—or, rather, the product of native conditions—that the contrast cannot fail to be instructive to any who may develop it in his own mind.

The Gamekeeper at Home. Third edition. (Boston: Roberts Bros. 1879. 12mo, pp. vi. 216.)—This little book is delightfully earthy. The gamekeeper on a modern English estate; his house, tools, family, caste; his dominions in wood, meadow, and water; his various subjects, from mice to foxes; his enemies, feral and human, birds and beasts of prey, thieves and poachers, and the effective "leathering" of the same with a good, tough ground-ash stick; and worst of all, of late years, the predatory tramp in great numbers—the rascal who fires the windward side of a broad furze "bush" on a windy night and destroys the game on hundreds of acres of high ground—these are among the many subjects touched by the author and illustrated with a surprising amount of new and minute observation. To write so intimately of preserving and of poaching as "R. J." has done (the author gives us his initials only) it would seem necessary to have been both a gamekeeper and a poacher in one's time. The refined processes of the latter's avocation are dwelt upon to the last detail. The contemporary poacher "has no appetite for thrilling adventure"; his object is simply money; his first care is to avoid suspicion.

"He is often a sober and to all appearance industrious individual, working steadily during the day at some handicraft in the village; a somewhat reserved, solitary workman of superior intelligence. . . . Perhaps the most promising position for a man who makes a science of it is a village at the edge of a range of downs, generally fringed with large woods on the lower slopes. He has then ground to work alternately, according to the character of the weather and the changes of the moon. If the weather be wet, windy, or dark, then the wide, open hills are safe. . . . Upon a bright night the judicious poacher prefers the woods. Meadows with double mounds or thick hedges may be worked almost at any time, as one side of the hedge is sure to cast a shadow, and instant cover is afforded by the bushes and ditches. Such meadows are the happy hunting-grounds of the poacher."

He seldom uses a gun; it is too noisy, and it makes difficulty with the feathers, which must be buried or carried away. "Many poachers' coats are one vast pocket behind the lining." Nets are less used than formerly by "the judicious poacher." His favorite implement is the wire snare. With this he takes rabbits in great numbers, and hares; the latter he can sell for 2*s.* 6*d.* each. He even learns to catch the hare by hand alone, walking slowly by the animal as it crouches in the grass, but not turning the eye upon him, and seizing him "quick as lightning" by the poll. Small birds on the perch he nooses, either by day or night, with a horsehair affixed to a long, slender wand. For larger birds he uses a thin copper wire, acquiring "wonderful dexterity" in this sleight of hand. With the latter kind of snare he fishes; he will speedily land a good basket of pike, jack, or tench. The tench and the trout, like the hare, he takes by the unaided hand, after the method which caused so much surprise in the practice of Thoreau. The poacher first soothes the fish by the untranscendental process of tickling them.

"He slips his bared arm in slowly and without splash, and finds little or no trouble, as a rule, in getting his hand close to the fish without alarming it. He then passes his fingers under the belly and gently rubs it. The fish slowly rises up in the water, and thus enables the hand to get in position for the final seizure. . . . The poacher will often flick a fish out of the water in an instant, so soon as it is near the surface."

This is the only passage in the book that reminds one, by suggestion, of the Walden Pond way of "communion with nature." The style is singularly direct and free from phrase-making; but the writer has a gift for happy touches, as we have seen, and as where, describing the care of a fowling-piece, he recommends a drop of gin as better than any oil for the lubrication of the lock. "The spirit never congeals in cold weather," he says, "and the hammer comes up with a clear, sharp snick."

Histoire des États-Unis d'Amérique. Depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu' à nos jours. Par Frédéric Nolte. Tomes I., II. (Paris: Didier & Cie.; New York: F. W. Christern. 1878.)—A work of this kind is one among many indications of the growing interest on the part of foreign nations in the United States which has been so noticeable since the close of our civil war. That tremendous struggle, and the forces which it called into action, suddenly aroused the people of Europe to the consciousness that a great nation had come into being on this side of the Atlantic, and was a factor in the affairs of men which could not be overlooked. This new consciousness soon developed the fact that Europeans know very little of America, and many efforts have been made to remedy the prevailing ignorance. The extent of foreign interest in the United States is strikingly shown by the publication of such a history as this, which is wholly popular and is evidently a mere publisher's book, intended to command a large sale as a compendium of useful and amusing information. To Frenchmen, for whom, of course, it is intended, and who are more profoundly ignorant of everything and everybody outside their own country than any other civilized people of equal intelligence, these volumes are likely to prove useful. M. Nolte has brought together in his appendix a number of important treaties, charters, constitutions, and general statistics which are of value and importance. But this is the best part of his work. The history itself is badly ar-

ranged, incomplete, and inaccurate. The author says in his preface that in order to give "local color" he has consulted other works than those published in his own country, and professes himself especially indebted on this score to "Barnes's Centenary History and Ridpath's History of the United States." His full list of authorities is, however, a very short one, and comprises only a few works of the most general nature.

Even these do not appear to have been consulted with much care. M. Nolte's history fairly bristles with mistakes on every page. Some are unimportant errors, others are of the grossest kind. To point them out in detail would require an additional volume. A few, however, are so striking that they deserve notice. La Salle is described as a Jesuit father, who, despite his vows, established a trading-post. As a Frenchman, if not as a historian, M. Nolte ought to have known that La Salle was not a priest, whatever his early connection with the Jesuits might have been. The Quakers and Roger Williams were turned out of Massachusetts at very different times and for very different reasons, yet M. Nolte jumbles them up together as if they were all part and parcel of the same movement. *Edward* Oglethorpe, who it seems assisted his brother James in the colonization of Georgia, has the merit of being a wholly new creation. Gouverneur Morris appears in M. Nolte's volumes as the author of the Constitution, although it has been generally supposed hitherto that that famous instrument was the work of several hands. The name of the Arctic explorer was Kane, not "Kent," and Edmund Randolph did not leave Washington's Cabinet on account of the Jay Treaty, but because he had a connection with Fauchet, the French minister, of which the President disapproved.

These instances are taken at random, and might be indefinitely extended, but there is one statement so original that it deserves literal quotation. In speaking of John Quincy Adams (ii., p. 141) M. Nolte, referring to his return from his first foreign mission, says: "Recalled by Jefferson, who was his friend, he was named by him (Jefferson), in 1806, professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres at Harvard College, in the province of Massachusetts." This implies an amount of centralized power which would have surpassed the most extreme Federalist theories. M. Nolte insists upon maintaining the favorite French custom of alluding to gentlemen who have been knighted as "Sir, Raleigh," "Sir, Howe," "Sir, Prevost," etc. Why Frenchmen cannot give this simplest of titles correctly it is difficult to see, but they seldom do, and their misuse of the prefix has always an air of burlesque.

The book is written with a careful discrimination against anything that is not entertaining. Many chapters are devoted to the Indians and the Indian wars, while half a dozen pages suffice for the entire colonial history of Massachusetts and Virginia. The Revolution is described with fulness, but the administrations of the various Presidents consist merely of sketches of their lives, and of one or two of the leading events which occurred during their term of office. A good deal of space is given to inventions of all sorts, from the cotton-gin to the sewing-machine, and brief accounts of our distinguished authors, with lists of their principal works, are interspersed. M. Nolte certainly fulfils his promise of coming down to the present day, as his history concludes with the death of Bryant, the yellow fever, and the trouble with England about the fisheries.

Birds of the Colorado Valley. A Repository of Scientific and Popular Information concerning North American Ornithology. By Elliott Coues. Part First. Passeres to Laniidæ. (Washington: Government Printing-Office. 1878.)—This volume forms Part I. of a work which promises to be one of the most important of recent contributions to North American ornithology. While it may be regarded as complementary to the same author's 'Birds of the Northwest,' the many excellences of which have won for the author so enviable a reputation as a popular and technical writer on American birds, its scope, as regards the technicalities of the subject, is much more comprehensive, including as it does all the species of birds known to occur on this continent north of the southern boundary of the United States. The work relates, as its title implies, primarily to the birds of the vast and physically highly diversified region drained by the Colorado River and its tributaries, to the life-histories of which the chief part of the text is devoted; the extralimital species being treated in foot-notes, and only so far as regards their synonymy, bibliography, and distribution. These phases of the subject, so important from the standpoint of the specialist, are throughout the work most thoroughly and exhaustively treated, the results presented superseding all previous work of like kind in the same field, and representing an amount of patient and laborious research among the dry bones of science that few who have not undertaken similar work can duly appreciate. The biographies are not only all freshly written, but are based largely on the writer's long and varied experience in the field, and bring down the history of the species treated to the latest discovery respecting their range, nidification, and general habits.

Many of the birds of the Colorado Valley are peculiar to this region, and are consequently among our least-known species, while others range throughout the greater part of the continent, and, having been long well known, there is little that is new to be said about them. It is here that the author's originality of treatment and felicity of expression are most strongly exemplified, as under his ready pen well-worn topics become invested with almost the freshness of novelty. Much information of a general character, and often of a kind not usually found in such association, is introduced under the heads of the several families and genera, as notably in the cases of the warblers, swallows, and shrikes. This includes among other things the etymology and signification of the names, both technical and popular, applied to the various species or groups, and a discussion of the almost tabooed question of the hibernation of swallows, together with copious special bibliographies of this and cognate subjects. We have, in short, in the present work the fullest demonstration of the possibility of making a book on natural history thoroughly scientific, and at the same time popular and entertaining—rigidly exact and exhaustive in all that is merely technical, attractive in all that relates to the popular phases of the subject.

While the portions of the present volume already noticed form so valuable a contribution to the literature of ornithology, the importance of the work is almost immeasurably enhanced by the "Bibliographical Appendix" with which it concludes. This is exclusively devoted to a "List of Faunal Publications relating to North American Ornithology." Although consequently not a complete bibliography of North American ornithology, it embraces nearly or quite fifteen hundred titles, and occupies two hundred and eighteen pages. It consists mainly of the titles of "local lists," but embraces a range of publications from the works of Wilson or Audubon down to the least note on the subject; but all general works which include North America only in conjunction with other countries, all monographs of special groups, and all papers relating to single species are excluded as not strictly pertinent. In explanation of this the author tells us that this piece of bibliography is but a single section of the "Faunal Publications" series of a general "Bibliography of Ornithology," upon which he still is, and has been for a long time, engaged, and that in this general work the papers here excluded fall under other heads. The present division of the work being so far completed as to be available for use is here published in advance, as much time must still elapse before the whole work can be brought out. Ornithologists, and especially those of this country, can but rejoice in the decision that led to the early publication of so invaluable a guide to the great bulk of the literature relating to American birds.

**** *Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Allen (G.), The Colour Sense	(Houghton, Osgood & Co.) $3 50
Baker (H. B.), English Actors, from Shakespeare to Macready, 2 vols	(Henry Holt & Co.)
Ballard (H. H.) and Thayer (S. P.), American Plant-Book	(Daniel Slote & Co.)
Blakiston (J. R.), The Teacher	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 00
Cole (J. R.), The Horse's Foot	(Peter G. Thomson)
Grévillle (H.), Bonne-Marie: a Tale	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.)
Keary (C. F.), The Dawn of History	(Charles Scribner's Sons) 1 25
Macalister (Prof. A.), Zoölogy of the Invertebrate Animals	(Henry Holt & Co.) 60
Middlesex County (Mass.), Manual	(Penhallow Printing Co.) 1 00
Montague (Prof. W. L.), Introduction to Italian Literature	(Carl Schoenhof)
Moseley (H. N.), Notes by a Naturalist on the *Challenger*	(Macmillan & Co.)
Meyer (Bertha), Aids to Family Government	(M. L. Holbrook & Co.)
Parsons (T.), The Mystery of Life	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Pike (J. S.), The New Puritan	(Harper & Bros.)
Pryde (J.), Mathematical Tables: Logarithms, etc., new ed.	(W. & R. Chambers) 1 75
Schumacher (H. A.), Petrus Martyr, swd	(E. Steiger) 1 25
Seeley (Prof. J. R.), Life and Times of Stein, 2 vols	(Roberts Bros.) 7 50
Seiss (Rev. J. A.), Records of Daniel the Prophet	(Porter & Coates) 1 50
Sharpe (Dr. W.), Humanity and the Man: a Poem	(Simpkin, Marshall & Co.)
Simon (J.), The Government of M. Thiers, 2 vols	(Charles Scribner's Sons) 4 50
Spear (Rev. S. T.), Law of Extradition	(Weed, Parsons & Co.)
Satchel Guide for the Vacation Tourist in Europe, new ed.	(Houghton, Osgood & Co.) 2 00
The Muse as I Have Found Her: Poetry	(Brentano) 1 50

Fine Arts.

EXHIBITION BY THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN ARTISTS.

THE second annual exhibition of this new-born association was opened on Monday week, and bids fair to attract even more attention than the first. While professedly dedicated to a demonstration of the unconven-

tional, it is seen to be a toilsome effort on most of the painters' part to copy the style of some foreign teacher or other, thus betraying the intensest ideal of conventionality. As for the attention of the ordinary promenader, that is fixed on it by this very confession of foreign impulse more securely than would be possible by any proof of American originality, and also by a little intestine battle of the present year; the members have begun to quarrel with the arrangement made by the hanging committee of their own choice, and three of them, preferring a scandal to dignity, have withdrawn their contributions and explained their grievances elaborately to reporters.

The pupils from France and the pupils from Germany are again drawn face to face in battle array. The Germanic painters, with their showy tricks caught from Piloty and Makart and Lindenschmidt, undoubtedly carry the day with the more impressionable part of the public. In opposition to them the work of the Parisians, based on structural analysis, and rejecting all color that is merely a superficial adornment and is not based on the conditions of the scene, inspire more confidence and beget a better hope for the future. Among the latter, John S. Sargent, whom many look very keenly at as the coming American painter, sends a little picture that does not belie the expectations raised by his radiant group of sea-side *Cancalais* in last year's exhibition. The present envoy is a graceful Capri girl (37), with her Greek pedigree delicately asserted in her posture and her beauty. The figure is set mosaic-wise, without any contrast of values, in an island landscape. The strangest and leanest of olive-trunks, pulling themselves this way and that in an apparent struggle to become grapevines, gad about over the whole panel with a decorative wilfulness and originality that would please a Japanese designer; on one of them, half-accepting its support, half-caught in its toils, the dark-skinned peasant leans. The color is rich, subdued, harmonious, and the drawing securely easy. The picture, which might be signed Hébert without much danger of detection, seems like a frank confession of the mood of creative joy out of which it proceeds. Few youths, indeed, have the chance of imbibing happiness through the cultivation of so many of the senses as Mr. Sargent, whose life has passed in choosing out the most favored countries to grow up in. In music, he is a theorist and a practitioner of more than common profundity. He talks the different languages of Europe, and has kept up his Latin and Greek. He reads everything, and in the studio is treated as a comrade by M. Carolus-Duran, who is indeed something less than the equal of his precocious pupil; in the large ceiling decoration of the "Triumph of Marie de Médicis," which M. Carolus exhibited last year, he introduced among the groups a portrait of his foremost disciple, who had assisted in the work even to the painting in of entire figures; while Mr. Sargent placed on the canvas a likeness of his instructor beside his own. Social and educational advantages, as Sir Frederick Leighton has begun to prove in his own case, do not necessarily lead to dilettantism in art; the old Count D'Orsay kind of dictatorship in elegance is forbidden by the more studious habit of the present age, and there is no reason why a painter who is a gentleman and a student should not succeed in conveying felicities into his work out of the serene air in which he lives. Mr. Sargent's "Capriote" is merely one of his cabinet pictures; but it has in it no touch that contradicts the impression of power and grace which his successive achievements have conveyed.

If one painter may hope to get inspiration out of a courtly Mirandola-like adolescence, another may hope to derive something solid from a youth passed among the exact sciences. Professor Eakins, so far as he is an artist, proceeds from the exact photographic realism of Gérôme, modified by the robust realism of Bonnat, who paints his figures so solid that you seem to see all around them. He, too, plays with languages. He has opinions on the various readings of Dante, and makes pastime of mathematics. When he wishes to draw the ripple of a river for a boating subject, he protracts a set of waves on a paper in theoretical perspective, and lays out on each facet the shape of the reflected object which it would properly send off to the eye. Disguising the formality of this process by a sufficient quantity of variations, he paints from his diagram, secure that nobody will ever deny that his river is flat. His classes are coached through the difficulties of anatomy by an accumulation of illustrations not probably approached in any school in Europe. While a prosector lifts up a given muscle in the dead body upon the dissecting-table, a nude model is made to exhibit the same muscle in prominence by its being shocked from an electric battery. A third exhibition of the muscle is made on one of Auzoux's detachable manikins; a fourth upon Houdon's anatomical figure; a fifth upon the most suitable among the antique statues, of which he has painted some of the slenderer ones—like the Fighting Gladiator and Jason—into a map-work of red muscles and white tendons. Not much confusion can henceforth exist about that detail in the mind of the pupil thus made to see its ideal shape in the antique, its vital energy in the life model, and its reality in the dissection. With all this patience in laying up facts, it is to be seen whether the artist has the artistic faculty to apply them. He sends to the exhibition a kind of challenge to Rembrandt, a modern "Anatomy Lesson." The subject, however, is evidently living, from the chloroformed towel which conceals the head, and from the anguish of the old mother who covers her eyes in a corner; otherwise, it is simply a contemporary Dr. Tulp, explaining the secrets discovered by his scalpel to an audience of respectful pupils. The picture, ordered for Jefferson Medical College by a body of its alumni, and representing Dr. Gross in the familiar working attitude in which he had earned the reverence of his class, is no more amenable to questions of mere taste than Rembrandt's is. Rembrandt's has been removed from considerations of conventionality by the remoteness of its period and the interest of its art, and this may be held to be so removed by the remoteness of its destination in a college and the technical partiality of its future spectators. There can be no great harm in letting it be seen for a space, in an exhibition especially technical, as it passes on its way to the collegiate museum it is destined to remain in. The picture's scale is that of life, and at least twenty figures are included, the subordinate ones well subdued, though all connected with the central action by the most vivid expression of interest. The effect of the aged and quiet professor, in a sharp perpendicular light, as he demonstrates very calmly with a gesture of his reddened fingers, is intensely dramatic. Equally so is that of the horror-stricken mother, in decent and seedy dress of ceremony, overcome by a sudden horror which scatters ceremony to the winds. These two figures, telling by their contrast of professional habitude and unaccustomed terror, are relieved with great constructive skill from the accessory groups, massed together by ingenious combinations or devices of shadow. Few professors have got themselves painted in so interesting a presentment for posterity. A tendency to blackness in the flesh-shades is the principal artistic infelicity in this curious and learned work.

Mr. Duveneck seems to be the strongest of the youths studying at Munich. His "Lady with Fan," showing a cheek from which the blood would spurt at a pin-prick, contains the best morsel of flesh-painting in the exhibition, and one that would be owned by Van der Helst or Reynolds; it is a detail of well-cared-for success, set in a bold, rude sketch also meritorious. This carrying out of a part and leaving the rest in the "powerful" state can only be accepted as evidence of local weakness; the artist would very surely bear on his work to perfection if he was sure he could transmute the vigorous sketch into vigorous completeness. Mr. Duveneck's other pictures are a "Gertrude," a watchful and voluptuous matron sitting like Hamlet's mother at the play, and painted with power inferior only to the last, and a "Smoking Boy," one of those happy-go-lucky dashes at effect which are so deeply unsatisfactory because they show nervous effort instead of effort controlled. Mr. Wm. M. Chase exhibits a series painted with splendid sketching power, and an incorrigible addiction to turning all sorts of themes into "still-life" and bric-à-brac. The "Landscape" (15) is strong and pulpy, and conveys perfectly the unctuous richness of unfathomable black mould; but, though it may seem hypercritical, we must insist that the turf does not look like a growing turf, but like some rich, dead-lustred stuff in a "still-life." The old man who postures in the Venice church, amid an assortment of most gloriously variegated marbles, is not a figure with whose history the painter sympathizes, but is a "bit" and an object of virtù. The portrait of Mr. F. S. Church is simply an athletic effort to "paint down" the obtrusive bosses of a Munich frame, a fearful piece of Bavarian pastry full of lumps and puffs; we have heard even dull spectators constrained to be witty about the forced juxtaposition of dumplings and noodles in this picture. Again, in the likeness of Duveneck, where the subject is treated with all that the artist has of sympathy, and where there is a chair painted with a simplicity and a breadth that make it a picture and would have gratified Velasquez, the subject's blonde face looks round the angle with a slightly lost air, and seems to ask if it too is regarded by the eye of friendship as bric-à-brac. Mr. Currier is represented by two pictures, in which he is shown as deeply inebriated with Franz Hals as ever. The "Scowling Boy," though more interesting than the "Portrait," surely scowls through patches of dirt that are quite involuntary on his author's part, and are meant for "vigor." The "Scowling Boy," as well as Prof. Eakin's "Clinic," was very admirably sketched the other day by the *Graphic* newspaper in the course of some illustrations of the exhibition.

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The Nation.

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The Week.

THE majority in Congress have for good reasons been slow in getting to work upon the business of the session. In the first place, they are divided among themselves as to what the business should be, and whether an early adjournment is desirable or not. Then, as regards the cause of the extra session, the Democratic ascendency in the House is too feeble to make compromise out of the question; and it is clear that the objectionable riders of the two appropriation bills are only kept from being removed and introduced separately on their own merits, by consideration of the delays which the President might lawfully interpose in vetoing them. Sickness and death or other probable accident; the opportunity for bartering votes against the repeal of the Federal election statutes for votes in favor of general measures that would prolong the session; and finally the temptation to defection constantly offered by the little knot of Greenbackers, admonish the House Democrats to use their power with moderation. Mr. Springer has appeared to be most impressed with the uncertainty of their situation, and has carried the caucus with him so far as to agree to conceding to the Republicans Federal supervisors of elections, clothed simply with authority to witness and make note of the transactions at the polls. In the Senate the Democrats not only have a firmer control but feel it, and are elated, too, by what is to them a wholly new sensation. They have reconstituted the standing committees, with the liberal gift of twenty chairmanships to as many of the thirty Southerners among them, and have replaced the secretary, chief clerk, executive clerk, and sergeant-at-arms, all old or hereditary functionaries, with Democrats in good and regular standing. Moreover, they have, under the lead of Mr. Wallace, tabled a resolution of Mr. Edmunds's to limit the session to the objects for which it was called, and have introduced bills of all sorts as if in regular session. But, for that matter, so have the Republicans; Mr. Burnside, for instance, having put in his bill to reorganize the Army.

The debate over the appointment of the new officers in the Senate was very entertaining. The Democrats were intent on making a clean sweep and made it. Mr. Wallace spoke for them briefly, expressing great concern for the proper despatch of the Senate business, but adding that they had persons abundantly qualified to fill the vacant places, and were going to put them in. Mr. Bayard spoke highly of civil-service reform in the abstract, but seemed to think that the Republican officers were not entitled to the benefit of it. The best of the joke, however, came when Senator Conkling arose, and with great warmth protested against putting men in office for party reasons, and advocated the retention of actual incumbents as long as they were faithful and competent. His friends say that this "effort" was a wonderful display of logic, eloquence, and "elocutionary grace," but, strange to say, it produced no effect whatever on the obdurate Democrats; in fact, some of them wickedly smiled.

The main fight was over the Secretaryship of the Senate, which has been filled by a Mr. Burch in place of Mr. Gorham, the Secretary of the Republican Executive Committee. There was no denying Mr. Gorham's activity as a partisan; all that could be said in his defence on that score was that he did not allow this activity to interfere with the proper discharge of the duties of his office. This may be, and doubtless was, true, but it does not cover the case, which illustrates in a striking manner the propriety of Mr. Hayes's famous civil-service order, from which he afterwards weakly retreated. Mr. Gorham has been a very violent "worker." He issued a circular last year calling for contributions from office-holders to the campaign fund, in evasion of the law. He refused to distribute the speeches of Mr. Schurz and that of the President on the all-important question of the currency, on the ground that they did not contain enough abuse of the Democrats to please him. In the circular in which he called for contributions from office-holders he declared that the next Senate would be Democratic, and that foremost among their schemes "the majority announced their intention to attempt the revolutionary expulsion of the President," by means of the Potter Committee. Now, this may have been all true, but it is expecting too much of human nature to expect the Democrats in the Senate to take no notice of it when they come into power. When the Collector of this port, or the Surveyor, or other officer, in like manner takes the stump in a Presidential campaign, and describes the opposition candidate, as Mr. Tilden was described in 1876, as a cheat, railroad-wrecker, and defrauder of the Government, and the opposition candidate is elected, it is useless to expect him to be such a magnanimous reformer as to refrain from dismissing the men who have shown him such outrageous disrespect. More than this, he ought not to retain them, because he cannot expect them to desire the success of his administration or to speak in praise or defence of it. All officers, therefore, who expect to serve the Government, whichever party may be in power, ought to keep out of active participation in the canvass. Mr. Gorham has participated in the canvass in a peculiarly offensive manner, and, much as we desire to see permanence in office—nay, because we desire to see it—we think the Democrats did a good thing in getting rid of him.

The Senate indulged in another debate over a resolution of Mr. Wallace's, calling for a detailed statement of the accounts of the U. S. Marshals employed during the last election in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, and Maryland. Mr. Conkling succeeded in getting this amended so as to include all the States not enumerated, on condition of precedence being given to the first-named. In the House the chief event has been the admission of Representative Hull from Florida, who bore the Governor's certificate, over the Republican contestant, Bisbee, to whom the re-count ordered by the Supreme Court fairly gave the election. The good old Democratic doctrine of standing by the returns would here have had its inconvenience; so the party fell back on the safer principle laid down by the Electoral Commission, and refused to go behind the certificate. The final vote was interesting—140 yeas and 137 nays. Of the fourteen Greenbackers one only voted with the Democrats in this instance, the rest with the Republicans.

A committee of the New York Assembly has been investigating at Kingston the bull-dozing practised at the last town election, for which one would have to seek a parallel at the South. Indeed there is a remarkable resemblance between the Kingston outrages and those in the Louisiana parish of Plaquemine in 1844, which we lately described. The town is a small one, but little exceeding 4,000 in population, and consists in large measure of Irish quarrymen and their families, who have readily become the tools of a ring which has been shamefully plundering the taxpayers. In 1876 the attempt to raise a Republican campaign-banner in an Irish quarter was met with bloodshed and had to be abandoned. This year a union of the taxpayers was effected with a view to shaking off the ring and rescuing the finances of the town; and the better to concentrate the respectable class of voters and guard against fraud at the polls, a law was procured authorizing one instead of five polling-places. This appears to have made matters worse instead of better, for the ruffianly element established the poll in "Mackerelville," took early possession of it, and surrounded it with a dense mob which admitted only Democratic voters, and shockingly maltreated

honest citizens who persisted in trying to reach the ballot-boxes, or who could not restrain their denunciation of the villanous manœuvre. The sheriff of Ulster County was on the scene, but would or could do nothing. Justice O'Conners, a Democratic inspector, opened the ballots at pleasure and occasionally tore them up and rejected them. When he and a brother justice, with the aid of the sheriff, counted the returns, they sometimes found several ballots folded together, which they laid aside "under the candlestick" until it could be seen how the vote would turn out. Of course the ring ticket was successful. What will come of the investigation remains to be seen.

The annual report of the N. Y. State Assessors, submitted to the Senate last month, contains a great mass of facts bearing on the system of taxation in this State, which show that the glaring inequalities and injustices so frequently exposed before continue unchanged. The valuations of each county are determined by the local authorities, some of them (particularly in the large towns) putting them at their market value, or nearly that, others putting them at any figure that may strike their fancy. The result is that "to make a perfectly equal distribution of valuations of real estate, as real estate is now assessed in the several counties, is an utter impossibility." Add to this that personal property, nominally always taxed at its full value, in a large majority of cases escapes altogether, and there is reason enough to complain of the system. Some of the results of it are quite amusing. In Rochester and in Utica, with a population of 100,000, the assessment of personal property to individuals was in 1872 "not equal to the assessment of two widows in Batavia," and the whole assessment was $521,000 *less than the bank capital.* In Utica again, in 1877, while the increase in assessed value of real estate from 1872 to 1877 was over $15,000,000, the personal property had increased only $1,473,550, a state of facts which would go far to show that those investigators of economic phenomena who maintain that "real estate" goes on steadily holding its own amid the general wreck and shrinkage of all other forms of wealth, are right after all. Another peculiar thing, however, about Utica in 1877 was the fact that there were only sixty-seven persons assessed for personal property in the entire town. Some towns show the most surprising and gratifying growth in wealth in times of profound depression—for instance, New Hartford (population 4,307). In 1872 this little town had only $32,800 personal property; in 1876 it could boast $700,000, notwithstanding that Verona, with a larger population, in 1877 had only $12,850. The State Assessors recommend, as everybody who has investigated the subject for the last ten years has agreed in recommending, a total change of system—the abandonment of the personal property tax.

Last Wednesday the case of the Police Commissioners came up before Mayor Cooper. The Commissioners appeared, but with their counsel, and the proceedings were opened by the Mayor's requesting from Mr. Erhardt a reply to the charges contained in his letter of March 14. Mr. Erhardt immediately read a document which among lawyers would be termed a plea to the jurisdiction, setting forth that his term of office has expired, and he is merely holding over, and that he cannot be removed summarily. This defence the Mayor overruled; whereupon Mr. Erhardt put in a second defence, consisting of a demand for charges and specifications of the misconduct in office for which it was proposed to remove him. After this ensued an examination of Mr. Erhardt by the Mayor, which finally ended by the former's refusing to answer any questions; upon which Mr. Cooper took up General Smith's case. An extraordinary scene now ensued; General Smith keeping silence, and his lawyers reading alternately in a loud voice their client's written answer to the charges. They were ordered to stop, and great confusion was caused, but they succeeded in reading the whole of it. The examination of Mr. Nichols resulted in nothing more definite than was obtained in the other two cases. The removal of the Commissioners appears to be decided upon, so far as the Mayor is concerned; but his action is of course, under the charter, subject to the approval of the Governor. The ground taken by the officials is that the right of a "hearing" guaranteed them by the charter amounts to a guarantee of a trial, as in the case of other accused persons. The Corporation Counsel, Mr. Whitney, has recently given the Mayor an opinion on the subject in which he denies the existence of any such right, chiefly on the ground that the Mayor in such a proceeding would have no power to administer oaths, and that there is no mode of procedure provided. This being the case, if attempted, such a trial "can only degenerate into a farce, for a trial without any known mode of procedure being made applicable to it by law is just what anybody may choose to make it."

The question whether the Mayor was right in allowing the Commissioners to have counsel or not is hardly a legal question. It is only by a powerful stretch of the imagination that the Mayor can be regarded as a court. He has no rules of procedure, no power of summoning witnesses, and no power of committal for contempt. Counsel, therefore, are hardly needed in any proceeding before him, unless it is a very long and complicated one, which the non-professional mind could not be expected to arrange or follow with clearness. The question whether Cherry Street has been recently cleaned, or, if not, why not, and whether gambling-houses are open in Barclay Street with the knowledge of the police, and, if so, why so, can hardly be said to be of that nature, or to require professional aid to answer on the part of the Commissioners. In fact, the proceeding appears to be on the part of the Mayor a purely executive one, intended in the main for the satisfaction of the Governor, and the subject-matter of the enquiry to be very simple. On the other hand, the Police Commissioners are officers so high placed and charged with so much responsibility that it can hardly tend to promote discipline in the force or promote public confidence in the Mayor's use of his discretion to turn them out neck and heels, as if they were delinquent porters in a store. They ought to have formal charges and specifications, and time to consider them and to collect evidence in their own defence; but most certainly, in so far as the trial is intended to satisfy the people of the city that they have done their duty, their own story would be worth ten speeches from counsel. If there be anything of which New-Yorkers are sick in all that relates to the government of the city it is "counsel." They have long been accustomed to see the punishment of outrageous offences on the part of officials made indefinitely remote by the appearance of "counsel" on the scene.

The Court of Appeals decided on Tuesday that the city must go on paying its share of the money for the completion of the Brooklyn Bridge. The expense of this wholly unnecessary litigation is part of the price we have to pay for the luxury of being governed by "Boss" Kelly, and is a good illustration of the results of "Boss" government. He chose to refuse to pay this money, as Comptroller, contrary to the plain language of the law and the advice of the Corporation Counsel, although the case was so clearly against him that the Supreme Court judges decided it without leaving the bench. Not content with this, he immediately appealed it to the Court of Appeals. With the view taken of these proceedings as a "move" to discipline Brooklyn Democrats who were suspected of "Tildenism," we have nothing to do. Whether the motive was bad or good, it brought out in a strong light the grotesque unfitness of Kelly for such a position as he holds. During the past year or two, since he got full control of the city government, he has been using his power in the old way, filling the offices with his creatures and dependents, without the remotest regard to their fitness (indeed his conception of an office-holder does not involve the idea of fitness), and has been getting the system into just that state which makes the production of new Tweeds and Sweenys merely a question of time. His behavior makes his present horror and indignation at Mayor Cooper's course, known as "Tilden's moves," peculiarly amusing. When a "boss" calls Tammany together to denounce the dangers with which we are

threatened by the "insatiate ambition of one man," it certainly implies an astonishing confidence in the perpetual gullibility of the public. We wish we could believe that there was any truth in the story that the Mayor intended to remove Kelly from his position as Comptroller.

The Surrogate's opinion in the Vanderbilt will case contains a careful review of the evidence on both sides, and is judicial in tone, though some of the remarks in the decision would probably make lawyers a little more sensitive than those engaged in attempting to break the will appear to be, wince. The evidence introduced by the contestants was offered to show—first, the unsoundness of the late "Commodore's" mind, as indicated and produced by a number of physical ailments; second, the impairment of his mind as indicated by his irrational behavior, and an alleged "monomania for wealth and fame"; third, an alleged fraud practised upon his father by William H. Vanderbilt respecting communications from the spirit of his dead wife; fourth, undue influence. The opinion proceeds to show that there was not the slightest evidence of undue influence or of insanity, and that the testimony with regard to the spiritual communications was of no weight; and to decide that as "it would be an unworthy affectation to pretend that, in the opinion of the court, there existed even a *primâ-facie* cause for the revocation of the probate of the instruments when the contestant rested," the will must consequently stand. The Surrogate very justly observes that the trial of this cause has excited a good deal of interest, "because there is a very deep solicitude on the part of all classes to know whether the will of such a man as the decedent was believed to have been could be successfully assailed; in short, whether any will could be made which would successfully resist the assaults of dissatisfied heirs and next of kin. . . . In fact, the right to make any testamentary disposition has been felt to be on trial in this proceeding." Decedents as a class, may, perhaps, give up the ghost less anxiously for this decision; but what will puzzle a good many simple-minded people will be to know why the case, if there was nothing in it, was permitted to remain on trial for months and months.

Archbishop Purcell has addressed to "his friends and the public" through the press an explanation of his present unfortunate financial position. He says that he began his episcopal life in Cincinnati so poor that he had to borrow $300 for his travelling expenses and those of his students and domestics. He then went on borrowing for "the many wants of a new diocese" until he had run up a debt of $1,000,000 "in equity," which, through compound interest he thinks, has now reached $3,600,000. He does not explain, however, why it is not "equitable" for the poor lenders to charge interest on interest which they did not draw, but left in his hands as a further loan. The uses to which he devoted the money were, substantially, the expenses of his diocese, including the maintenance of a theological seminary, in which he not only paid the salaries of the professors, but "fed, clothed, and educated the seminarians," and bought a library of sixteen thousand volumes, besides philosophical apparatus, built an orphan asylum, several churches and a cathedral. In fact, he seems to have done wonders with the means at his disposal, but he curiously enough makes no account of the fact that it was other people's money he was using and that they expected to get it back. He winds up with a piteous appeal to the public as an unfortunate "old missionary bishop whose race is nearly run." Catholics ought certainly to help him out of his difficulties, but there ought to be no more using of deposits for ecclesiastical purposes, and the archbishop must see that lay financiers are not such paltry fellows after all.

The financial event of the week was the suspension on Thursday, the 20th, of all the New Orleans banks, which kept open only for cash payments to the extent of $200 to each depositor. The suspension was resolved upon for the purpose of checking a panic that had arisen because of the failure of the Southern and the Mechanics and Traders' banks, each of these concerns having been brought down by the depreciation in New Orleans City bonds and Louisiana State bonds, which have fallen so heavily in the last few months. Immediately after suspension, currency was ordered from New York, where about $2,500,000 rested subject to New Orleans draft, and on Tuesday, the 25th, or five days previous to the date of resumption first proposed, the New Orleans banks reopened. For a short time the New York market was greatly excited, as it was known that the New York banks, whose surplus reserve had been reduced to less than $4,000,000, could not afford to spare a dollar. About $2,000,000 currency was shipped, but by reason of the gain in specie the bank statement of Saturday showed a slight increase in reserve. The rate for money advanced to sharp 7 per cent. and ruled at 6 to 7 per cent. for demand loans. The Secretary of the Treasury has given fresh promises that he will do all in his power to tide the New York banks over the April stringency. Already the few days of a 7 per cent. money market have driven down the price of 4 per cent. bonds to 99⅛ to 99¼ for coupons, and 98½ to 98¾ for registered, so that they can be bought in the market much cheaper than of the Treasury. All securities have fallen somewhat. Sterling exchange has declined, on account of money being so much higher here than in London, from 4.89½ to 4.85½ to 4.86 for demand bills. The London money market, although very easy at 1½ to 1¾ per cent., was somewhat unsettled late in the week by rumors of bank troubles. Silver early in the week fell to 48¾*d.* to 48⅝*d.*—the lowest price since our remonetization. The closing price was 49¼*d.* per ounce. The bullion value of the 412½-grain dollar was as low as $0.8217, but the close was $0.8295.

Mayor Cooper, it is announced, will receive subscriptions in aid of the sufferers by flood at Szegedin, in Hungary. The disaster occurred in the early morning of Wednesday, the 12th inst., when the swollen waters of the Theiss, on which this important commercial city stands, broke through the inner dikes that make a basin of Szegedin, and in an hour and a half converted it into a lake. The horrors of the situation were aggravated by a violent storm which raged for several days. Some sixty thousand people were rendered houseless and homeless, and sought safety in boats or in the loftier public buildings, or camped upon the principal dike along the river, which happily stood firm. It is estimated that nearly two thousand perished by drowning. Four-fifths of the houses were destroyed, mostly by the direct rush of the flood, and the total loss in property value is estimated at $7,500,000. Several other places higher up in the Theiss valley have shared the fate of Szegedin, in a less degree individually, but together reckoning perhaps as large a number of unfortunates. The survivors are behaving with great fortitude and self-respect, and all the more on this account their distress should appeal to the sympathies of the benevolent.

M. Léon Say's vindication of himself before the Assembly has been complete, and it absolved him by a heavy majority. This is, of course, a help to the Ministry, which has suffered much by its failure either to get rid of M. Marcère itself without suffering him to defend himself before the Chamber, or to make common cause with him when he did defend himself. But its troubles are not over, as M. Jules Ferry is just opening the great fight with the Clericals by the introduction of an Educational Bill, resuming for the state the exclusive right of granting degrees and virtually forbidding the Jesuits to teach in France, where they have twenty-seven colleges and eight hundred and forty-eight teachers. As M. Ferry is a sceptic who was married by civil process, and M. Waddington is a Protestant, the Cabinet will enter on this struggle under some serious disadvantages, and it will certainly be fierce and bitter. There is a growing feeling that it will not come through it unscathed, and that a real Gambetta Ministry is inevitable before long. The Tariff Committee has reported by 22 to 3 in favor of the renewal of the treaties of commerce, which is a victory for the free-traders.

THE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS.

THE action of the Democrats in caucus at Washington on Saturday leaves us in doubt whether it is intended to force the passage of the political measures upon which the two appropriation bills were made to depend in the last Congress, by adhering to them at all hazards, or whether a door is to be left open for retreat in case the President vetoes them. They have resolved to incorporate those measures—the repeal or modification of the Federal election law, and the proviso prohibiting the approach or presence of troops at the polls on election day—in the regular appropriation bills. They have a sufficient majority in each House to pass the bills in this shape. Do they intend thereupon to adjourn and put upon the President the necessity of approving something which he may be unable, consistently with his oath of office, to approve, under pain of losing the appropriation bills entirely? Or is there a mental reservation that after passing the bills they will wait and see what the President does, and determine their ultimate policy after they shall have learned his? These are serious questions, and it is not impossible that the next national election may turn in part upon the President's right to exercise his discretion and judgment upon all bills presented to him, without constraint or duress laid upon him by a co-ordinate branch of the Government.

It is rather late in the day for Republicans to protest against general legislation in appropriation bills. The mass of legislation enacted in this manner during the past twenty years, if it were segregated and published with the dates and titles of the acts in which it is found, would astonish everybody. Most commonly this method of passing new laws or changing old ones has been adopted for convenience merely, in order to save time and trouble in the press of business. Not infrequently, however, it has been resorted to by one house in order to coerce the other, or to put a pressure on the Executive. Hardly a session passes without some trick of legislation of this kind. In one notable instance the Republicans were guilty of the same offence against the Constitution to which the Democratic caucus now seems determined to commit the party. In 1867 Congress inserted in the Army Appropriation Bill a section prohibiting the President of the United States from issuing any order to any officer of the Army except through the General of the Army at his headquarters in Washington, prohibiting him from ordering or assigning the General of the Army to duty elsewhere than in Washington, and prohibiting any officer inferior to the General from obeying any order of the President not transmitted through that channel, under penalty of imprisonment not less than two nor more than twenty years. A bolder attempt to usurp the constitutional functions of the Executive could hardly be conceived. Yet it was successfully carried out. President Johnson signed the bill under protest two days before the expiration of the session, "lest by withholding his signature the necessary appropriation be defeated." The Stalwarts who voted for this bill, several of whom are still in the Senate, ought to preserve more than Roman gravity when the debate upon the mode of altering or repealing the Federal election law comes on.

What the political consequences might have been if President Johnson had vetoed this bill, or had "pocketed" it, as he had the right to do at that period of the session, can only be matter of conjecture. If the Army had been left without pay or rations very likely the country would have put the blame upon him, since he had no party to sustain him anywhere, and the people were then too intensely preoccupied with the question of Reconstruction to give much attention to mere methods of legislation. The case is widely different now. There is no question before the people at present of more importance or of greater general interest than that raised by the Democratic caucus. The assembling of Congress in extra session has served to fix public attention upon the reasons which led to the failure of the two appropriation bills a fortnight ago, so that men who commonly give small heed to what is going on at Washington if it does not affect their business, will be pretty sure to know what the commotion is about, and to form or borrow ideas as to the right or wrong of it. When Congress meets for a special and particular purpose it sits under a burning-glass. When there is only one measure to be considered—for there is practically only one that the country has any interest in—public attention is apt to concentrate upon it with rapidity and clearness. Hence the chances of committing a blunder and getting away unpunished are vastly less than they were when the Republicans "bull-dozed" President Johnson in 1867.

In a former article (the *Nation*, No. 713) we discussed the subject of legislative coercion as attempted to be exercised by one branch of Congress upon the other, showing that the privilege of independent judgment on the part of each house upon all bills is the essential feature which, in these latter days, distinguishes us from the parliamentary governments of Western Europe, where the popular branch is vastly more powerful than any other member of the body politic. The same remarks are equally applicable to the Executive. He is a part of the law-making power of the United States, and in the line of his prescribed duty cannot be overridden or ignored any more than the Senate or the House. Any party or faction which seeks to put an extinguisher upon him in the way proposed by the more hot-headed members of the Democratic caucus is really bringing forward an innovation of so serious a character that it may be termed revolutionary. The Democratic party is in no position to incur such a charge. If ever a party was on its good behavior the Democratic party is now in that category. It has been entrusted with full legislative power, except as modified by the veto of the Executive, for the first time in nearly twenty years. There are many misgivings on the part of those persons wielding the balance of power who actively or tacitly consented to bring about this result. Their motive in nine cases out of ten was to put the Republican party on the stool of repentance rather than to lift the Democrats into the places of authority. The experiment has not given them unbounded satisfaction. They have seen the bulk of the party madly supporting schemes for debasing the currency and impairing the public credit. It has been proved that the majority of them have no principles which they are not ready to barter for some *ignis fatuus* that resembles success. Such a party, existing by the sufferance rather than the set purpose of the electors, is in no condition to carry extra weight. It has no prestige to fall back upon. The present generation knows it only as the ally of slavery and the open or secret sympathizer with the rebellion. There are a hundred reasons why it cannot safely do what the Republicans did in the case of Andrew Johnson.

To repeal the Federal election law is one thing; to disband the courts and the departments for want of funds is another thing. To prohibit the presence of troops at or near the polls on election day we may concede to be a proper thing to do, although the danger of military usurpation and menace under existing laws is not overpowering. To leave the Army without pay or ammunition, and the Indian frontier unprotected, would be a crime not to be forgiven. While hunting an issue for the next campaign let the party leaders beware lest they start a fiercer one than they were looking for. If the President exercises his lawful discretion to approve or disapprove every measure laid before him, as he probably will, and if in so doing he vetoes an appropriation bill necessary for carrying on the Government, the responsibility for consequences will fall upon those who shall have exceeded their constitutional rights and sought to exercise powers never confided to them. When conflicts arise between Congress and the Executive, the people are prone to side with the latter, unless very good reasons can be shown to the contrary. Even after the great dispute with Andrew Johnson the Republicans came back with a loss of fifteen seats in the House, which is more than the Democrats can afford to lose now. Their worst enemy could not devise a more dangerous pitfall than their own caucus seems to be preparing for them.

THE PLIGHT OF THE ENGLISH FARMERS.

THE English papers have now for nearly a year been containing doleful accounts of the condition of the English farmers. In an article on the agricultural depression in a late number of the *Fort-*

nightly Review, by Mr. W. E. Bear, one of the best authorities in England on farming matters, he gives the result of enquiries made by him as to the condition of agriculture in thirty-nine counties, and the accounts from all are almost as gloomy as possible. In nearly all of them the farmers are described as losing money and heart; the land as declining in quality, and in many counties as going out of cultivation for want of people willing to work it as tenants. In fact, the only county from which cheering accounts were received was Lancashire. In the stock-raising and dairy districts the state of things was not quite as bad as in the grain-growing regions, but it was bad in all. What makes the crisis all the worse is that it has been approaching gradually for ten years. That is, there have not since 1868 been two good seasons in succession, and the last three crops have been decidedly bad, and have been bad without raising prices. Rents, too, which were settled in leases made more than ten years ago, are exorbitantly high for these times. Laborers' wages, owing to their newly-acquired art of combining like the mechanics in the towns, have within ten years risen from twenty to forty per cent. The best cheese, which even five years ago used to bring $16 per cwt., now, owing to American competition, brings only $11, and the poorer cheese, which used to bring $12, is now worth at most only $7, and is for the most part unsalable. To crown all, the importation of foreign, and particularly American, cattle and meat, has begun to weigh heavily upon the only class of farmers who have thus far been able to keep their heads above water—the stock-breeders. The supply of cattle and meat from the United States and Canada is only just beginning, and is thought likely to increase enormously. Poultry, eggs, hay, and straw are, owing to the improvements in the means of communication, pouring in from the Continent in quantities never dreamed of until now. India, too, is becoming a great wheat-producing country. The importation in 1877 was large, and as the supply of wheat-land in that region is practically unlimited, and also the supply of cheap labor, there is no reason why it should not increase steadily for years to come. The improved and extended railroad communication in Rumania, Hungary, and Russia, and Turkey in Europe, of course all goes to increase the competition in grain with which the British farmer has to contend in Europe. From America he does not fear so much in this field. He produces 29½ bushels to the acre against 12 in the United States, and, adding to this the cost of transportation, he calculates that he has a natural protection against the American farmer of $8 an acre, and that he need not fear him as long as the latter cannot as a regular thing deliver wheat in Liverpool at $8 the quarter. It is in cattle, meat, and dairy products that the English farmer now most fears the United States, and it is India he most fears in wheat, as regards the future; but as to the former he is probably mistaken, as it is being discovered at the West that there are enormous wheat-producing areas which have until now not been supposed capable of producing anything.

But the fact seems to be that, whatever the future may have in store for British agriculture in general, there is little chance of any recovery that will come in time to save the present generation of farmers, or save the present agricultural régime. The change which the altered economical conditions of farming in England seem likely to bring about will not only be agricultural but social and political. In spite of all recent modifications the Government of England is to a large extent carried on still by the landholders. Neither the number of the landholders nor the rental of the estates affords an adequate idea of the enormous amount of money which has been invested in land, even by the commercial class, since the passage of the Reform Bill. It is safe to say that within that period few great fortunes have been made in trade, in mining, or manufacturing, of which the larger portion, or at all events a very large portion, has not been put into landed estates. The result has been to raise the price of the fee so much in relation to the rental that it is calculated that it does not now pay over one and a half per cent. on cost or on market value, and did not, even in the prosperous times of a few years ago, pay over two per cent. Nevertheless, the farmers now declare themselves unable to pay their rents; and that they speak truly is proved by the rapidly-increasing number of bankruptcies among them, by the growing difficulty of renting farms at all, and by the growing amount of land which is going out of cultivation. If the payment of one and a half per cent. on the cost of the fee is an intolerable burden, it serves to give an idea of the attractions land has had in England apart from its commercial returns. This value has lain in the social and political weight which the ownership of it has carried with it. The possession of it in fee has put a man in the highest class of society, has given him a prominent share in local government, has increased his chances of a seat in the House of Commons, and, what is perhaps sweeter than all, has surrounded him with a body of respectable dependents in the shape of tenants, each of whom is a sign of his social eminence. Anything which altered the position of this class in England would greatly change the whole political fabric, and any increased difficulty in letting land or any great alteration in the conditions on which it was let would undoubtedly change it; in other words, the disappearance of the country gentleman from English politics and local government, whether a change for the better or the worse, would be a serious change.

Then, too, the farmers have long been—indeed, have been since 1688—the bone and sinew of the Tory party. Without the support it gets from the counties it would not now be able to make a show of existing. So steadfast is this support that even the acquiescence of the party in the policy of free-trade, when protection meant in the main high duties on foreign grain, did not alienate it. And the farmers are good Conservatives largely as a matter of fidelity or good neighborship towards their landlords. The landlords gone, or their influence destroyed, and the cultivators of the soil would be as liable to be swept by the wilder winds of politics as the artisans in the boroughs. But if enough rent cannot be got out of land to pay one and a half per cent. on the purchase money of the fee, of course the landlords must go or else their relations with the actual tillers of the soil must completely change. When owners of land have to go in pursuit of tenants, tenant-farming cannot last very long.

It seems, indeed, all but certain that the fate which long since overtook land-owners in the Eastern States of the Union is at last overtaking those of England. The enormous quantity of cheap fertile land which steam has brought and is bringing into competition with that of the older communities, has made it impossible for land in any of the Eastern States, even in the neighborhood of the great towns, to do more than support the person who works it, and that in a very plain way. It is no exaggeration to say that little, if any, land east of the Alleghenies will now enable a farmer to maintain himself and his family decently and pay rent besides. In New England it has been found that farmers cannot live, even without paying rent, and keep up even the standard of living to which their grandfathers were accustomed; and the farms of that region are rapidly passing into the hands of Irish and Germans, who are willing to work the land more distinctly in the character of peasants. During the last forty years the English farmers have considerably raised their standard of living. The accession to their ranks of large numbers of men with capital, and the general adoption of scientific husbandry, has carried them distinctly, in dress, furniture, tastes, and habits, towards the gentry, and greatly increased the living expenses which have to be got off the land before it can begin to pay rent or interest on the money invested in machinery and manures. This rise in the standard of living has, of course, done much to aggravate the severity of the present crisis. It would not be surprising, therefore, if there was in the next generation of English farmers a distinct return towards the peasant type. In fact, the history of agriculture in the most as well as the least prosperous parts of the world lends strong support to the view that on the whole the farmer cannot anywhere rise much, if any, above the French and Belgian type, and that the land will not yield permanently the means of sharing in the elegances of life, or with much keenness in its intellectual movements.

HOW PARIS IS GOVERNED.—III.

PARIS, March 7, 1879.

WHEN I began my letter on Municipal Paris I little expected that the question of the Prefecture of Police would become so soon a political question. I intended to give you a calm survey of the organization of the French capital; and now it has just happened that the Radicals have made of this delicate matter, the police of Paris, the entering-wedge on the Conservative Republic. They have succeeded so far as to upset the Prefect of Police, M. Gigot, and the Home Minister, M. de Marcère; and their leader in the Chamber of Deputies, M. Clémenceau, has nearly upset the whole Cabinet. He has become the man of the day; he is dreaded, he is admired, he is photographed.

The battle, however, is only just begun, and President Grévy is probably not disposed to give up the rules which have always been observed in the administration of Paris. As my object is to describe these rules, I can do no better than to translate a decree of M. Grévy's of the 18th February, 1879. It is thus worded, and will serve as a type of many presidential decrees:

"*The President of the French Republic:*

"On the proposition of the Home Minister, considering the law of April 14, 1871 [the municipal law passed by the National Assembly]; considering the deliberation dated February 1, 1879, by which the Municipal Council of Paris, taking occasion of declarations of the Prefect of Police concerning the members of his administration, vindicates the right to exercise direct control of the services of the Prefecture of Police, services which it calls essentially municipal;

"Considering that in accordance with the terms of Article I. of the *arrêté* of the consuls of Messidor 12, year viii., which defines the functions of the Prefect of Police, this magistrate fills this office in matters of general police as well as of municipal police under the immediate authority of the ministers, and corresponds directly with them touching the objects which concern their respective departments; considering that the functions of Prefect of Police extend not only to the City of Paris, but also to all the communes of the department of the Seine, and to some communes of the department of Seine-et-Oise;

"In consequence, in claiming a right of direct control over the Prefecture of Police which is not recognized by law, the Municipal Council having exceeded the limit of its attributions, and its deliberation falling under the application of Article XIV. of the law of April 19, 1871;

"The President decrees:

"Article I. The deliberation of the Municipal Council of Paris of February 1, 1879, is declared null;

"Article II. The Home Minister is charged with the execution of the present decree."

This form of a presidential decree will show you that we have an arsenal of laws into which we can plunge our hand; we use daily the decrees of the consuls; Messidor and Fructidor are names heard constantly at the law-courts. Under all our governments, Directory, Empire, Restoration, Second Empire, etc., the principles of the municipal government of Paris have been essentially the same. The Prefect of the Seine and the Prefect of Police have been considered as *Imperial* officers, placed under the direct control of the Cabinet ministers.

The battle which is now beginning on this question is one which may be of long duration. What the radicals really want is to have the government of Paris in their own hands, but it is not with any municipal view; they intend to govern France by means of Paris; they would bring the Chambers back to Paris, have what we call manifestations, give arms to the old battalions of the Commune. If all this could happen, they would not be the masters of Paris only, they would be the masters of the Government. The partisans of a very independent municipal government would be very much mistaken if they applied their theories to Paris. The Commune, the free Commune, which is the dream of M. Clémenceau, is not the quiet, law-abiding little community which philanthropists may dream of; it is the huge revolutionary Commune of the first Revolution, with its clubs, its armed sections. For the present the Government has maintained its principles, while it has sacrificed those who represented those principles at the Prefecture of Police. All the prefects to whom M. Gigot's place has been offered made it a condition that they should receive their orders from the Minister of the Interior and from the Minister of Justice, not from the Municipal Council. Two of them have distinctly refused the post because too much had already been done for the Municipal Council. M. Andrieux, the new Prefect of Police, is said to be an energetic man. He will probably try, at any rate, to get rid of the interference of the Municipal Councillors; but it must be confessed that the movement, to use a French word, which began after the downfall of the Broglie Cabinet is a dangerous one, as far as the Administration is concerned. Parliamentary committees of enquiry may be very useful in matters of political economy, etc.; when these committees interfere with the public administrations they destroy the respect due to hierarchy, they encourage denunciations, they unnerve authority, they favor intrigue. The parliamentary committee which has been sitting now for more than a year on the conduct of the Ministers of the 16th of May has travelled all over France with the pomp and circumstance which belongs in this country to the executive power. The members of this committee have summoned thousands of witnesses, have received thousands of denunciations, have frightened the whole army of public functionaries. Some men have been employed for a whole year in reading and deciphering all the telegraphic despatches of the period of the 16th of May. The report of this committee will soon be placed before the Chambers. I doubt, for my part, if the discoveries which the committee have made will be found very interesting, and if the good produced by this investigation, made by men untrained and liable to be carried away by political passion, will balance the great evil which is produced by a complete perturbation of our very quiet and on the whole very honorable administrative world.

This fashion of inquests has extended to the subject of the police. Some bad characters, turned out of the administration of the police, have written anonymous letters to the *Lanterne*, the journal which Henri Rochefort still edits from Geneva. "Un vieux petit employé" denounced the abuses of our police, the treatment of prisoners, the Bonapartist tendencies of many of the important men of this administration. The Prefect was so much moved by this attack that he got a parliamentary committee appointed, and charged this committee with the mission of making an enquiry. He thus confessed that he was not able to make the enquiry himself. It was curious to find on the committee names of old Republicans who had been conspiring almost all their life and been at war with the police; they now became the judges of their old enemies, and it cannot be much wondered at that the inquest completely failed; all the witnesses summoned said that they were bound by their professional duties, that they did not think themselves justified in revealing secrets which they had always considered it their duty to keep. The police *commissaires* of Paris and their chiefs were willing to give information about the general rules of their administration; they refused, and they refused very justly, to give names, to explain individual cases, to enter into the examination of private affairs which interested the committee particularly.

The Chamber of Deputies is not a court of justice; it was in the power of the National Assembly, which for a time had all the functions of the state in its hand, to institute committees of this sort and to act as a judiciary body. In ordinary times we do not concede such a power to the Chamber; when the ministers are impeached the Constitution gives the Senate the right to judge them. The Deputies, however, who formed M. Gigot's committee became very angry when they could get nothing from the police. They resigned their functions, and this incident was the beginning of the crisis which has ended in the resignation of M. de Marcère, and which threatened at one time to end in the resignation of the whole Cabinet. For the present nothing is changed in the administration of Paris. Some of the best men of our police department have resigned, but the Prefect has kept his attributions and has remained theoretically independent of the Municipal Council.

If I might make a résumé of what I have said so far of the administration of Paris, I would say that Paris has in fact a dualistic government; it has two mayors, called prefects, the Prefect of Police and the Prefect of the Seine. The Prefect of the Police, who is not concerned with the police alone, as I have shown in giving the attributions of the various bureaux of his prefecture, is in daily relations with the President of the Republic, with the Minister of Justice, and with the Minister of the Interior. He is responsible for the peace and good order of the city, but he is also responsible for the execution of all the decrees of the courts of justice; he is in reality a member of the judiciary power as much as a member of the executive power, or he is rather the *trait d'union* between them. His functions are consequently of a particularly delicate character, and their importance can hardly be overvalued. Everything comes to him through the police: the rumors of the great capital, the hidden scandals of political societies, the scandals of the large foreign population of Paris, a population which sometimes contains many important personages. He must sift all this information, and give a constant daily résumé of it to the Home Minister and the Head of the State. He is one of the most important agents of a Government which must perforce remain centralized. As for the Prefect of the Seine, he is in daily communication with the Municipal Council. He presides over its sittings,

he takes part in all its discussions, but as soon as the Council transgresses the limits fixed for its prerogatives by the law he is bound to advise the Home Minister of this infraction, and he can have the illegal deliberations annulled. He is looked upon by the Council as a sort of tyrant, and he ought, nevertheless, to be on good terms with the Council. He is, fortunately, very well supported by what I have called the technical administrators. These men are with him, behind him, always give him the best advice; they are men whom the Council cannot but respect, as they are all well-trained and considerable men.

In my next letter I will enter into those technical services, and begin with the schools of Paris.

Notes.

ROBERT CLARKE & CO., Cincinnati, publish immediately 'The Secret of the Andes,' a romance by F. Hassaurek, formerly U. S. Minister to Ecuador, and author of a very readable work on that country.——Little, Brown & Co., Boston, have in press the 'Memoir and Writings of Benjamin Robbins Curtis, LL.D.,' edited by his son, Benjamin R. Curtis. The first volume will contain the memoir, with which will be printed for the first time Judge Curtis's correspondence with Chief-Justice Taney in relation to the Dred Scott decision. In other respects also the work will be a remarkable one.——A copy of the first American genealogy, entitled the 'Family of Mr. Samuel Stebbins and Mrs. Hannah Stebbins his wife,' one of the two known remaining copies, brought $30 in the late sale of the Brinley Collection. This work was printed in Hartford in 1771, and is about to be reprinted by the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, in a facsimile edition of one hundred copies.——Charles Scribner's Sons have reprinted the useful little book by C. F. Keary, called 'The Dawn of History.' The typography is not very attractive, and in copying page for page even the obvious verbal blunders we pointed out in our review of the book (*Nation*, No. 685) have been retained. On the other hand, an index is now added.——Mrs. Kate N. Doggett's translation of Charles Blanc's 'Grammar of Painting and Engraving,' originally published in 1873–4 by Hurd & Houghton, comes to us now in a still handsome third edition, bearing the imprint of S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago. It is a work to be praised in itself and as a translation; but it should be remembered that it is only the third book of the original work.——G. P. Putnam's Sons' "Economic Monographs," which, with a more attractive title and less restrictive scope, would fairly represent the German *Zeit- und Streit-Fragen* to which we alluded last week, have just received the following additions: 'Honest Money and Labor,' by Carl Schurz; 'National Banking,' by M. L. Scudder, Jr.; 'Hindrances to Prosperity,' by Simon Sterne; 'International Copyright,' by Geo. Haven Putnam; and 'Free-Trade,' by C. L. Brace.——Prof. C. E. Norton's annotated 'List of the Principal Books relating to the Life and Works of Michael Angelo'; and Mr. Justin Winsor's '*Pietas et Gratulatio*,' a local bit of antiquarianism, constitute Nos. 3 and 4 of the "Bibliographical Contributions" of Harvard University Library.——Houghton, Osgood & Co. send us their well-approved 'Satchel Guide for the Vacation Tourist in Europe,' revised to February 15, 1879.——The Harvard Summer School of Geology begins its first course this year in Cambridge, July 7, and ends at Catskill, N.Y., August 15. A matron accompanies it for the benefit of lady students. Twelve students must constitute the school, and the tuition fee is $25. Mr. W. M. Davis, jr., 15 Sumner St., Cambridge, should be addressed in regard to it. Prof. N. S. Shaler will direct the second course, which will give field-training to men in connection with the Kentucky Geological Survey. Prof. Shaler's address is Cambridge. The fee is the same as above, and the term from June 15 to September 15.——The *Portfolio* for 1879 (J. W. Bouton) contains critical innovations of importance. The Art Chronicle, consisting of news-paragraphs, is a careful and complete summary. The large illustrations for February are from a bad picture by Alma Tadema, called "The Sunflower," and a good one by Miss Gardiner, of Boston, who long since married the art of the professor, M. Bouguereau, whose hand rumor now assigns to her keeping. Mr. Bouton is now receiving subscriptions to *L'Art* for 1879, and those who subscribe before July 1 will be entitled also to an impression on Holland paper of an unusually large etching (21⅝ x 11⅝ inches), by Adolphe Lalauze, of Makart's famous painting, "Entry of Charles V. into Antwerp," the photographs from which were so displeasing to Mr. Anthony Comstock, while the original had the place of honor at the Paris Exposition.——Mr. S. P. Avery's collection of Oriental porcelain, which for six years has formed the most attractive loan at the Metropolitan Museum, has been displaced by the removal of that institution, and is now on view at No. 845 Broadway. With the additions made by the proprietor, it now numbers 1,207 pieces, without any duplicates or pairs. It looks hopeful that the Museum will yet secure the ownership, contributions having been already made towards the purchase, at $35,000. Largely obtained when prices were lower, a dozen years ago, the specimens would now fetch more than that sum at auction.——This month appears a third, entirely revised edition of Prof. Karl Hillebrand's 'Frankreich und die Franzosen,' and early in May the second volume of his 'History of France' is promised.——No. 76 of the Berlin Geographical Society's *Zeitschrift* contains the usual exhaustive catalogue of geographical publications for the past year.

—The illustrated magazines for April scarcely compete with each other in literary merit. In *Lippincott's* a familiar writer, "Porte Crayon," tells of a visit to Jamestown, Williamsburg, and Yorktown—"the shrines of Old Virginia"—thirty years ago; while the Louisiana of to-day is effectively pictured in Miss Annie Porter's second paper on "My Village in the South." "A Lady's Life in Brazil" relates to the suburbs of Pernambuco, where for all that is primitive and slovenly (as of right in a tropical slave-country) the climate makes ample amends. "During a residence of two years our bedroom windows were never closed, while a thin blanket was usually acceptable." As regards fruit, we should suppose the fact contained in the following extract to be not generally known: "When one banana shows signs of ripening on the bunch, the whole tree is cut down and the bunch is carefully put away in a dark place to ripen. A tree will never bear a second bunch, but the old root sends up new shoots, which in a short time are ready for fruit." Mr. Henry James, jr.'s "English Vignettes" embrace the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Monmouthshire, and Cambridge, and as usual distinctly add something to the impression made by common repute and the guide-books. Mr. J. Brander Matthews traces briefly the life of Molière in order to separate from it the legends which have clustered about it, and to show how modern criticism has demolished them.

—Mr. Matthews has a more piquant paper in *Scribner's* on the "Actors and Actresses of New York." A writer who declares in his opening paragraph that "There are probably now not only as good actors, but as many good actors, in the United States as in France," is sure of attention, and would be even if his opinions were less weighty than in the present case. Some clever sketches of the subjects of this paper, admirably engraved, accompany the text, but leave a suspicion of inadequacy as regards the portraiture, while in catching the spirit of the *part* Mr. Abbey appears to have been frequently very successful. By far the longest paper in *Scribner's*, and certainly as interesting as any, is Mr. William C. Church's account of the life and inventive triumphs of John Ericsson, largely based upon the elegant volume of 'Contributions to the Centennial Exhibition,' in which Mr. Ericsson has set down his unquestionable claims on the grateful remembrance of posterity—claims which may yet be considerably extended if his years are prolonged. The proverbial enquiry, "Where is Mr. Bergh?" prepares one for the question who he is and what led him to undertake his present humane mission. Mr. C. C. Buel furnishes the desired information, which is not without its surprises, for Mr. Bergh was a dramatic author before he became a professional philanthropist (we use this phrase with entire respect). Mr. William Page speaks with authority on the relations of the human figure to a square of twelve, but with much irrelevant mysticism.

—Mr. Page's bust, rough cast, is represented in *Harper's* along with other beautiful engravings of "Sculpture in America," the fresher pieces being Launt Thompson's ideal statue of Abraham Pierson, and J. Q. A. Ward's Washington (with which Newburyport has just been enriched). Colonel Waring continues his pleasant "Berg und Thal" series; there are some good illustrations of animals in the article on "The Philadelphia Zoo"; Mr. R. H. Stoddard contributes a biographical and partly critical sketch of the late Richard Henry Dana; and a Congressman's letters from Washington in the first years of the century occupy a large space, but none too large. Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill was a New-Yorker, a member of the House of Representatives in the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Eleventh Congresses, and of the Senate meantime. In politics he was a Republican, but not a blind partisan. He writes to his wife about Jefferson's 'Notes on Virginia' as a new book, and of "Lindley Murray's grammar and book of exercises" as "excellent works of their kind." He describes Thomas Paine at a dinner-party: "a red and rugged face,

which looks as if it had been much hackneyed in the service of the world," with black and lively eyes, fiery-red cheeks and nose; a great talker, and full of entertaining anecdote. Dr. Mitchill was a staunch admirer of Burr while the latter was Vice-President, and stands by him against his calumniators; and though he refuses to sign an address to the Governor of New Jersey begging him to quash the proceedings against Burr for the fatal duel with Hamilton, he weeps "profusely" with his brother Senators when the Vice-President takes his farewell of them. "Burr is one of the best officers that ever presided over a deliberative assembly." Two years later he tells of Burr's Western expedition, and wonders how he will get out of the scrape; "but he is full of cunning and subterfuge, and will reserve for himself a hole to creep out at." Mitchill was a member of the House "Committee on the Memorials concerning Perpetual Motion" (1802). In the Senate he voted with the Federalists on the impeachment of Justice Samuel Chase (March 1, 1805).

—If "Thro' the Dark" at the Fifth Avenue Theatre has not proved a triumphant success, it is not for want of ingenuity and resource on the part of the author, Mr. Steele Mackaye. We are informed by the bills that the "theme of the play" was suggested last summer to Mr. Mackaye in "rather an interesting manner." He was, it seems, rusticating in the New Hampshire mountains, when he one day came across a drunken tramp, who was "carrying out in his outward action the inner drama of some tipsy dream." The laws of New Hampshire on the subject of tramps are, as is well known, extremely severe, and if Mr. Mackaye had let his new-found acquaintance alone, the latter would probably within twenty-four hours have been set to work by the local authorities chopping wood, or breaking stone, or mending the roads. The dramatist, however, believing him to be deserving of a better fate, succeeded in getting him into a hut near by, where he made for him a bed of branches, and left him for the night, first carefully "fastening the hut upon the outside." The next morning he woke the man, and urged him to hasten across the border and save himself from impending penal servitude; the tramp, however, utterly indifferent to his fate, sat down quietly on a stump and told in a "jesting, reckless, God-defying way" the story of his life. Precisely what this story was we are not informed, but whatever it was it excited in his hearer a strong desire "to write a play which should show certain typical characters of the present time face to face with the hard facts of modern civilization." Such a play is "Thro' the Dark." One man, born and bred in honesty, contends with great material adversity; another, born and bred in crime, struggles upward against his surroundings; another, born and bred in luxury, is seen in the toils of those bad passions "which the blessings of civilization so often develop in the human breast," and of the three this man is the only one who is utterly ruined. Thus the purpose of the play is to illustrate dramatically "the fact that the most helpless victims of society are those whom she pets the most." Another type presented in the play is a money-lender, "representing the remorseless energy and sordid cruelty of the money power of the world." The women of the piece illustrate various forms of womanly devotion. We should despair of success in any attempt to give an outline of the plot. If the "theme" sketched above is profound in its appeals to our moral emotions, the plot is no less so in its reliance upon our deep-seated love of theatrical sensation. Of the two, Mr. Mackaye understands sensation better, perhaps, than morality. Murder, abduction, counterfeiting—all lend their aid to heighten the interest. In one act a "double scene" shows on the right the starving engraver's humble lodgings; on the left the luxurious private dining-room of a West End Club-house, in which *Robert Hardy*, the debauchee, is sipping *cognac* and planning crime. One of the scenes shows us the private office of the chief inspector of police, Scotland Yard; another, a thieves' quarter in London; another, the corridors of a prison. The acting was throughout very fair, the best being done by Mr. Joseph Wheelock, who took the difficult part of *Arthur Allston*. "Thro' the Dark," however, cannot be called a success. It suggests several reflections; among others, that it would have been well if the laws of New Hampshire had made it a penal offence to harbor or to aid and abet in the escape of tramps; and also that Mr George Washington Esop might find in the story of the Dramatist and the Tramp a convenient subject for his new series of fables.

—Lecocq's last opera, "Le Petit Duc," has been brought out at Booth's in an English version. In Paris it has already had an immense success, which the beauty of the music and the comicality of the plot amply justify. The scene is laid in the time of Louis Quatorze, the little Duke of Parthenay being married, at the age of eighteen, to *Blanche de Cambry*, also extremely young. The marriage ceremony is hardly over before the bride is carried off to school at the convent of Lunéville. Her young husband, naturally indignant, threatens to horsewhip his tutor, *Frimousse*, whom he suspects of complicity in his wife's removal. He is consoled, however, by the *Chevalier de Montbarry*, who acquaints him with the fact that he is to assume command of the Parthenay regiment, and may lead it to action whenever he pleases. The duke, of course, resolves to lead it at once against the convent and recover his bride. We have then some very amusing scenes in the convent, where *Frimousse* has been appointed Latin tutor to the young ladies who are being "finished" by the worthy directress, the *Marquise de Lansac*. The duke, disguised as a peasant girl, succeeds in effecting an entrance, and, by making love to *Frimousse*, in obtaining an interview with the *Duchess*. He is, however, compelled to beat a retreat, and just about this time war is declared, and the services of his regiment are needed at the front. In the battle which ensues the young colonel distinguishes himself, and in the end the king gives his permission for the duke and his wife to live together. There may be some doubt under what head this opera properly falls. At Booth's it is called a "comic opera," a classification which at once relieves it of the suspicion of impropriety which the word "bouffe" seems to imply; and, indeed, in the English version there is not a word to call a blush to the cheek of the most modest. The acting of the *Duke* and *Duchess* (Miss Florence Ellis and Mlle. Louise Beaudet) was very good, and their singing very fair, though their voices are not powerful enough for such a large theatre as Booth's. Mme. Bauman as the *Directress* and Mr. W. H. Macdonald as *Montbarry* both sang extremely well. All the choruses, too, were well given, and on the whole, as is usually the case with an English company, there was more good singing than one would probably hear from a French company of the same order. Yet, as compared with any probable representation of "Le Petit Duc" by a French troupe, the performance at Booth's is undeniably a little flat. With these reservations, "The Little Duke" is decidedly worth hearing. The airs and choruses, of which the opera is full, struck us, on a first hearing, as prettier than any that even Lecocq has hitherto written.

—Among the musical events of the past week Mr. Pinner's and Dr. Damrosch's fourth concert of chamber music and Mr. Carlberg's fifth symphony concert at Chickering Hall deserve the first mention. The chamber-music concert at the Union League Club Theatre contained two numbers that are new to New York concert-goers—a suite for violin and piano-forte by Carl Goldmark and "Thème original et variations" by Tchaikoffsky. The Goldmark suite is a very melodious composition, and so clear in conception and execution that it cannot fail to be appreciated on a first hearing. It was performed in excellent style by Messrs. Pinner and Damrosch. The Tchaikoffsky variations were played by Mr. Pinner in his best manner. For delicacy of touch, an intelligent and truly artistic and poetical interpretation of modern piano-forte music, this young artist has been without a rival this season. Schumann's Trio in D minor was the most interesting number of the programme. ——The symphony concert at Chickering Hall on Saturday presented compositions of Händel and Haydn, the overture to Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream," a piano-forte concerto of Beethoven, and Wagner's "Faust Overture." Miss Josephine Bates, a very charming young pianist, made the bold venture of introducing herself to the New York public with Beethoven's C minor concerto. She has an excellent method and plays with graceful and refined taste, but is entirely wanting in the power and understanding necessary for such a work. The "Faust Overture" received a spirited and brilliant rendering by Mr. Carlberg's orchestra.——Colonel Mapleson's company presented nothing during the past week that calls for any special mention. Madame Gerster delighted her audience in "La Somnambula" and "I Puritani," and Miss Hauk made her last appearance in "Faust." Marchetti's "Ruy Blas" was given a second time, and does not improve upon acquaintance. Were it not for Signor Campanini's and Signor Galassi's admirable acting and singing, this worthless and commonplace work would prove a complete failure.

—We regret to record the sudden death last week of Mr. James Black Hodgskin, a prominent financier of this city, and an unattached journalist whose writings were held in high esteem and were not confined to any one medium. For five years (1867–71) he was a constant and voluminous editorial contributor to the *Nation*, chiefly on financial and economical subjects, his great merit being a singular clearness of style, joined to an easy mastery of statistics and an originality always striking and provo-

cative of useful discussion. He possessed a very ardent temperament, somewhat liable to extremes, but great transparency of character and an earnest and sincere spirit. His father was an English economist of distinction, his mother a native of Germany. Mr. Hodgskin was born in London, and died in the forty-eighth year of his age.

—The *Deutsche Rundschau* for March has an interesting article by Karl Hillebrand on "Halbbildung und Gymnasialreform" (Semi-Culture and the Reform of the Gymnasium)—a theme which, in preceding numbers of that periodical, has been more or less directly treated by Lasker, Du Bois-Reymond, and Fr. Kreyssig. The characteristic feature of all these articles and of various notable publications in the same field (such as H. Bonitz's "Ueber die Reform unseres höheren Schulwesens" in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Fr. Nietzsche's "Menschliches, Allzumenschliches," Paul de Lagarde's "Deutsche Schriften") is a pronounced dissatisfaction with the state of popular education in Germany; but while the writers agree as to the disease, they differ widely as to the remedy. Thus, while Fr. Kreyssig sought the panacea in a higher kind of *Realschule*, and Du Bois-Reymond insisted upon a thorough cultivation by the gymnasium of mathematics and the natural sciences, to the detriment, if necessary, of the study of Greek and history, Hillebrand would advance the cause of education by restricting rather than expanding the sphere of the gymnasium. He would reduce the hours of study both in school and at home, and exclude the ancient languages from the first three years of the course, devoting the time gained to recitations from the Bible and German poetry, and bestowing great attention on the grammar and orthography of the mother-tongue. In the first three years the instruction should chiefly tend to the exercise of the memory. During that time he would teach in history mainly dates, in geography mere names—ignoring physical geography entirely—and in zoölogy and botany the simplest classifications. With the introduction of Latin and Greek in the higher classes he, too, would restore mathematics to its rightful place among the disciplinary sciences, leaving henceforth exercises in German style to private zeal. He would find no place in the gymnasium for the inculcation of religious doctrines or for ecclesiastical history, and would even in profane history dwell only on the more important epochs. Briefly, a mathematico-classical training is to enable the student to select with intelligence his further studies, and to infuse him with the "courage of his ignorance," as infinitely preferable to the pretensions of semi-culture. He asks whether a youth of eighteen, possessed of the knowledge which such a training had furnished to Pascal when he left school, would not be sufficiently equipped for all the exigencies of our times.

—This writer has evidently but little hope of seeing the gymnasium remodelled on his plan, but he sees no reason why the spirit of association, so active in Germany, should not imitate the English precedent in this respect and establish schools—the "Nationalschule" of the future—where theories could be practised which he thinks are shared by many of those dissatisfied with the present régime. The article is, however, far from breathing the pessimistic spirit so prevalent in Germany. In fact, Herr Hillebrand sees neither in her political nor in her economic condition sufficient reasons for a dissatisfaction which he considers partly as inborn in the German mind, partly as the result of a national vanity wounded by persistent misrepresentations of the German character. He admits that Germany is to-day the "best hated" country in Europe—that indeed she never understood the art of making herself liked. There was nothing in the manner of her unification that struck the popular fancy of Europe as did the unification of Italy; nor did her quiet, methodical way of conquering impress the world as did the theatrical show of the Napoleonic conquests. But even the Graces, Herr Hillebrand hopes, will bestow on the German of the future the gifts denied the German of the past.

—The *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* was started last year as an organ of the new science of Comparative Jurisprudence; it is published at Stuttgart, and edited by Prof. Bernhöft, of Rostock, and Dr. Cohn, of Heidelberg. Three *hefte* appeared in the course of the year, making a volume of 492 pages, containing eleven articles and three critical notices. The introductory article, by Bernhöft, "Ueber Zweck und Mittel der vergleichenden Rechtswissenschaft," gives in a brief compass the main results of the comparative study of law as applied to the Aryan nations; this will be found especially serviceable to students of early Roman law and institutions. The important subject of the condition of women in primitive times receives light from an article by Prof. Paul Roth, "Das deutsche eheliche Güterrecht"; it starts with the fact, established by the researches of Schröder and Martitz, that the earliest German law recognizes the full proprietorship of the wife in her own property, only under the guardianship of the husband. From this the article is mainly devoted to following out the twofold development of German law, the Frankish and the Saxon. Another interesting subject is the history and law of Checks, discussed in two articles by the editor, Dr. Cohn; this not merely touches economical questions of the present day but reaches back even into classical times. The philosophy of law receives attention in an article upon the conception of law, by Prof. Bekker, and the *Systematik* of Indian law, by Prof. Jolly. Another equally high authority, Prof. Brunner, has an article upon the power of attorney in the Middle Ages.

HAMERTON'S LIFE OF TURNER.*

IT will hardly be in the nineteenth century that the erratic, eccentric, and unique genius of J. M. W. Turner will receive its due position in the Walhalla of the Muses. He is still too new to enable us to gauge if he is to be the founder of a new phase of art or to remain an isolated phenomenon, a splendid *lusus naturæ* whose uses to the future shall be rather to measure distances from than approximations towards what he has done. All about him is exceptional. Artistic talent of the exceptionally high order which his undoubtedly is, is never to be measured by popular opinion. It has before happened to men to attain undeserved eminence, but perhaps never before to have attained it on one ground and merited it on an entirely different one. His real greatness, like that of all other extraordinary intellects, remains, and will always remain, caviare to the general. The clamorous reputation that attaches to his name is so far different from that which really belongs to him that an intelligent student of art, forming his estimate of the work of Turner by the literary standard which has been established, finds himself on first making acquaintance with the pictures quite disenchanted. It is not so much that his artistic power has been overestimated as that it has been utterly misstated, and is misunderstood. While in reality the most creative of landscapists, the farthest removed from the actual or veracious in any sense in which that word can be applied to delineation of the material world, he has received the reputation of being the truest.

The Turner of fact, of sober criticism, is more wonderful than, and as great as, the Turner of 'Modern Painters,' but very different. Ruskin's poetic tendencies, his intense imaginative sympathy, and subtle though wayward and fantastic analytic faculties, were accompanied by rhetorical powers which have few parallels in our language, and a one-sidedness of advocacy which has none; but not by adequate powers of comparison or calmness of judgment, nor (at the time when his plea for Turner committed him to the general line of argument he has since been obliged to follow) by a wide acquaintance with, nor catholic views of, modern art, while even to this day his technical education remains so incomplete, and his knowledge of technical processes and qualities so imperfect, that he remains the most untrustworthy critic as to the merits or demerits of particular works of art who has ever exercised an influence on public taste. The result of all his teaching has been to establish a school of art whose precepts are opposed to all the laws of art, and to put as its chief exemplar a painter who continually defied all the rules the founder of the school has laid down. Ruskin has not made Turner too great, but he has done him the grave injustice of putting him on a pedestal that did not belong to him, and from which sound criticism and time must take him down to put him on another not inferior, but far removed from the former one.

This work is undertaken in a thoughtful, discriminating, and completely appreciative spirit in the biography of Mr. Hamerton, and in a manner which shows not less knowledge of Turner than Ruskin's, but far greater judicial power, much truer comparative estimate of Turner's genius and qualities, more just and larger objective perception of nature, and last, but far from least, a knowledge of the technique of landscape-painting and sound art-training incomparably greater than Ruskin's. Of course his Life must in many points assume the character of a polemic against Ruskin, because the correction of the false ideal was necessary to the delineation of the true; but the book is remarkably free from all heat of discussion or discoloration of advocacy. It is in every respect a contrast to the 'Modern Painters'; and whatever estimate be hereafter established as the permanent conception of the relative position of the great landscape painter, it is safe to say that it must embody in substance the judgment pronounced by Hamerton.

* 'Life of J. M. W. Turner. By Philip Gilbert Hamerton.' Boston: Roberts Bros. 1879.

The impeachments of Ruskin's plea for Turner are not, therefore, on account of his overestimating the painter, for the younger critic does not yield to the elder in his general estimate, but to two points in that plea, both of which he abundantly confutes, viz., that Turner aimed at truth in his pictures, and that he was an under-esteemed and neglected painter when Ruskin undertook his defence. The second point was easily made; the facts as to Turner's position when the 'Modern Painters' appeared are within the memory of many living amateurs. We quote the pith of what Mr. Hamerton says on the subject (pp. 330–33):

"We all know how kindly Turner was encouraged when a young man, how well and how early he was received in the Academy [full Academician at twenty-seven], and how he enjoyed the friendship and sympathy of intelligent men such as Lord Egremont, Mr. Rogers, and many others, at a time when he was in the full enjoyment of his powers. Now it suited Mr. Ruskin's artistic purpose—at the close of a lecture in Edinburgh, which was to be very pathetic and awaken deep feeling in the hearts of his audience—to say, in order to prepare the people for the sad account of Turner's death, that he had incurred neglect until late in life. Even this mild assertion would have been untrue. The exact truth is that Turner was not neglected during life, but that in his case, as in many other cases, the fame of the artist when living was less splendid than it has since become. But now observe how Mr. Ruskin 'forces the note.' He does not simply say that Turner was comparatively neglected; that would not be enough—the audience would feel no thrill. These are the words used:

"'Imagine what it was for a man to live seventy years in this hard world, with the kindest heart and the noblest intellect of his time, *and never to meet with a single word or ray of sympathy until he felt himself sinking into his grave.* From the time he knew his true greatness *all the world was turned against him*; he held his own, but it could not be without roughness of bearing and hardening of the temper, if not of the heart. No one understood him, no one trusted him, and every one cried out against him. Imagine, any of you, the effect upon your own minds if every voice that you heard from the human beings around you were raised, year after year, through all your lives, only in condemnation of your efforts and denial of your success.'

"This passage is admirable as an appeal to the feelings. It is the work of a consummate artist in words, and so deeply pathetic that if well delivered in the lecture-room it must have touched the hearts of men and moistened the eyes of women. I admit and admire its excellence, but I say that whilst Mr. Ruskin was writing it, and during the whole space of time between the writing and delivery of the lecture, the critic in him must have been silenced or asleep.

"Many years before Turner died was there not a great meeting at Somerset House, attended by Sir Robert Peel, Lord Hardinge, and many others? and did not all these gentlemen confer upon Turner the very exceptional and very substantial compliment of subscribing five thousand pounds to buy two pictures of his for the National Gallery? . . . Did not Lockhart, a very influential Scotchman, express his opinion publicly a year or two later [*i.e.*, 1814 or '15] that Turner was simply the greatest of all living landscape-painters? Was not Turner selected to illustrate the greatest contemporary poets? and did not Scott (who died in 1832) say that Turner was 'all the fashion'—so much the fashion, indeed, that by sheer weight of reputation he was imposed on the great novelist against his will? Did not Constable write on the 14th of January, 1832: 'I remember most of Turner's early works; amongst them was one of singular intricacy and beauty—it was a canal with numerous boats, making thousands of beautiful shapes, and I think *the most complete work of genius I ever saw*'? . . .

"All this was intended to prepare Mr. Ruskin's hearers for a most touching and pathetic account of Turner's death:

"'He received no consolation in his last years nor in his death. Cut off in great part from all society—first by labor and at last by sickness—hunted to the grave by the malignities of small critics and the jealousies of hopeless rivalry—he died in the house of a stranger—one companion of his life, and one only, staying with him to the last.'"

We cannot follow Mr. Hamerton in his refutation of this "pathetic fallacy." Those who know anything of the later years of Turner's life know that in all this touching picture there is not one correct statement of fact. Turner died in lodgings he had long had in Chelsea, and he was accustomed to hide there from his friends, who were many and devoted to him with enthusiasm. He was idolized by the whole Royal Academy, and many of the Academicians would have disputed the privilege of watching by his sick bed. Hundreds of houses of all classes, from that of a peer to that of a country curate, would gladly have given him hospitality in health or sickness; but he repulsed, and often rudely, all attempts of any but two or three of his oldest friends to approach him, and for a long time it was unknown where his hiding-place in Chelsea was. He died worth above £100,000, and left pictures besides which he might have sold before his death for as much more. For the "Old Téméraire" alone he had refused first an offer of £5,000, and after that, from the same amateur, a blank check! The fact is that there was never an English artist, with the exception, perhaps, of Landseer, who had been so greatly praised (and none who had been so much abused except Haydon), there was not one so highly esteemed by that class of society whose appreciation is the basis of all solid reputation, none so widely known amongst living landscape painters and so much engraved, as Turner at the moment when Ruskin wrote 'Modern Painters.'

The other point of the author's indictment of Ruskin—his erroneous teaching as to Turner's veraciousness—involves the whole question of Turner's relation to nature. Mr. Hamerton, as a painter of experience and a student of art in its best technical schools, judges the work of the great master pencil in hand before the scene he painted, and shows, what all who have taken the pains to do the same will have learned for themselves, that Turner had the most supreme contempt for everything that inclined to topography, that in his architecture he habitually misrepresented the characteristic features of the buildings he painted, that in his effects he took the most unlimited licenses, while as to his color the whole story is told in brief in the following passage:

"If the reader will imagine Turner as a supremely clever executant in water-color who played with his orange and purple, his red and green, his washes of cool grey to refresh the eye and his touches of burning scarlet to excite it, just as a musical composer will combine the effects of the various instruments in an orchestra, he will, I sincerely believe, not be very far from a just appreciation of his work."

This is, in fact, the general law as to Turner's work, and, *mutatis mutandis*, the criticism may be applied to his composition, his geology, his topography, his botany, and even his meteorology. There is not in the whole range of Turner's study (and we speak from long personal study) one sketch or drawing which shows that he could or cared to match a tint of nature or, so far as any important feature is concerned, a piece of form, natural or artificial. His early work is purely conventional, and is simple modulation of grey, cooler and warmer, and, as the power grew, the range of orchestration extended, *not by reference to nature, but by experience of art*, till it had reached the range of the "Slaver" and the even more splendid (because better technically) water-colors like the "Goldau and Lucerne."

Mr. Hamerton does full justice to the unrivalled power in certain ways which Turner showed, and if his admiration for him is less eloquent than that of Ruskin it is at least as learned. He might have gone further with his demonstration of the painter's deviation from the standard of truth which Ruskin has set up for him. A large proportion, indeed, of the effects which Ruskin notes as truths never told by any other painter are simply daring licenses and flagrant violations of nature. He gives a list of mingled effects of moonlight and sunlight, when the fact is that the full moon an hour after sunset has not power enough to throw a perceptible shadow in the face of the western sky; he calls to witness the glory of sunset skies like those of the "Slaver," "Napoleon," and "Old Téméraire," having apparently never noticed that the sunset colors with which those pictures are glowing never appear till the sun is below the horizon, while Turner puts them around the sun half an hour high. Nor has time convinced him of his mistake, for in the collection of Turner drawings exhibited last year in London by Mr. Ruskin there was one—"Leicester Abbey"—in which a golden sunset occupied the right of the picture (spectator's right), while at the left rises amidst the blue mists of evening the full moon, both sun and moon being included in the picture—a magnificent drawing, however, in every way, and the transition from the golden glow of the sun to the blue night coming on under the moon was a marvel of management of color. One was curious to see what Ruskin could have to say of this splendid defiance of nature. The note is this: "The sunset and moonrise are not meant to be actually contemporaneous. Strictly this is two pictures in one, and we are expected to think of the whole as a moving diorama"!!

As biography the 'Life of Turner' is meagre, because Turner furnished no materials for biography and left no letters or journals, one of his most curious characteristics being his utter and ineradicable illiterateness; he had no power of expressing himself connectedly in words. Even in speaking to people he used only the words which were absolutely necessary, eking them out with nods and gestures so that to a stranger he was sometimes scarcely intelligible. But so far as the artist is concerned Mr. Hamerton has given a sober, full, and invaluable analysis of what we most want to know of him, which is at the same time one of the most valuable pieces of æsthetic writing that English literature has produced, a careful, sincere, and fully appreciative commentary on the most difficultly understood painter of our and perhaps of any day.

MALLESON'S INDIAN MUTINY OF 1857–1858.*

TO exhibit very recent history in its genuine aspect, or even as it will be exhibited eventually, is acknowledged to rank among impossibilities. Of the achievements and miscarriages which so largely constitute

* 'History of the Indian Mutiny, 1857–1858. By Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., author of 'History of the French in India,' 'Historical Sketch of the Native States of India,' etc., etc.' Volume I. London: William H. Allen & Co. 1878.

it, the former are all but inevitably magnified by flattery or enthusiasm; while the latter are sure to be extenuated by their authors or by their authors' vindicators, and, at the same time, countless prejudicial facts, essential towards interpreting them aright, are sedulously withheld from publicity. As to the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the difficulties thus indicated which, not to name others, beset a conclusive appreciation of it, are not as yet by any means wholly obviated by the operation of time. It may be, indeed, that the reminiscences of numerous actors in transactions which date only two and twenty years ago still await disclosure, and, in some cases, are still unrecorded. Every due allowance being made for this and kindred considerations, it is, however, highly expedient, in the interests of justice, that we should be put in early possession, as in the work before us, of a corrective to so exceedingly one-sided and misleading a performance as the fragmentary 'History of the Sepoy War' of the late Sir John Kaye.

For substantial reasons Colonel Malleson, departing from chronological order, narrates in his first volume those events to which Sir John Kaye devotes his third. But the events in question are, almost one and all, of prominent importance, and, besides, endure very well to be treated of by themselves. A more impartial detail of them than has hitherto been accessible is, therefore, most welcome; and so it would be though we were not supplied with the brief but lucid sketch of their antecedents with which the author dexterously prefaces them.

Within a very narrow compass, Colonel Malleson conveys to us a vivid idea of the character of Lord Canning, Governor-General of India at the critical period referred to. Well-meaning, but timid, lethargic, and injudicious, he had the ill-fortune to place himself wholly at the disposal of men as ill-qualified as was well possible to direct him aright. Foremost among these delusive advisers and guides were Mr. Secretary Beadon and Lieutenant-Governor Halliday. As is obvious to observe, their counsels were such as might have been expected from favored members of an official fraternity in which, at least in the days of the East-India Company, promotion was perhaps oftener due to adroit courtiership than bestowed as the reward of desert. Blinded by those who had him under their control, Lord Canning was long reluctant to be convinced, even when omens were most unfavorable in every direction, that serious danger was impending. When, too, his eyes were at last couched, many of his measures were in the last degree unwise. An instance here in point is seen in his action with regard to the Indian newspapers. The native press, encouraged by the apparently frail tenure of English domination, had, it is true, become daringly disloyal in its utterances, and demanded to be dealt with rigorously. But nothing could be more loyal than the English press of India; and yet Lord Canning did not hesitate to gag both presses by one and the same edict, on the flimsy plea, to quote his own language, that he could "see no solid standing-ground upon which a line can be drawn marking off one from the other." At the time, it was asserted, very naturally, and there is some foundation for believing, that his real motive was to forestall, if he but could, the transmission to England of any printed record of his own and his subordinates' mistakes. Among his misfortunes, possibly, rather than among his faults, was his appointment of Sir Patrick Grant as temporary commander-in-chief. However, except for the combination of inactivity and self-distrust which Sir Patrick evinced, there is no saying for what disasters he might not have made himself responsible. As it turned out, it was solely owing to his being what he was, and doing as he did, that an opportunity was afforded to the gallant and energetic Havelock of coming to the front, and of paving the way to successes which have served to inscribe his name for ages in the bead-roll of illustrious soldiers.

Of the rising at Patna, and of its suppression, a circumstantial narrative is presented to us; and the proceedings of its commissioner are detailed with all desirable distinctness and fidelity. The gentleman here adverted to is Mr. William Tayler. That the course which he pursued was the most sagacious that was practicable under then existing circumstances scarcely any one doubted at the moment, and scarcely any one has doubted since. Had he obeyed Mr. Halliday, already mentioned, the result might have been signally calamitous. But he chose, in the public behoof, to act on his own judgment; and for so doing, though his efforts, and in a most perilous emergency, were crowned with success, he exposed himself to Mr. Halliday's implacable animosity. By misrepresentations, groundless and scandalous innuendoes, and divers other unworthy devices, Mr. Halliday contrived to procure his expulsion from the civil service. To the discredit of the India Office, as of various governor-generals, his wrongs are still unredressed, whereas his vindictive oppressor has been rewarded with honors and high office. The matter here outlined is one which contributes a humiliating page to the history of modern India.

The heroic defence of Arrah, and the masterly way in which its garrison was relieved by Major Vincent Eyre, are told with spirit, and can hardly be read without exciting warm admiration of all that were concerned in them.

Owing to the arrival of the new commander-in-chief, Sir Colin Campbell, the official career of Sir Patrick Grant was, happily, of but short duration. Had Lord Canning's recommendation been acted on, the latter would have been confirmed in the appointment which he was filling provisionally; but Lord Palmerston, being better advised, most sensibly made election of the former. Credit must, however, be allowed to Lord Canning for his exceptional manifestation of good sense in deputing, as his civil plenipotentiary for a considerable portion of the northwest provinces, the ablest man, by far, that he had about him, Mr. J. P. Grant. The lieutenant-governor of those provinces, Mr. J. R. Colvin, was then, by reason of the mutiny, isolated at Agra, and died soon afterwards. Though a person of acknowledged ability in the sphere of civil avocations, and in a time of quiet, he was but ill-provided with the nerve, decision, and tact which are indispensable for coping with a popular uprising.

Well-nigh inevitably, if not altogether so, the subject-matters of Colonel Malleson's volume are not always treated by him in strict chronological succession. These, far from descanting on them, we can only enumerate succinctly. From the point indicated in the preceding paragraph they are as follows: Scindhia, a powerful native chieftain near Agra, casts in his lot with the British. Holkar, his brother magnate further to the south, shows himself equally loyal, though the troops about him display impatience of their foreign masters. The massacre of Jhansee, a tale rife with horrors, is recounted. Rajpootana, thanks to the prudent measures concerted by Colonel George Lawrence, remains pacific. Affairs at and in the neighborhood of Agra are recorded. An account is given of the mutinies in the districts represented by the stations of Aligurh, Mainpooree, Etawah, and Bolundshuhr. Out of the 575 pages which the volume contains 199 are appropriated to Oude, and yet there is no ground to complain here of diffuseness or superfluity. Wherever the mother-tongue shall be English, many a generation must yet elapse before the noble exploits of Sir Henry Lawrence and General Havelock, as set forth by any well-informed and skilful writer, will cease to command enthralled attention and to stimulate martial ambition.

But we have nearly exhausted the space which we can assign to the book before us. Colonel Malleson is executing, in a manner deserving marked commendation, the task which he has set himself. His research is untiring, and his love of his subject amounts to a passion. The equitableness of his judgments will rarely be challenged. Praise and blame he distributes very freely, indeed; but he is judicially careful, while awarding his verdicts, to justify them to the full; and his discrimination of character, in introducing or dismissing the various actors whom he brings on the scene, is marked by equal sagacity and thoroughness. Though a warm eulogist of sterling worth and merit, he leans, unquestionably, to the side of lenity, when called upon, as he is ever and anon, to arraign and stigmatize incompetence. Taking account of his long Indian experience, and, in the just words of the London *Times*, of his being recognized as one of the masters of Indian history, one would, almost without further evidence, have warrant for calculating on his so telling the story of the Indian mutiny as to dispense with the need of its being told at length again. Nor does his beginning disappoint this expectation, but, on the contrary, leads us to anticipate, in the completed result of his undertaking, a work of conspicuous value, and, with reference to available information, of irrefragable authority.

Artist Biographies. Allston. (Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1879.)—It is sad irony to gather up and put into a book the contemporary praises of a man whose reputation, once great in a narrow circle, has failed to extend far beyond that circle's limits. To collect with painstaking industry the affectionate hyperboles of friends, together with what their memories have treasured of the pretty phrases of polite acquaintances or indulgent critics, in such a case deepens regret and aggravates distrust, and when all this is unaccompanied by any critical reservation or any hint of its extravagance, it is unjust to a man's memory. Allston, as much as any other, would have resented this volume, called his biography, which, beyond being a record of the facts of his life, is little more than a string of the compliments paid him, with a critical commentary unmarked by any sobriety of judgment or intelligent insight

into Allston's worth. The author leaves the impression that he thinks William Ware was right in saying that "in the great Venetian (Titian) I had found nothing more true, nothing more beautiful, nothing more perfect than I had already seen in Allston"; and Coleridge right in saying "Washington Allston, a painter born to renew the fifteenth century"; and Lord Napier, of Merchiston, right in speaking of "the incomparable pencil of Allston." He seems to see a compliment, too, in Southey's remark to Collins on Allston's poems: "Whatever defects some of them may have, he had no hesitation in saying that they could not have proceeded from any but a poetic mind; in which sentiment," Collins adds, "he was cordially supported by Wordsworth." But it is not so much when the author is sifting the worth of other men's words as when he himself becomes the critic that his true penetration and the value of his information become clear, as a few sentences will show without need of comment: "He avoided bright eyes, curls, and contours. . . . The stilted allegorical compositions of the schools of West and Fuseli. . . . The sharp manifestations of passionate life are veiled in an atmosphere of divine glow and profound mystery, inviting the study of the most reflective and contemplative of men. . . . If beauty can exist without expression, it finds no more perfect exemplification than Allston's 'Rosalie' and 'Beatrice,' not even in Leonardi's 'Mona Lisa' or Raphael's 'Fornarina.'" This last is a sufficiently marvellous sentence in art criticism, but it is surpassed by the following in literary criticism, where the author is fooled to the top of his bent in describing Allston's mock-heroic poem, "The Paint King," a most extravagant, disagreeable, and in parts offensive production, as "a fancy as wild surely and as well wrought out as any Hawthorne ever dreamed of."

These extracts illustrate well enough the nature of the criticism in this volume, but the narrative also is in parts amusing; we were really startled at the society which our author, with a daring disregard of time and place seldom equalled, provides for Allston in Rome from 1805–9. He mentions among the men who were to be seen there at that time, and whom presumably Allston may have met, Cornelius, who arrived in 1811; Andersen, at that time a babe a month or two old, who first saw Rome in 1834; Flaxman, who had left Rome in 1794; Gibson, who arrived in 1817; Shelley, who was then a child at Eton; Byron, who, a boy of seventeen, had just matriculated at Cambridge, and was guiltless of the "Hours of Idleness" for three years more, and Keats, who, nine years old, was most likely to have been playing in the stables where his father worked a few months before. Two only of those mentioned by the author in this paragraph were there, Thorwaldsen and Louis of Bavaria, who was a youth of nineteen. Later he speaks of the brilliant circle which surrounded William and Alexander von Humboldt; the latter was in Rome in 1805 for ten days with Gay-Lussac. With this instance of the most culpable ignorance we may dismiss the author and his book in peace.

Of Allston it would be worth while to say more than our limits allow, for his artistic merits have never been properly discriminated, and his literary performance is well-nigh unknown. His great reputation in art was due to much the same causes as Irving's in literature, and its correction has been similar; like Irving, too, he possessed rare and charming personal qualities, which won for him an admiration and affection of considerable influence in determining the regard in which his works were held. In imaginative literature he was the most noteworthy follower of that romantic and grandiose school which Monk Lewis founded by turning into English channels a stream from the Storm-and-Stress period of German literature, and which was continued by Mrs. Radcliffe, from whose novels Allston took subjects for his pencil. Many of Allston's poems are purely from this source, as is the conception and much of the execution of his single novel, 'Monaldi.' On the other hand, one would be justified in saying that Coleridge furnished him with the forms of his religious conceptions and with all his metaphysics, as any one may satisfy himself by reading the 'Lectures on Art.' He was moulded intellectually by European influences, and under these his nature was mainly passive. Hence in literature, in which he had only talent, he gave us little that will be preserved for its own merit: in art, in which he had veins of real genius, he gave us some work which we would not willingly let die, but it is frequently defective. We are told that in correcting the entire perspective of the great picture of "Belshazzar's Feast" he made over "twenty thousand chalk-lines in circles and arcs to bring the amended figures into correct drawing"; he would not have done this had he possessed the unerring artistic conception and direct rapid executive force of those painters of the fifteenth century whom he was ignorantly set up by his friends to rival. It is now indisputable that he fell far short of his own hopes, and failed to justify the expectations which his genius had rightly raised.

Bacon's Novum Organum. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, etc., by Thomas Fowler, M.A. Clarendon Press Series. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1878.)—Hume, in the sixth volume of his 'History of England' (pp. 194, 5), in discussing the position of Bacon in the history of English thought, says:

"If we consider the variety of talents displayed by this man; as a public speaker, a man of business, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philosopher; he is justly the object of great admiration. If we consider him merely as an author and philosopher, the light in which we view him at present, though very estimable, he was yet inferior to his contemporary Galileo, perhaps even to Kepler. . . . . The national spirit which prevails among the English, and which forms their great happiness, is the cause why they bestow on all their eminent writers, and on Bacon among the rest, such praises and acclamations as may often appear partial and excessive."

Buckle, in his examination of the Scotch intellect during the eighteenth century, cites this as "grossly unfair," and explains it on the theory that the essential difference between the respective methods pursued in their investigations made it impossible for Hume to sympathize with or understand Bacon. Bacon is to-day probably much more often talked about than read, and we fancy that most general readers still derive all their knowledge of him from Macaulay's delightful essay (though for those who go into the subject with any thoroughness, Mr. Spedding is, of course, a higher authority). For a purely popular account of his career as a public man, and an examination of the once mooted question of his corruption, it is difficult to imagine that Macaulay can ever be improved upon; but on the subject of philosophy he was hardly an authority, and that part of his essay which is devoted to the Baconian method, though deeply interesting, has never seemed to us as satisfactory as the biographical part. A defender of Hume against Buckle's criticism might cite many passages of it, perhaps, as instances of those "praises and acclamations" which arise from the national spirit of which he speaks. Mr. Fowler's profound introduction to the present edition of the *Novum Organum* is an essay as different from Macaulay's as possible. It is intended, as he says in his preface, to supply a want which has undoubtedly often been felt by students, namely, "A commentary, which, besides explaining the difficulties of the work (by no means few or small), should also present Bacon in his relations to the History of Philosophy, Logic, and Science." The commentary, of course, is one into which Mr. Fowler, as a logician, allows nothing but the dry light of the intellect to penetrate, and it is quite safe to say (without entering into any criticism) that his conclusions as to Bacon's position in the history of thought may be taken as authoritative. It is interesting to find that the scientific position he accords to Bacon is not lower than that which has been popularly assigned to him as founder or father of experimental philosophy. It is hardly necessary to add that as an annotated edition of the *Novum Organum*, Professor Fowler's volume is worthy of the press from which it is issued.

Manuel du Voyageur. Par D. Kaltbrunner, Membre de la Société de Géographie de Genève. (Zürich. 1878. New York: B. Westermann & Co.)—The author states that the design of this 'Traveller's Hand-book' is to bring within the compass of a single volume the suggestions and instructions which will be found useful by any one who wishes to travel as an observer. He assumes that the traveller's aim should be to increase our knowledge of the country he visits, and offers to show him what and how to observe, in order to secure the best possible results. Nor are the qualifications requisite for a good observer passed unnoticed; among these are named and discussed the ability to observe natural phenomena, and its habitual exercise; the spirit of investigation and enquiry; the critical faculty; and various "qualités et aptitudes accessoires," such as pluck, endurance, and persistency. It should be remarked that the work is not written for any special class of tourists, or in the interest of any particular lines of research, but that it undertakes to cover the entire range of subjects which may present themselves to any intelligent and thoughtful observer, whatever his bent of mind may be—to omit, in short, no essential particular and to put the matter in such manner that any one may understand it. A glance at the table of contents will show not only the comprehensiveness of the author's plan, but also the thoroughness with which he has pursued the subject to the most minute of multifarious details. Upwards of a hundred pages are devoted to the preparation required for successful observations—the part of the book in which

the intending traveller is taught *how* to observe, including details of equipment and supply, use of various scientific instruments, photography, drawing, etc. The bulk of the volume, however, is occupied with extended and systematically arranged indications of *what* to observe, relating, as already intimated, to an extraordinarily varied range of subjects. Under the first head, "Le pays," for example, are treated geography, topography, geology, the soil, climate, hydrology, flora, and fauna. The second division, "Les habitants," is still more exhaustive; one who should acquaint himself with the varied aspects of the case as presented by the author would become an accomplished historian and ethnographer of the people visited. The work seems to us to be prepared with great care and conscience, as well as with much learning and experience, and to be as successful in execution as admirable in design. If the author be as exact and reliable in all departments as we have found him to be in those in which we have tested him by our own experience in travelling, he is certainly a guide whom no one may hesitate to trust implicitly. His instructions, always practical and to the point, are frequently very pithy, suggesting a very long and familiar acquaintance with the requirements, obstacles, and purposes of productive travel; while the advantage of being told beforehand what to look out for and how to see it, is too obvious to require comment. We suspect that no one ever did or could accomplish as much as Kaltbrunner would put the ideal traveller in the way of doing, unless he were a Humboldt or a Darwin; but such riches as he offers, it will be remembered, cease to be embarrassing when divided among tourists of all countries and all tastes. The foreign dress of the work will doubtless restrict its usefulness in this country, until an English translation be made, as certainly should and probably will be done. A companion volume, entitled 'Aide-mémoire du Voyageur,' is announced to appear soon.

Epochs of Modern History. The Normans in Europe. By the Rev. A. H. Johnson, M.A. With Maps. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 18mo, pp. 273.)—Mr. Johnson is fortunate in his subject, and he has treated it in a manner worthy of it. One hardly realizes, until looking over his admirable table of contents, how much of the most fundamental history of the earlier Middle Ages is associated with this lordly race, and how complete a view of the condition of Europe at this epoch can be given in connection with its history. The most romantic events of this period, too, are associated with the Normans, and, in virtue of their great administrative and organizing capacity, almost every form of institutions then existing was touched and more or less modified by them. We have, therefore, chapters on the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon institutions, on Feudalism, and on the Norman administration. We only miss the ecclesiastical institutions; these receive a brief mention, excellent so far as it goes, but which might very well have been enlarged.

The chapters under consideration are remarkable for their clearness and accuracy, and by themselves form the best brief sketch of the institutions of this period with which we are acquainted. Here and there, it is true, we find slight inaccuracies or obscurities, to some of which we will call attention. The definition of *beneficia* (p. 97) is hardly in accordance with the best science; it seems proved by Roth that the *beneficia* of the Merovingian kings were absolute grants, the rewards of past services, not the condition of future; the "pledge of fidelity" was required of every subject, not of beneficiaries as such. We are told (p. 99) that "it had long been the custom of the kings to couple their grants of land with rights of independent judicature over the dwellers on the land." By "long" we must suppose the Merovingian times to be referred to, but no such grants as these were made until long after the time of Charles the Great; the ecclesiastical immunities of the seventh and eighth centuries granted no "independent judicature" at all. On page 111 the free socagers are defined as a class "who paid a fixed sum of money annually, and were exempt from all further service." Some of them, it is true; but as a rule the English socagers performed agricultural labor for their lords. The term, by the way, is not properly used in relation to Continental feudalism, for the existence and rights of this class are the one point in which English feudalism is most fundamentally contrasted with that of the Continent. On the same page the old classification of villeins regardant and in gross is far from adequate, and is given up by the best writers.

The chapter upon the Anglo-Saxon institutions contains very little to criticise. The powers of the township (p. 149) are stretched beyond what any clear evidence will justify; not, perhaps, beyond what may be fairly inferred, although this is by no means without controversy. Neither do we know what authority there is for the distinction made (p. 151) as to the procedure in criminal cases before the Shire Moot—ordeal if the presentment was made by the Hundred court, compurgation if by a private individual. The definition (p. 155) of "'sac' (jurisdiction in matters of dispute) and 'soc' (the right of holding courts for their personal and territorial dependants)" may be called a distinction almost without a difference. It would, perhaps, be too much to expect an English writer to be acquainted with the results of American scholarship; but certainly Mr. Henry Adams appears to have disproved this definition of "soc."

The closing chapter, on the Norman Administration, is equally excellent. The statement (p. 241) that the freehold tenants of the manor occupied the tenemental lands, while the villeins were settled upon the demesne, is commonly made, but is incorrect, or at least incomplete. The principal part of the villeins occupied the lands of the *villata* or village (whence their name) alongside of the freeholders, and often intermixed with them. A portion of them, however, received allotments on the demesne, and these might be held by villeins, and even by freeholders, who at the same time held estates upon the tenement lands.

There is an index, six genealogical tables, and three excellent maps; but we do not understand why, in the map of "England and France in the time of Henry I.," the County of Toulouse is not given as a part of France. The Count of Toulouse was one of the six peers of France, and we are not aware that the suzerainty of the king over him was any more nominal than over, for instance, the Duke of Guyenne.

Gwen. A Drama in monologue. In six acts. By the author of 'The Epic of Hades.' (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.; Boston: Roberts Bros. 1879.)—In the seven years since the author of this poem first appeared before the public he has maintained his place as one of the most careful and elegant of minor English poets. His verse is musical, and his style is clear, temperate, and free from most of the conceits to which his school is especially prone. This drama, which is his third work, is named such only by a fancy; it has no action whatever, but is constructed, similarly to Tennyson's "Maud," with a series of monologues in irregular verse embodying the reflections or hopes of the hero and heroine, who are the only characters in the first five acts. The situation, also, is the same as in "Maud," except that the hero is of high birth and the heroine a country girl, so that a comparison between the two poems obtrudes itself upon the reader whether he wishes it or not, and this the more because distinct Tennysonian echoes recur on page after page. It is not plagiarism, but one cannot help doubting whether some phrases are altogether the author's own. To give illustrations which might be multiplied, we have

> "And sometimes, rare blessing, there comes with me
> A fair young Oread over the hill" (p. 36).
>
> "I see my Oread coming down" ("Maud," xvi)
>
> "Oh, strange we did not know before how near
> Our stream of life smoothed to its fated end" (p. 55).
>
> "Calming itself to the long-wished-for end" ("Maud," xviii.)
>
> "Take with a frolic eagerness the doubts" (p. 151)
>
> "That ever with a frolic welcome took" ("Ulysses").

So, too, in the song of Gwen, when she throws the rose into the stream to float to her lover—

> "Tell him, oh, sweet, sweet rose,
> That I grow fixed no more, nor flourish now
> In the silent maiden garden-ground of old,
> But severed even as thou."

It is impossible not to remember

> "Queen rose of the rosebud garden of girls" ("Maud," xxii.)

The number of such echoes which, without looking for them, we detected in reading is far too large; sometimes a similar phrase of Browning or Clough came to our memory, but Tennyson is the poet's master. Many of them are, doubtless, coincidences; some are conscious expansions of the original thought, and some may have been appropriated as the common property of the poetic guild; but an author cannot deny himself too much in resisting such temptation.

The diction is at times faulty, and the music frequently; how does the author read this line, for example:

> "And even to my high inn-chamber I seemed."

Some lines are in bad taste:

> "It is only in thought I invade her virginal peace."
>
> "Stately cities I have dreamed of,
> Naples, Rome in all her pride—
> I shall see them all, *a great lady*,
> With my husband at my side."

The italicized words contain the only indication in the poem that

the thought of worldly advantage was in the heroine's mind as an element of happiness in her love, and is very incongruous with her simple affection and trustfulness; it may be natural, but it is vulgar. It is worth while to point out these defects in detail, for the poem is, as a whole, tender, simple, chaste in feeling, and occasionally it rises to a lyrical loftiness of sentiment, or grows compact with vigorous and direct thought.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 3, 1879.

The Week.

THE Senate has accomplished nothing besides half-attempting a debate of Mr. Hoar's resolution declaring it revolutionary for either house to withhold appropriations as a means of coercing the other house and the President; or for both houses to do the same thing for the purpose of coercing the President. Mr. Beck objected to the debate because of the absence of Mr. Thurman, the chairman of a committee having the revolutionary business in charge. As this committee was a caucus committee unknown to the Senate, the excuse was received by the Republicans with equal hilarity and indignation. But all the same, the Senate's occupation depends on this extraneous body. The House began on Thursday the discussion of the Army Bill in Committee of the Whole, and quickly disposed of the few trifling amendments offered. The repeal of the one obnoxious phrase in the Act of February 25, 1865, though objected to as not germane and not obviously a retrenchment of expenses, was ruled to be in order by Mr. Springer, who had the chair, and the discussion began.

Mr. Garfield delivered one of his effective speeches in the House on Saturday, in opposition to the Democratic plan of tacking on a repeal of the law permitting the use of the army to preserve order at the polls to the Army Appropriation Bill, maintaining by the familiar arguments that it was an unconstitutional attempt to coerce the President. The weak point in his case was that it was based on the assumption that the President will surely refuse to sign the bill in this shape. But we believe nothing is as yet known to warrant this assumption. If he sees nothing objectionable in the repeal, he will sign, for it is agreed by both parties that there is nothing objectionable or unusual *per se* in tacking on legislation to Appropriation Bills. It has been done frequently as a matter of convenience. If, therefore, the President signs cheerfully, he will make the Republicans look rather foolish. It is quite possible, and in fact not improbable, that he will do so, for the Republicans themselves were willing to yield last session nearly everything the Democrats are contending for in order to avoid an extra session. Mr. Garfield's strongest point was that the bill it was proposed to repeal had been introduced, in 1865, by a Democrat, and that many leading Democrats had supported it; but this is hardly ingenuous. The Democrats had no difficulty in showing that the bill was a measure of restriction on the previously unlimited power in the use of the Army at the South exercised by the President, and therefore a clear gain for their side. There is a lamentable want of seriousness on both sides in the whole business. The Democratic pretence that the Act, after existing fourteen years, threatens our liberties and must be repealed in April, 1879, if this Republic is to get through the summer, is about equalled by the Republican pretence that sticking it to an Appropriation Bill is in itself "revolutionary." The debate now going on ought to have taken place after the President had vetoed the bill. Beginning it now is evidently part of the process of "firing the Northern heart." The readiness of the Democrats to fall into the Republican traps—witness Mr. Randolph Tucker's proposal to make ex-Confederates eligible for commissions in the Federal Army—it must be admitted goes far to excuse the Republicans for setting the traps.

The measure which now forms the bone of contention is entitled "An Act to prevent officers of the Army and Navy and other persons engaged in the military or naval service of the United States from interfering in elections in the States." It was approved February 25, 1865, by President Lincoln, but Senator Powell, of Kentucky, announced his intention to introduce it as early as December 9, 1863, that is, immediately after the opening of the first session of the 38th Congress, and actually brought it in (as Senate Bill No. 37) on January 5, 1864. The author of it began by offering two amendments designed to propitiate the majority, both of which were adopted. The first section originally read:

> "That it shall not be lawful for any military or naval officer of the United States, or other person engaged in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, to order, bring, keep, or have under his authority or control any troops or armed men at the place where any general or special election is held in any State of the United States."

Mr. Powell moved to add: "unless it shall be necessary to repel the armed enemies of the United States." He also reduced the penalties affixed to a violation of the prohibition. Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, recalling the practice of Democratic sheriffs, while that State was a Territory, of surrounding the polls with a large armed posse to overawe Free-State voters, moved to add the further qualification: "or to keep the peace at the polls," his sole object being, he said, to prevent collisions. This was adopted, by Republican votes only, and the bill finally passed on the same day by 19 to 13. Still another debate arose on the following day on a motion to reconsider, made by Senator Harlan, which was lost by yeas 19, nays 23. The bill was referred in the House to the Judiciary Committee, which reported it favorably at the next session, on February 22, 1865, when on motion of the chairman, Mr. Wilson, of Iowa, it was passed *without debate* under the previous question by 113 to 18, among the nays being Messrs. Ashley, Winter Davis, Garfield, Kelley, and Thaddeus Stevens.

The issue raised by the bill was the constitutional right of the commander-in-chief to determine the qualifications of voters and control the elections in loyal States; and the grievance complained of was not imaginary, nor was it contested by the Republicans in the debate. Under various generals—Burnside in Kentucky, Schofield in Missouri, McClellan and Dix in Maryland, and Dix and Schenck in Delaware—the right of the military authorities to protect Union voters and to purge the polls of rebel sympathizers and returned rebels, by imposing oaths of allegiance and making arrests, was asserted and exercised. There was no constitutional excuse for this except constructively under the "war-power"; and the Republicans were frank enough to admit it, Senator Harlan even saying:

> "In a time of peace, I agree, there being no necessity for the exercise of this tutelary authority which I have referred to, it would be incompetent for Congress to pass any law relating to the qualification of electors in any State, or in any way regulating their elections."

A conscientious perception of this, joined to the confidence in the speedy overthrow of the rebellion inspired by the midsummer victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, doubtless led Senators Grimes, Hale, Harlan himself, Harris, Pomeroy, Trumbull, and Wade to vote for the bill; just as a desire to evade the constitutional argument led the Republicans primarily to refuse to refer the bill to the Judiciary Committee, giving it instead to Senator Wilson's Committee on Military Affairs. Senator Pomeroy's amendment, a purely casual one, was of course deprecated and opposed by the Democrats, who insisted that the State authorities could keep the peace at the polls, and that the amendment would nullify the main object of the bill. In fact, however, they consented to give a positive and definite sanction to military interference rather than lose the bill. A year later, on the eve of the collapse of the rebellion, when the Border States had ceased to be a concern to the Unionists, and above all when Mr. Lincoln had been re-elected, the House cared little for the enactment one way or the other. No one foresaw its bearing on the momentous question of Federal police, in time of peace, at elections for Federal officers, then conceded to be under the "tutelary authority" of the States; nor did any one who op

posed it as reactionary, dream that it would one day be defended as (to borrow the happy phrase of the New York *Staats-Zeitung*) an instrument of "historical development."

They are having a delightful time in Congress on both sides, in the complete absence of all serious business. One side is giving loud utterance to the "rebel yell," while the other is rescuing Anthony Burns from the custody of the United States Marshal in Boston. A little paper in Mississippi, the Okolona *Gazette*, said to be edited by an Ohio carpet-bagger, and enjoying a circulation of three hundred and fifty, has been "thanking" God that the Confederates have at last "captured the Capitol." Mr. Frye, of Maine, had the article solemnly read at the Clerk's desk, but warned the rebels on the other side that they had not got possession of the Capitol yet, and "under God" they never would. This brought great applause from the Republican side. Mr. Chalmers, of Mississippi, compared Mr. Conger to a court-jester, thus greatly encouraging the Democrats, but they were bitterly cast down when Conger retorted by comparing Chalmers to a monkey on a hand-organ, which correspondingly elated the Republicans. The Republicans are likely to be helped by a kind of mania among the negroes, which is leading them to quit Louisiana and Mississippi in great numbers, some who are well-off selling everything they have at a sacrifice in order to get away to Kansas. Two thousand are said to have reached St. Louis in a state of great destitution. According to the rebels, this is all due to the machinations of Yankee agents; according to the Union soldiers, it is due to a desire to escape from bull-dozing and cheating. Whichever it be, it is pretty certain that the great majority of the poor people will not better their condition, as in Kansas they will be brought into competition with some of the most energetic labor in the world.

The evidence of Mr. Gorham, the Secretary of the Republican Executive Committee, before the Wallace Committee is edifying reading from the civil-service reform point of view. The assessing of Government employees for political purposes has been positively forbidden by statute, but the Republican Committee seems to have considered the statute a sort of joke and their liberty of action complete. Gorham says their "feeling against assessments" was unanimous, and they magnanimously resolved that the contributions should be "voluntary." They accordingly sent round agents to dun the unfortunate and poorly-paid clerks, and actually raised one per cent. from them on their salaries, amounting in all to $93,000. The whole campaign fund raised amounted to only $106,000, so that all which that portion of the party which does not get its living out of the public Treasury contributed to save the country from the Democratic "revolutionists" was $13,000. The rest was extorted from the civil servants of the Government, who have of right no more interest in saving the country than anybody else, and who are already wretchedly paid. Moreover, Gorham perverted the money, for he used some of it to circulate very silly twaddle of his own, in which he sought to belittle the financial question and encourage the inflationists. And yet when the Democrats come into power there will be a great outcry if they dismiss from the public service the persons whose salaries furnished last year eighty-eight per cent. of the total cost of the Republican canvass.

Tilden has been unusually active of late for an old paralytic with "transparent hands" and all his faculties gone except his memory. After procuring the election of a "notorious squire" in the Philadelphia municipal election and getting the keeper of the Auburn Penitentiary dismissed, he brought about the election of Mr. Randall as Speaker of the House and got Congressman O'Reilly put out of the Brooklyn Board of Aldermen; had the Police Commissioners called on to show cause why they should not be removed, and had Gumbleton the County Clerk dismissed and the office seized at daybreak by Thompson. He then redistricted the State of Indiana, "sold out" of the Elevated Railroad, making a profit of three millions, and put a Democrat into a Florida seat in the House which rightly belonged to a Republican, and is now trying to coerce the President by tacking revolutionary legislation to appropriation bills. In addition to this he is directing the operations of a large band of hired men who are disseminating falsehoods invented by himself. These are only a few of his public "moves." His private "moves" are not, of course, easily watched, but they are far more numerous and nefarious, and consist of various forms of fraudulent speculation and railroad and steamboat wrecking. He probably in leisure moments sends little boys to the banks with forged checks, and waits round the corner for the money. It is a favorite trick with him to give out after "a move" that it is Green's or some other man's "move," inasmuch as if his own hand were in it it would have been done differently, and so on.

The appointment of Mr. Andrew D. White to the Berlin mission is a very fortunate solution of what the Administration has, we believe, found a very troublesome problem. Mr. White is a gentleman whose character and attainments and position fully fit him for the place, and he is a graduate of the University of Berlin, and will, therefore, be at home among German scholars, as well as among German statesmen. The one flaw in his equipment is his respect for Mr. Roscoe Conkling as a politician, which in an educated man is hard to understand, and must in charity be set down to youthful associations and memories. It is difficult to believe that anybody who thinks Mr. Conkling a statesman can have a very high political ideal; but Mr. White's political ideal, nevertheless, is high, and he preaches it with courage and fervor on all proper occasions. Few men in the country have given more attention to the philosophy of politics, or have done more to promote the study of it. But we doubt much if he has mastered the Arthur-Cornell case, or if Mr. Conkling would consider anybody who was not familiar with it fit for a high public office.

A Justice of the Court of Appeals has been shot dead in the public street in Kentucky by a defeated litigant. In Georgia, the other day, a leading citizen was shot because he used a power of attorney for the sale of a contract. In Virginia, a young man in a shoe-store has been killed for not admitting that he had insulted a lady, whose name was not communicated to him, when fitting a pair of boots. In Texas, two peaceable men, actors, have been shot by a "detective" for objecting to having a lady who was travelling with them called names. The affrays in the public streets —that is, of attempts to kill which are not successful—which are reported in the Southern papers, are almost beyond counting. An ex-Congressman, who committed suicide in Tennessee the other day, slew himself with a pistol he had borrowed from a friend on the pretence that he expected "a difficulty," that is, a fight with somebody on the public high-road like a breech-clouted Sioux or Zulu. It is only within a month that order has been restored in Breathitt County, Kentucky, by the militia; the male inhabitants of that district having passed the previous year literally in lying in wait for each other with guns behind bushes and banks.

The newspapers condemn these things, but only in a half-hearted way, for the simple reason that public opinion at the South does tolerate murder as an expression of hatred, and only reprobates and punishes it when it is a means or accompaniment of robbery or rape. The Southern community is, in short, on this subject, in a condition of gross barbarism, as low as that of Kurdistan and lower than that of the Corsican mountaineers. If it supposes that any permanent and abounding prosperity can come to a region in which life is held so cheap it is hugely mistaken. No country in the world has yet prospered until it gave up the practice of assassination. Even in duelling countries like France a man need not fight if he does not please to do so. It is only in Asia Minor and the mountain regions of Afghanistan and the Southern States that persons are liable to be "shot on sight" if their neighbors are displeased with them. We had hoped in this part of

the world that these savage "ante-bellum" customs were dying out, but they seem to be strong as ever. What the South needs even more than capital or immigration appears to be a stock of skilful and industrious hangmen. Pennsylvania in hanging nineteen "Mollie Maguires" within the last two years for killing people whom they disliked in a business way, put the imperilled prosperity of the State on a sure and lasting foundation. The old joke about the shipwrecked sailor who "thanked God he was in a civilized country" because when he got ashore he saw a gibbet with a man hanging on it, was not so much of a joke as it seems. Plenty of gibbets with one murderer at least on each is what the South needs for that much-talked of job, "the restoration of her waste places."

The Virginia State debt has at last been settled by the passage of the McCulloch bill. Registered and coupon bonds are to be issued, dated January 1, 1879, the principal payable in 1919, with interest at three per cent. for ten years, four per cent. for the next twenty years, and five per cent. for the last ten years. The State has the option to redeem any or all of the bonds by paying the principal and accrued interest at any time after the expiration of ten years from January 1, 1879. The coupons will be receivable at maturity for all taxes and dues of the State, and the bonds and coupons are non-taxable. This settlement has been violently opposed by a party known as the Forcible Readjusters, who objected to any rate of interest greater than three per cent. and to the tax-receivable feature of the coupons. They prevented the passage of the bill during the regular session of the Legislature, thus making an extra session necessary at an expense of $40,000 to the embarrassed treasury of Virginia, and this too when they were pretending that the State could not afford to pay the interest on its debts. On the other hand, the press and members of the Conservative party, which contains the best elements of the people, have all along been as strongly in favor of an honest and speedy settlement as the bondholders could desire, and it is through their perseverance that the difficulty has been satisfactorily solved. The bill is, in fact, satisfactory enough. The State can now pay three per cent. without any additional taxation, and time is given for recuperation before any increase of interest is made. The bondholders are secured by the tax-receivable feature of the coupons.

In Wall Street the money market has been seasonably active during the week, but the usual drain of currency from the New York banks was felt more than usual because of the previous drains into the Treasury on account of 4 per cent. bond subscriptions, and the shipments last week to New Orleans to fortify the banks of that city. The reserve of the New York banks was reduced last week to about $3,000,000, the lowest for several years. As settlements to the extent of $150,000,000 on account of the refunding operations of January were due in the month of April there was considerable anxiety, and the Secretary of the Treasury early in the week instructed the Treasurer in a way that should relieve apprehension. In short, he directed that no money should be drawn from the banks in payment of 4 per cent. bonds until money had been paid out by the Treasury for 5-20 bonds redeemed. This was a valuable guarantee, and when it became known on the last day of March that a very large part of the April settlements had been anticipated the public mind became settled, and the fact that money commanded fully 7 per cent. was looked upon as a temporary matter, to be relieved soon by the Treasury payments and the ordinary commercial currents of money; these currents run towards New York from the middle of April until midsummer. Notwithstanding dear money the Stock Exchange markets were strong, and even sterling bills advanced. The subscriptions to the 4 per cent. bonds began late in the week, and a call for the redemption of another $10,000,000 of 5-20s was issued, making $280,000,000 issued this year. The London silver market early in the week was strong, the price rising from 49¾*d.* to 50 3/16*d.* per oz.; later there was a decline to 49⅝*d.* At the close of the week the bullion value of the 412½-grain silver dollar was $0.8391; the highest for the week was $0.8469; and the lowest, $0.8372.

In England the Ministry won an easy victory in the Lords on a motion censuring Sir Bartle Frere, the High Commissioner at the Cape, for having brought on the war with Cetewayo (pronounced Ketchwyo) by sending him an ultimatum which the Home Government had not seen, and disapproved of when it did see it. He was defended successfully by the plea that it was the one mistake of an able man who had rendered inestimable service in bringing about the Confederation of the South African Colonies, and that the Government would not be bound by it in their future dealings with the Zulus. Since then the weightier charge of having begun the war before he was ready has been made against him, with the support derived from the Isandula disaster, and he has been debated in the Commons, but the Government again escaped with a majority of 306 to 246, which is less than it has yet had and is really a defeat. The Marquis of Hartington made a strong point against them that Sir Bartle Frere had submitted plans of campaign as early as January 9, which must have made them aware that he was bent on an early fight. The public is waiting with much anxiety for news from Colonel Pearson, who was in command of one of the invading columns when the Isandula disaster occurred, and was left high and dry by it at Elkowe, a place about forty miles from the frontier. He is entrenched there with thirteen hundred men, and a supply of provisions which must be run out by this time. A relieving column was about to start at the date of the last advices.

The gloom in the commercial situation in England continues unabated, and the process of reducing wages in all trades to the point at which successful competition in foreign markets will become possible, goes on relentlessly, in spite of the desperate resistance of the operatives by strikes. Within the present year the reduction will probably be complete. Lord Beaconsfield, speaking in the House of Lords on the agricultural depression, put the depreciation of property in the landed interest at $400,000, and estimated the amount of land which has gone out of cultivation at 1,000,000 acres. The prevailing feeling of uneasiness is being intensified every day by the revelations of weakness among the joint-stock banks. The Mercantile Bank of India, London, and China announces that it is in difficulties and will have to use up its reserve in getting out of them. The Oriental Bank, a short time ago, made a similar announcement, and this gives the final shake to the credit of the Eastern trade. The unfortunate shareholders of the Glasgow Bank have received a final call for $10,500, which it is supposed will ruin all who still survive. What makes this catastrophe all the more shocking is that a considerable number of the shareholders held the shares simply as trustees, under marriage settlements and the like; but the law holds them personally liable, to the last cent of their personal property.

The Bulgarians have now, it is said, fully seventy thousand men under arms, and fairly drilled; and there is every reason to believe that if disturbances broke out in Eastern Rumelia they would be used against the Turks. The fact of the existence of this force, too, renders disturbances in Eastern Rumelia all the more likely, and the people have given unmistakable signs of their determination not to let the Turks occupy the Balkans peaceably. This has so far disarranged the Beaconsfield programme that the Powers have agreed that a joint occupation of the province will be necessary to prevent Turkey from having to fight for this remarkable bulwark against Russian aggression. England, Austria, Russia, and Turkey are to furnish twenty-five hundred men each for this purpose; the Russian contingent to occupy the Balkan side. Turkey is much troubled by this arrangement, but, acknowledging it to be inevitable, is trying to stipulate that her contingent shall be larger than the others, so as to preserve some sign of her suzerainty. The Bulgarian Assembly declines to permit their prince to be tributary to the Sultan.

CONGRESSIONAL CONTROL OF FEDERAL ELECTIONS.

IF the controversy over the means of securing free and fair elections now raging in Congress were somewhat more serious than it is—that is, if each side was not so much occupied in making the other "put itself on record" in a damaging manner—there can be little doubt that a satisfactory solution of the problem could be readily reached. Every intelligent and candid man in the country knows well that neither the Democratic nor the Republican description of the situation is correct. It is not true that Federal voters at the South need no more protection now than they did before the war, or that the State authorities are as likely to furnish such protection as they were before the war; nor is it true, on the other hand, that the machinery provided for this purpose by the Republican party is free from very grave objections. Whether the bestowal of the suffrage on the blacks was wise or foolish, the fact is that they now possess it, and that they are not competent, as an equal number of white men would be, to protect themselves in the enjoyment of it. As long as they do possess it, however, the whole country is interested in the highest degree in seeing that, at the polls at least, they can vote without let or hindrance. With the motive which determines a voter's will prior to his coming to the polls, whether fear or favor, the law cannot well interfere. There is no legal method of making a voter pure and patriotic in the intention with which he casts his ballot; but the law can provide that a man who does desire to cast his ballot honestly shall be able to cast it at the proper place and proper hour without danger to life or limb or property.

That a certain class of voters, and these the feeblest and most helpless, are likely to have considerable difficulty in doing this in certain parts of the country, and that in those parts of the country the State government is not likely to protect them efficiently in doing it, are well-known facts. It may be undesirable that there should be such voters, but as long as there are such voters their inability to vote securely, if witnessed on a large scale, would rapidly bring representative government into utter contempt. No government can support with impunity the caricaturing of the process by which it obtains its authority and vitality. The spectacle of large bodies of voters kept from the polls by systematic fraud or force in one State would soon exert a powerful influence in discrediting universal suffrage in every other State. We are all, therefore, strongly interested in having the negroes vote freely as long as they have the legal right to vote, especially for the men who in the National Legislature are to make laws for the whole country.

But it is not true that there is nothing objectionable in surrounding the polls with supervisors and marshals and deputy-marshals with powers of challenge and arrest, such as they possess under the statute over which the two parties are now quarrelling in Congress. It is not true that when Mr. John Davenport, on election day in this city, seizes on everybody whom he suspects, even on good grounds, of being armed with fraudulent naturalization papers, he is rendering the public a service of unmixed good, or that those who object to his performances necessarily look on cheating with a kindly eye. The powers with which the supervisors and deputy-marshals are armed may be fairly complained of on the ground, which has received singularly little attention in all this controversy, that to challenge a voter wherever the ballot is secret, and arrest and carry him away from the polls for offering to vote, is to inflict on him summarily a very severe penalty—the deprivation of the franchise—which ought not to be inflicted on any one without a proper judicial enquiry. If he has been wrongfully challenged under the present law, the injury done him and his party is irreparable; for, the election over, his opportunity of voting is gone. It is true that the law provides that when arrested by the deputy-marshals—to whose number, by the bye, there need be on election day no limit—he shall be carried before a United States Commissioner, and there be dealt with according to the ordinary process of law. This may be a sufficient protection for his liberty, but it is no protection at all for his vote. The United States Commissioner may be, as he is in this city, a strong political partisan, with a profound belief in the dishonesty of everybody who votes the opposition ticket, and the special deputy-marshals may be, and indeed are, pretty sure to be active workers of the party in power. It is open to any of the deputy-marshals to seize and carry off from the polls any person who offers to cast what they on the spot, in the midst of the turmoil, may choose to consider a fraudulent vote, and to take him before a Commissioner, who may delay his examination until the close of the day. There would be no great harm in this under a system of open *viva-voce* voting, because the challenged voter would state for whom he intended to vote; and if it were subsequently ascertained that the challenge had no foundation, the vote, if necessary, could be counted. But under our secret ballot the challenged voter cannot tell for whom he means to vote. There is at present no arrangement for receiving or recording such information, and there is no way of compelling the voter to furnish it. If, therefore, he is for any reason, whether just or unjust, removed from the polls before voting, his vote is absolutely lost, although it should be clearly proved afterwards that his removal was unwarranted or malicious. Moreover, the two supervisors are not obliged to agree upon a challenge; either of them may challenge. The supervisors, too, in cities of over 20,000 inhabitants, the marshals and deputy-marshals may not only challenge but arrest and take into custody, with or without process, any person accused by them of offering to cast a fraudulent vote in their presence. Practically, therefore, there is no limit to the number of voters whom the United States marshal may carry off from the polls and deprive of their votes, and the only satisfaction the voter can get is his subsequent discharge from custody by the United States Commissioner.

It is hardly necessary to say that the bestowal of these extraordinary powers on the class of persons who usually fill the office of marshal and deputy-marshal would never have been thought of by any party in calm and quiet times. It was the product of the passion, partly philanthropic and partly warlike, of the period of reconstruction. Nor would it have been thought of by any party which did not feel, as the Republican party did after the war, that it would retain control of the Government for an indefinite period. A very large part of the reconstruction legislation was shaped under the influence of the notion, which now seems so strange, that the Democrats could not possibly come back to power. Otherwise the Enforcement Act, which, whenever there is a Democratic President in the White House, will enable Democratic marshals to remove negro voters from the polls by the hundred, would never have been devised as a means of securing free elections. It really seems to have been conceived with the best of intentions and to have covered no purely partisan design, as far as Congress was concerned. Its defects are due to a sort of simple-minded faith in the eternity of Republican rule.

The prevention of fraudulent voting at Federal elections is likely to be as necessary, at least in the large cities, at the North as in the South, and to prevent it there must be some person at the polls empowered to prevent persons suspected of fraud from irrevocably casting their ballots. But a law which enables any officer summarily to deprive a citizen of his vote at the polls because he suspects him of fraudulent intent, will never be quietly accepted by the party in opposition; and it ought not to be, particularly when United States marshals get their places as a reward for their partisan activity. What is needed is the means of keeping the man's vote in suspense until the question of his guilt or innocence is enquired into by a judicial authority. He should, therefore, when challenged, be allowed to cast his ballot on declaring for which candidate or candidates he voted, and then, if he were convicted on enquiry, his vote could be thrown out by the canvassers, or by Congress, in case of a contest before that body; if he were acquitted, it would stand. We make this suggestion on the supposition that the practice of filling offices charged with delicate and important duties, like the United States district-attorneyships, marshalships, and commissionerships with red-hot political partisans, who feel that at every

election they are fighting for their bread, is to be maintained for a good while to come. As long as it is maintained they can never be made acceptable protectors of electoral purity, and voters will need protection against them.

A NEW KIND OF STATE CONSTITUTION.

THE Convention which has recently completed its work in California has reported a new constitution, which will be voted upon on the first Wednesday of May next. The work of the Convention deserves more than ordinary attention, because it is the result of a movement new in American politics. Hitherto constitutional conventions have generally been in the hands of a very conservative class, and usually have been controlled by lawyers. In California the anti-Chinese party, combined with the Communists under Kearney, have exercised such an influence in politics during the past year or two that a powerful minority of the Convention was led by statesmen of the Kearney order. Antecedently, therefore, it might be expected that the new instrument would be somewhat unlike those drawn up for American States hitherto, and such is most certainly the fact.

A State constitution may be regarded as the most complete expression by an American community of its fundamental and permanent ideas of law and government. The constitutions of the Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary period may be said, in a general way, to have consisted of three parts—*first*, provisions relating to the formal organization of the government; *second*, a definition of the powers of the three branches of the government; *third*, a few positive provisions for the protection of the person and property of the citizen, including habeas corpus, trial by jury, etc. These provisions, however, were not at all new, but drawn directly from the same source from which the common law of the various States came—the English statute-book. Indeed, with regard to them it would not be unfair to say, considering the supposed revolutionary origin of American constitutional law, that what is most remarkable about them is not their novelty but their antiquity; the great body of them having been taken from English statutes passed in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., while some of the most important of them go back to the time of John. These safeguards of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness had already proved their value to so many generations of Englishmen and Americans that it was by no figure of speech that they were generally termed then, as they have ever since been, a common birthright.

In the hundred years which have elapsed since the Revolution the spirit of constitution-making in the various States has undergone several marked changes which have attracted more or less attention and criticism. The first serious change, of course, was that which swept through all the States thirty years ago, and introduced universal suffrage and an elective judiciary. Whether this be regrettable or no, it is impossible to deny that the men who were responsible for the change sincerely believed in it. They were drawn, too, as a general thing from a class competent to form an opinion on the basis of suffrage, and the conventions which incorporated the change into the fundamental law were guided by the same traditions and notions of the foundations on which society rests as their predecessors had been. The next change in the spirit of constitution-making which attracted notice was that which made its appearance in several constitutions ten years or more ago—most noticeable, perhaps, in the constitution of Illinois of 1870—in the direction of placing great restrictions upon the power of the legislature, and upon the sovereign right through the legislature to incur debt. In the old constitutions the branch of the government which had been restricted in its functions was the executive. Almost all the grievances from which the American colonies had suffered in the last century (as may be seen from the long list of the "repeated injuries and usurpations" which are enumerated with each recurring Fourth of July by every village orator who is charged with the duty of reading the Declaration of Independence to his fellow-townsmen) were laid by them at the door of the king, and consequently in the old constitutions the official who was most hedged about with definitions and restrictions was the governor. The purpose in view was entirely accomplished. There has probably never been in the history of the world any executive who has made so few encroachments upon popular rights as the governor of the American State. But in carefully guarding these rights from encroachments in one quarter they had omitted to protect them from assaults in another; and it soon became clear that the legislature might become by means of special legislation, and its power of saddling the State with debts, quite as dangerous to popular government, although in a different way, as kings had been in their own. Consequently in the later constitutions, of which the Illinois constitution is a type, the power of incurring indebtedness and of special legislation is limited in every way. These new safeguards have been found to work well, and in the States in which they have been longest in operation have improved the tone and character of legislation and strengthened the public credit.

A comparison of the earlier constitutions with those recently adopted, however, shows that in one important respect there has been a decline in the art of constitution-making. The point to which we refer is this: In the older constitutions, as has been shown, the framers of the instrument were always careful to incorporate provisions affecting life, liberty, and property, which formed a fundamental part of the common laws of England and America; and the great advantage which was gained by incorporating them into a written constitution was that they were removed from the power of the legislature and made irrepealable except by constitutional amendment. They became part of a law which is superior to all mere legislative acts, and in case of conflict overrides them. Of late years, however, it has become more and more common for demagogues to attempt to make use of constitutional conventions, just as the legislature is made use of every year, by getting them to adopt, for the purpose of appeasing some popular cry, a mass of heterogeneous provisions applicable to the law of persons and property, concocted on the spur of the moment, and embodying no fundamental economical or legal principle tested by the experience of generations, but forming a sort of popular pronunciamiento on a half-understood subject, the actual effect of which the framers themselves cannot foresee. Illustrations of this tendency might be taken from several of the recent constitutions, but that just drawn up in California is the first one in which it has reached a dangerous climax.

The evils and abuses which the Convention undertook to cure and abate were, first, of course, the Chinese difficulty; second, a number of evils which are not peculiar to California, but have appeared in half the States of the Union within the past ten or twelve years—*e. g.*, the escape of large amounts of personal property from taxation, secret combinations by powerful corporations adverse to public interests, the delay of justice owing to the crowded calendars of the courts, excessive rates of toll or service by railroad, telegraph, and gas corporations, corruption in the legislature, gambling in shares of mining companies. When we examine the new constitution to see how the California Convention has dealt with these questions, we find that its most marked characteristic is that it contains some novel and ingenious provision with regard to each of them. In the first place, it proposes to bring stock-gambling to an end by giving to the legislature power to pass laws either to regulate "or *prohibit* the buying and selling of the shares of the capital stock of corporations in any stock board, stock exchange, or stock market under the control of any association." Excessive charges by gas and telegraph companies are brought to an end by directing the legislature to pass laws "for the regulation and limitation of the charges for services performed and commodities furnished" by such corporations. Even charges for "storage and wharfage" are provided for in a similar way, whether made by corporations or *individuals*. Section 35 of the same article brings the corruption of the legislature to an end by declaring "lobbying" (which is made to embrace the somewhat vague offence of seeking to influence the votes of legislators by "intimidation") a felony. The

judiciary article contains a section intended to prevent any further delay or denial of justice in California. It provides that no judge of either Supreme or Superior Court shall draw his monthly salary unless he make oath that no cause remains in his court undecided *which has been submitted for decision for the period of ninety days.* The labor question is disposed of by making eight hours a legal day's work on all public works. Finally, corporations "other than municipal" are handled without gloves. Stock-watering is prevented by declaring any stock issued except for value of some kind received to be "void." For the regulation of railroads a board of commissioners is created with a general power "to establish freight and passenger rates for all transportation companies"; any one who charges more than the rate established is liable to a fine of $5,000 or imprisonment for a year.

Citizenship is, of course, restricted to natives or foreigners not of Mongolian blood, and corporations are prohibited from employing Chinese labor. The old provision that taxation shall be "equal and uniform" is struck out, apparently for the purpose of enabling the Legislature to impose an income-tax increasing with the income. As the new constitution does not prevent the imposition of taxes upon the principal as well, it looks as if the "money kings" of "Nob Hill," as Kearney calls them, would certainly catch it this time. Many of the sections directed against abuses by corporations are so worded as to be almost unintelligible. Railroad companies, for instance, are forbidden to make contracts with vessels plying to California ports, "by which the earnings of one doing the carrying are to be shared by the other not doing the carrying." Whenever a railroad lowers its rates of transportation for the purpose of competing with another railroad, there is to be no increase of rates afterwards without the consent of the government.

Such a farrago as this is a novelty in American constitutional law. Of course it is not difficult to see that much of it will never have any lasting effect upon the social and legal machinery in California, because much of it cannot be carried into effect in any civilized country. Some of it will be explained away by the courts, some of it will be rendered null by the corruption of the officials who are elected to execute it. But as it stands it is not the constitution of a civilized state, but of a civilized state the management of whose affairs has partly fallen into the hands of barbarians. Instead of confining itself, with regard to the ordinary rights of person and property, to a simple declaration of those permanent and settled principles to which, as we have shown, the earlier constitutions always confined themselves, it has embodied in the fundamental law of the State a mass of heterogeneous and confused edicts, representing nothing more substantial than those gusts of popular passion which hitherto have spent themselves in primaries or in the election of party candidates, or at most in laws passed *subject* to overruling by the judicial interpretation of a constitution based on fixed principles. That they should now have reached and so largely controlled the action of a constitutional convention is a bad sign. So far as such a constitution as that proposed in California fails of the evident objects of its authors, it tends to bring all laws and constitutions into contempt. So far as it succeeds, it marks the first incorporation into American constitutional law of pure communism.

AN ENGLISH WINTER WATERING-PLACE.

London, March 18, 1879.

I HAVE just been spending a couple of days at a well-known resort upon the Kentish coast, and though in these circumstances there was nothing particularly novel or significant in my situation, yet, as to the truly observing mind no opportunity is altogether void and no impressions are wholly valueless, I have it on my conscience to make a note of my excursion. Superficially speaking, it was certainly wanting in originality; but I am afraid that it afforded me as much entertainment as if the idea of paying a visit to Hastings had been an invention of my own. This is so far from being the case that the most striking feature of this locality is the immense provision made there for the entertainment of visitors. Hastings and St. Leonard's, standing side by side, present a united sea-front of more miles in length than I shall venture to specify. It is sufficient that in going from one end of the place to the other I had a greater sense of having taken a long, straight walk, than I had done since I last measured the remarkable length of Broadway. This is not a strikingly picturesque image, and it must be confessed that the beauty of Hastings does not reside in a soft irregularity or a rural exuberance. Like all the larger English watering-places it is simply a little London *super mare.* There is always picturesqueness to be found in England if one will take the trouble of looking for it; but it must be conceded that at Hastings this element is less obtrusive than it might be. I had heard it described as a "dull Brighton," and this description had been intended to be what is vulgarly called a "crusher." In fact, however —such is the perversity of the enquiring mind—it had rather quickened than quenched my interest. It occurred to me that it might be entertaining to follow out the variations and modifications of Brighton. Four or five miles of lodging-houses and hotels staring at the sea across a "parade" adorned with iron benches, with hand-organs and German bands, with nursemaids and British babies, with ladies and gentlemen of leisure—looking rather embarrassed with it and trying, rather unsuccessfully, to get rid of it—this is the great feature which Brighton and Hastings have in common. At Brighton there is a certain variety and gayety of color—something suggesting crookedness and yellow paint—which gives the place a kind of cheerful, easy, more or less vulgar, foreign air. But Hastings is very grey and sober and English, and, indeed, it is because it seemed to me so English that I gave my best attention to it. If one is attempting to gather impressions of a people and to learn to know them, everything is interesting that is characteristic, quite apart from its being beautiful. English manners are made up of such a multitude of small details that the picture a stranger has mentally formed of them is always liable to receive new touches. And this, indeed, is the explanation of his noting a great many small points, on the spot, with a degree of relish and appreciation which must often, to people who are not in his position, appear exaggerated. He has formed a mental picture of the civilization of the people he lives among and whom, when he has a great deal of courage, he makes bold to say he is "studying"; he has drawn up a kind of tabular view of their manners and customs, their idiosyncrasies, their social institutions, their general features and properties; and when once he has suspended this rough cartoon in the chambers of his imagination, he finds a great deal of occupation in touching it up and filling it in. Wherever he goes, whatever he sees, he adds a few strokes. That is how I spent my time at Hastings.

I found it, for instance, a question more interesting than it might superficially appear, to choose between the inns—between the Royal Hotel upon the Parade and an ancient hostel—a survival of the posting-days—in a side street. A friend had described the latter establishment to me as "mellow," and this epithet complicated the problem. The term mellow, as applied to an inn, is the comparative degree of a state of things of which (say) "musty" would be the superlative. If you can seize this tendency in its comparative stage you may do very well indeed; the trouble is that, like all tendencies, it contains, even in its earlier phases, the germs of excess. I thought it very possible that the "Swan" would be over-ripe; but I thought it equally probable that the Royal would be crude. I could claim a certain acquaintance with "royal" hotels—I knew just how they were constituted. I foresaw the superior young woman sitting at a ledger, in a kind of glass case, at the bottom of the stairs, and expressing by refined intonations her contempt for a gentleman who should decline to "require" a sitting-room. The functionary whom in America we know and dread as a hotel-clerk belongs in England to the sex which, when need be, has an even more perfect command of the supercilious. Large hotels here are almost always owned and carried on by companies, and the company is represented by a well-shaped female figure belonging to the class whose members are more particularly known as "persons." The chambermaid is a young woman, and the female tourist is a lady; but the occupant of the glass case, who hands you your key and assigns you your apartment, is designated in the manner I have mentioned. The "person" has various methods of revenging herself for her shadowy position in the social scale, and I think it was from a vague recollection of having on former occasions felt the weight of her embittered spirit that I determined to seek the hospitality of the humbler inn, where it was probable that a solitary gentleman who should after all decide to indulge in the luxury of a sitting-room would be treated as a prince. Once established at the "Swan," in the sitting-room, the whole affair was as characteristically English as I could desire.

I have sometimes had occasion to repine at the meagreness and mustiness of the old-fashioned English inn, and to feel that in poetry and in fiction these defects had been culpably glossed over. But I said to myself the other evening that there is a kind of venerable decency even in some of its dingiest idiosyncrasies, and that in an age of vulgarization one should do justice to an institution which is still more or less of a stronghold of the ancient amenities. It is a satisfaction in moving about the world to be treated as a gentleman, and this gratification appears to be more than, in the light of modern science, a Company can profitably undertake to bestow. I have an old friend, a person of admirably conservative instincts, from whom, a short time since, I borrowed a hint of this kind. This lady had been staying at a small inn in the country, with her daughter; the daughter, whom we shall call Mrs. B., had left the house a few days before the mother. "Did you like the place?" I asked of my friend; "was it comfortable?" "No, it was not comfortable; but I liked it. It was shabby, and I was much overcharged; but it pleased me." "What was the mysterious charm?" "Well, when I was coming away, the landlady—she had cheated me horribly—came to my carriage, and dropped a curtsy, and said: 'My duty to Mrs. B., ma'am.' Que voulez-vous? That pleased me." There was an old waiter at Hastings who would have been capable of that—an old waiter who had been in the house for forty years, and who was not so much an individual waiter as the very spirit and genius, the incarnation and tradition, of waiterhood. He was faded and weary and rheumatic, but he had a kind of mixture of the paternal and the deferential, the philosophic and the punctilious, which seemed but grossly requited by a present of small coin. I am not fond of jugged hare for dinner, either as a light *entrée* or as a *pièce de résistance;* but this accomplished attendant had the art of presenting you such a dish in a manner that persuaded you, for the time, that it was worthy of your serious consideration. The hare, by the way, before being subjected to the mysterious operation of jugging, might have been seen dangling from a hook in the bar of the inn, together with a choice collection of other viands. You might peruse the bill of fare in an elementary form as you passed in and out of the house, and make up your *menu* for the day by poking with your stick at a juicy-looking steak or a promising fowl. The landlord and his spouse were always on the threshold of the bar, polishing a brass candlestick, and paying you their respects; the place was pervaded by an aroma of rum-and-water, and of commercial travellers' jokes.

This description, however, is lacking in the element of gentility, and I will not pursue it further, for I should give a very false impression of Hastings if I were to omit so characteristic a feature. It was, I think, the element of gentility that most impressed me. I know that the word I have just ventured to use is under the ban of contemporary taste; so I may as well say outright that I regard it as indispensable in almost any attempt at portraiture of English manners. It is vain for an observer of such things to pretend to get on without it. One may talk of foreign life indefinitely—of the manners and customs of France, Germany, and Italy—and never feel the need of this suggestive, yet mysteriously discredited, epithet. One may survey the remarkable face of American civilization without finding occasion to strike this particular note. But in England no circumlocution will serve—the note must be definitely struck. To attempt to speak of an English watering-place in winter and yet pass it over in silence, would be to forfeit all claims to analytic talent. For a stranger, at any rate, the term is invaluable—it is more convenient than I should find easy to say. It is instantly evoked in my mind by long rows of stucco-fronted houses, with a card inscribed "Apartments" suspended in the window of the ground-floor sitting-room—that portion of the dwelling which is known in lodging-house parlance as "the parlors." Everything, indeed, suggests it—the bath-chairs, drawn up for hire in a melancholy row; the innumerable and excellent shops, adorned with the latest photographs of the royal family and of Mrs. Langtry; the little reading-room and circulating library on the Parade, where the daily papers, neatly arranged, may be perused for a trifling fee, and the novels of the season are stacked away like the honey-combs in an apiary; the long pier, stretching out into the sea, to which you are admitted by the payment of a penny at a wicket, and where you may enjoy the music of an indefatigable band, the enticements of several little stalls for the sale of fancy-work, and the personal presence of good local society. It is only the winking, twinkling, easily-rippling sea that is not genteel. But, really, I felt like saying at Hastings that if the sea were not genteel, so much the worse for Neptune; for it was the favorable aspect of the great British proprieties and solemnities that struck me. Hastings and St. Leonard's, with their long, warm sea-front, and their multitude of small, cheap comforts and conveniences, offer a kind of résumé of middle-class English civilization and of advantages of which it would ill become an American to make light. I don't suppose that life at Hastings is the most exciting or the most gratifying in the world, but it must certainly have its advantages. If I were a quiet old lady of modest income and nice habits—or even a quiet old gentleman of the same pattern—I should certainly go to Hastings. There, amid the little shops and the little libraries, the bath-chairs and the German bands, the Parade and the long Pier, with a mild climate, a moderate scale of prices, and the consciousness of a high civilization, I should enjoy a seclusion which would have nothing primitive or crude. I am afraid that the more frugal amateurs of life find no such well-padded nests in America.

Notes.

HENRY HOLT & CO. publish immediately 'Money and Trade,' by Prof. Francis A. Walker; 'Communism in America,' by Henry Ammon James (the John A. Porter University Prize Essay, Yale College, 1878); and Symonds's 'Renaissance in Italy: The Fine Arts.'——Other spring announcements are: 'The Russian Army and the Campaigns of 1877-78,' by Lieut. F. V. Greene (D. Appleton & Co.); the third volume of Green's 'History of the English People,' and 'Northward Ho!' by Capt. A. H. Markham, R.N., who describes English attempts to reach the North Pole (Macmillan & Co.); 'Great Orations and Speeches of Daniel Webster,' with an introductory essay by Edwin P. Whipple (Little, Brown & Co.); 'Wild Life in a Southern Country,' by the agreeable author of 'The Gamekeeper at Home' (Roberts Bros.)——The late William Howitt, as we learn from the *Academy*, has left behind him a complete autobiography, the publication of which may be confidently looked for. ——Daniel Slote & Co., New York, are preparing a children's edition of their 'American Plant Book,' especially adapted for the preservation of forest leaves.——Mr. John Williamson, whose 'Ferns of Kentucky' we not long ago had occasion to praise, now sends us the prospectus of a forthcoming volume of 'Fern Etchings,' containing representations of all the ferns that have been found in the Eastern and Middle States. Accompanying this is a specimen of two of the etchings, with brief descriptive text, which the publishers (John P. Morton & Co., Louisville, Ky.) will send to any one on receipt of fifteen cents. They are quite worth the money merely as works of art, though that is not their chief excellence. ——The opening paper in the *American Naturalist* for April, on "Animal Music, its Nature and Origin," by Xenos Clark, is noticeable both for the scientific theory put forth in it, and for probably the completest transcription of bird melodies yet made. The music fills seven pages, and is also sold separately in sheet form, by McCalla & Stavely (Philadelphia).—— From the *Magazine of American History* for April we learn that Messrs. Charles Henry Hart and William A. Baker, of Philadelphia, are preparing a 'Descriptive List of all the Engraved Portraits of Washington,' with notes and observations on the original pictures. They desire to be put into communication with collectors.——Parts iii., iv., Vol. XV., of the 'Essex Institute Historical Collections,' are wholly taken up with an account of the Institute's celebration, September 18, 1878, of the fifth half-century of the landing of Governor John Endicott in Salem, Mass. The appendix contains biographical notes of interest, and a chronological list of events in Salem from its settlement to the present time. There is also a steel portrait of the first Governor of Massachusetts——We have received from Mr. Frederick Prime, jr., Assistant Geologist of Pennsylvania, a useful 'Catalogue of Official Reports upon Geological Surveys of the United States and of British North America" (51 pp. 8vo). There is a great disparity among the States in the number and character of these reports.——The Report of the scientific results of the First Session (June–August, 1878) of the Chesapeake Zoölogical Laboratory connected with the Johns Hopkins University makes a handsome volume of 170 pp, with 13 plates (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co.) Mr. W. K. Brooks, the Director, treats of the development of *Lingula*, "the oldest animal now living, and almost the earliest which is now found as a fossil."——The last volume of Longfellow's 'Poems of Places' (which we have received from Houghton, Osgood & Co.) contains a very desirable collection of local and little-known poems relating to the Middle States. The great rivers and lakes are honored, but the lack of human interest, in comparison with the volumes on New England, is striking, and we cannot help thinking the collection on Niagara humiliating to the race. ——The fifty-fourth exhibition of the National Academy of Design was

opened the day before yesterday. Works which redeem the display from commonplace are Edgar M. Ward's "Paternal Pride," a strong Breton interior and figures; W. P. W. Dana's "Beach at Dinant," with peasants gathering seaweed; Hovenden's "Pendant le Repos," a third Brittany subject; J. Carroll Beckwith's Vandyke-like portrait of Mrs. McCurdy; John S. Sargent's little wanton boys who swim on bladders, on the shores of the Bay of Naples; George W. Maynard's somewhat similar, but cooler, beach-effect; Mr. Chase's "Coquette"; and Prof. Eakins's vigorous portrait of Dr. Brinton. The exhibition is generally considered the strongest yet arranged by the Academy.

—Professor Charles Eliot Norton and Mr. Charles H. Moore are engaged, with Mr. Ruskin's approval, in preparing a compend of 'Modern Painters,' intended to contain the substance of its teachings in regard to the principles and practice of art. The work, while preserving that which is of most permanent value and general interest in the original, will be brought within moderate compass. The sections treating of botany and of geology will be reserved by Mr. Ruskin for reworking in connection with his 'Proserpina' and 'Deucalion.' This compend will be illustrated with the original plates and woodcuts, so far as they can be used to advantage. It is to be considered as the final and authoritative form in which Mr. Ruskin desires that the essential doctrines of his book shall be preserved, as it is his intention not to reprint in full the 'Modern Painters.'

—We receive from Albany the hand-book which was prepared for the recent Loan Exhibition in that city. It was devised at a late hour, composed in great haste (the expense being wholly borne by a lady of Albany who was strongly interested in the charitable purpose to serve which the Exhibition had been organized), and is said with undoubted truth to have been of great assistance to the visitors, and, through its ready sale, to the fund. It bears the name of Mr. Prentice Treadwell as author, but the preface gives to another the chapter on printing. No book prepared in such haste as this (ten days) can aspire to completeness or careful arrangement. Tolerably uniform accuracy alone, in such a work, would argue very unusual accomplishments, great knowledge, and the power of drawing on it at will. We are not able to say that the book before us is free from those errors which one falls into when using in haste many authorities, and condensing their varying statements—nor yet from those slips of style which will make themselves visible in such cases as this. But to have done the thing at all, and to have produced as pretty and useful a book as this is, deserves mention as an unusual feat.

—The first part of the catalogue of the Barton collection in the Boston Public Library has been issued, containing in sixty-seven pages not only the editions of Shakspere in the collection, but all throughout the library—an excellent plan, as it is very desirable to have a complete conspectus of the strength of the library in this respect. There are 959 titles of separate editions, and about 200 more of plays contained in miscellaneous collections. The rarities come almost entirely from Mr. Barton, who had all of the first four folios and nearly a third of the quartos issued before 1623. Of course such a collection deserved to be treated with especial care. The catalogue will no doubt be often cited by other librarians and cataloguers when the public are clamoring at their slow progress. These sixty-seven pages have been eleven months in passing through the press, but the result justifies the delay. The work is as nearly perfect as work of this sort ever is. The titles are given in full, with collations; the notes, strictly bibliographical, are made freely wherever needed; the type is small, but beautifully clear; the press-work of the best. Distinction of type is used with good effect. We only regret that names of editors were not printed in s p a c e d type, which would have made it much easier to find one's way among the different editions. We are glad to see that the Public Library is changing its practice and now gives its officers due credit for their labors. The third volume of the Bulletin, lately issued, was described as edited by J. L. Whitney, and the present catalogue is stated on the title-page to be "by John Mascarene Hubbard."

—The committee of nine gentlemen appointed by the Mayor at the public meeting held last month to consider the question of tenement-house reform have submitted a preliminary report. They find that the existing laws on the subject are insufficient to ensure light, air, and ventilation, and prevent overcrowding, or to provide for effectual supervision. They therefore propose to present a bill to the Legislature providing for a system of sanitary police, and the licensing, by the Board of Health, of all tenement houses. They also find that the condition of the streets in the tenement-house quarters of the city is deplorable, and is, in itself, a positive cause of demoralization, filth, and disease. With regard to any large system of improved tenement houses the committee, we are glad to see, think that the ordinary city lot, measuring 25 by 100 feet, should be put out of consideration; that large buildings are requisite; and that such buildings might be made to pay a fair rental independently of their moral advantages. They recommend, therefore, the formation of one or more stock companies under the Limited Liabilities Act, and the creation of a trust fund, something like the Peabody Fund in London, for the construction and maintenance of improved dwellings for the poor. This movement, which is in the charge of a thoroughly capable committee, cannot be regarded by any one who lives in this city as an ordinary charitable enterprise having merely for its object the improvement of the condition of the poor. The tenement-house system in New York constitutes, as it exists to-day, a vast nuisance, which perpetually lowers the health and vitality of the whole city, besides placing it in periodical danger from pestilence and forming a nursery for crime such as hardly exists anywhere else in the civilized world. Such a quarter as that in which the New York tenement houses flourish is unknown in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, or any other large American city; and whatever may have been the excuse for its existence hitherto, certainly, now that the rapid-transit roads have opened a vast area of land on the upper parts of the island for settlement, there is no longer any. The movement to improve the system of dwellings for the poor is a movement really to improve the public health and to diminish the causes of crime. The committee evidently regard the provision of an effective system of licensing and protection the most difficult part of their task; but as the whole movement is meant to rest on an investment of private capital for profit, it is fortunately probable that supervision will not be left to the control of any body of politicians, but be kept in the hands of the individuals or companies who erect the buildings.

—A point of contact, too little regarded, between the inmates of the tenement house and the respectable middle classes is in the public schools, to which compulsory education brings the rough and vicious characters whose presence every school-teacher dreads, over whom a delicate woman is generally placed, and against whose infractions of order or common decency no physical defence is allowed or would be operative. This subject is incidentally treated in the last report of the Superintendent of Truancy, in this city, to the Board of Education. He recommends following the example set by the Brooklyn Board, in opening schools for habitual truants exclusively. To these would naturally be transferred the black sheep of the common ward-schools, and in them a more rigid discipline would develop their capacity for improvement, and sift out the incorrigible for a second transfer to some house of correction. Truancy would be not a little diminished by such measures, while the lot of the teacher would be made easier, and the better class of children be saved from contagion. The Superintendent shows that in four years substantial progress has been made under the Truancy law, both in increasing the average attendance at school and in reducing (by twenty-four per cent.) the number of children between the ages of eight and fourteen arrested and held or committed by the police courts. He points out certain modifications of the Act of May 11, 1874, which would make it much more efficacious, and which are so reasonable that they certainly should be had for the asking.

—The sixth and last concert of the Steinway Hall series which took place on Saturday night may justly be considered the musical event of the season. A selection of unusual merit attracted one of the largest audiences that has ever filled Steinway Hall. The programme contained only two names, Beethoven and Wagner, both representative men of the period to which each belongs. The first number was Wagner's Overture to Tannhäuser. A more perfect rendering of this interesting work than that given on Saturday night is hardly possible to imagine. The Choral, with instrumental introduction, from the third act of the "Meistersinger," is new to New York concert-goers. It is a hymn for St. John's day, the birthday of Hans Sachs, the hero of the opera, and the words are taken from one of the old cobbler-poet's own spiritual songs. The orchestra did its part admirably, but the same cannot be said of the chorus, which appeared not to be perfectly sure of their parts: the first *unisono* intonation, particularly, was harsh and out of tune. The "Kaisermarsch" was heard for the first time with the addition of the chorus, which, however, did not add much to the massive grandeur of the work. The second part consisted of Beethoven's last and greatest symphony, the Ninth in D minor. The performance was exceedingly good. Dr. Damrosch feels sometimes inclined to take liberties with the

tempo which are in our opinion unjustified. No composer has been more careful than Beethoven to mark in his pieces the time and manner in which they should be executed, and if a conductor, after having conquered the technical difficulties, will only conscientiously adhere to the master's own indications, he will come as near a perfect rendering as is possible. However, Dr. Damrosch's performance was an artistic success. The chorus was very fair, and the solo quartet executed their difficult and ungracious part very creditably.——Mr. Henry G. Hanchett made his first appearance here in a piano-forte recital given by him at Chickering Hall on Wednesday afternoon. He is an excellent pianist and showed himself at his best in rendering works of the modern school. His interpretation of Bach was spiritless and wanting in vigor and earnestness. The Beethoven sonata Op. 53 in C was an improvement, and the last four numbers of the programme, compositions by Chopin, Liszt, Schumann, and Rubinstein, were given by Mr. Hanchett in a truly poetical and artistic manner. We should like to hear more of him before giving a final opinion on his merits, and trust we shall have an opportunity of judging him in a piano-forte concerto of Beethoven, or Liszt, or Rubinstein.——The two principal events of last week's Italian opera were Madame Gerster's first appearance in "Traviata" and the first performance this season of Meyerbeer's "Dinorah." Madame Gerster gained a signal success as *Violetta;* her singing was admirable, and her acting, though sometimes lacking in dramatic vigor, was always refined and artistic. It may be safely asserted that Meyerbeer's tedious and shallow opera was only saved from a *fiasco* by the excellent manner in which both singers—particularly Madame Gerster and Signor Galassi—and the orchestra performed their thankless and unprofitable task.

—The distinguishing merit of the series of symphony concerts under Dr. Damrosch, at Steinway Hall, has been its programmes of sterling artistic merit. The opening concert was full of promise of what was to come; Beethoven's symphony in C minor, Wagner's introduction to the "Meistersinger," and Raff's violin concerto in E minor, which was admirably played by Mr. Wilhelmj, forming part of it. Selection was sadly at fault for the second concert, however, which would have proved a total failure had it not been for Mr. Pinner's excellent rendering of Beethoven's E flat piano-forte concerto, the only redeeming feature of the programme. The third concert introduced Mr. Franz Rummel, who made his first appearance in Grieg's piano-forte concerto in A minor. This brilliant young artist at once took his audience by storm with a performance that was remarkable for vigor and fire. The remaining numbers were Schubert's unfinished symphony in B minor, Schumann's symphony in C, and a charming song of Berlioz with violoncello obligato from Victor Hugo's "Orientales"—"Si je n'étais captive." The fourth concert was favored again by Mr. Wilhelmj's assistance, who played the first movement of Beethoven's violin concerto. It was a matter of regret to many that so conscientious and scholarly an artist as Mr. Wilhelmj condescended to destroy the harmonious completeness of this noble work by playing only the first part of it. It is by no means a long composition, and is so rich in melody and beautiful harmony that there was probably no one in the audience who would not have been glad to hear it in its entirety with such a rendering. A bright and tuneful little symphony of Saint-Saëns was performed for the first time, and at once highly appreciated. Volkmann's serenade in D minor for string orchestra, with violoncello obligato, and Liszt's "Préludes" were among the remaining numbers of this interesting concert. The feature of the fifth concert was the first performance in its completeness in this country of Berlioz's "Sinfonie fantastique." Dr. Damrosch deserves the thanks of the public for introducing this most interesting of Berlioz's compositions, which is so full of technical difficulties that only orchestras of the highest standing can venture on a performance of it. The "Sinfonie fantastique" was written nearly fifty years ago when Liszt was unknown, when Wagner had not been heard of; yet it is entirely pervaded by the spirit that breathes in the works of these two masters, and so completely foreign to the traditions of the classical school that it may well be considered as inaugurating a new era of instrumental music. Cherubini's overture to Anacreon, a very brilliant and pleasing piano-forte concerto by Scharwenka, and a rather monotonous scene for orchestra with soli and chorus by Grieg, made up the remainder of the evening's performance. The sixth and last concert has been described above, and it only remains for us to congratulate Dr. Damrosch on the success of his series, which has never, all things considered, been surpassed in this country.

—In the death of Thomas Couture, last Monday, French art lost one of the last of its idealists. He was born at Senlis, December 21, 1815. His "Roman Orgy," the success of the Salon of 1847, seemed to define a permanent and secure renown for the artist, which has been steadily declining since. The thinness of the painting in this celebrated picture is said to have been forced on the artist by absolute lack of means to buy materials. For the past ten years there has been observed a tendency, which seems like an organized effort, to treat Couture with studied coldness. He is called the painter of a single picture. The prosperity of idealism in art has at no epoch been very secure, since the period of the Greeks; the realistic sceptics of our day are even disrespectful towards the idealism of Michael Angelo and Raphael, asking inconveniently whether or no those great men could paint the "morceau." Ideal work, indeed, almost necessarily, contains a tincture of the fleeting taste of its century, which is an element of deadliness; that of Delaroche, which seems like an inspiration from Scribe's melodramas, that of Delacroix, which suggests Hugo, that of David, which matches the French classical drama, are all in precarious predicament at this moment. Couture, however, the Parisians determined was to die in his lifetime; and he must have been often pained, in his sulky hermitage, at the silence which was gathered like a palpable oblivion around his once great name, while upstarts were offered more applause than they could carry. His "Love of Gold" is in the Museum of Toulouse. His "Day-Dreams," or school-boy blowing bubbles, is in a private gallery of this city, and his "Triomphe d'une Femme équivoque" in one at Philadelphia. Some of his satirical paintings illustrating the lawsuits of his friend Barbedienne, where the personages of the court-room are harlequins and polichinelli, are also owned in this country; Barbedienne's show-rooms contain many of these sarcastic parables. His two little published volumes are very lively reading; the first comprises revelations of his humble origin and his contrariness under the labored teachings of Baron Gros; the second is devoted to the rise of modern landscape art, and contains this sentence: "Certain critics recognize one element of superiority alone for us moderns, that of landscape-painting; it is fine and bold to say so; but for my part, I think one must be more of beetle than critic to have this exclusive predilection for greens."

—A great standard work of history and ethnography, Friedrich Spiegel's 'Erânische Alterthumskunde,' has reached its completion with its third volume (Leipzig, 1878). The programme, as sketched in the preface to the first volume, has been strictly adhered to and fully carried out. The work is divided into seven books, of which the first volume (1871) contains three, the second (1873) one and a half, and the third two and a half. The first book, embracing nearly three hundred pages, is devoted to the geography of Iran, in the widest sense, and of lands bordering on it, and the second to the ethnography of the same countries; and so broad is the modern basis on which the 'Iranian Antiquities' are made to rest that even writers on the present theatre of war in the East would do well to study the chapters descriptive of the Cabul and its affluents, the Suleiman Mountains, the Kuram and Gomal Rivers, the highlands of Ghazni and Candahar, Afghans, Belooches, etc. The third book treats of the origin and earliest conditions of the Iranians, and sketches their myths and heroic legends. The fourth book, perhaps the most important of the whole work, unfolds their religious system and kindred conceptions, including late post-Zoroastrian theories and speculations, down to Manes and Mazdak. The first half of the fifth book contains the history of Iran from the rise of the Median power to the destruction of the Persian Empire by Alexander of Macedon, and the second half—upward of five hundred pages—its history under the generals of Alexander, the Seleucidæ and Græco-Bactrian kings, the Parthians, and the Sassanides, to the conquest by the Caliphs. The sixth book treats of the internal conditions of ancient Iranian society, of classes and their relations to each other, and of private life. The respective topics of the five chapters of the last book are the Iranian language and its dialects, Iranian writing, ancient Iranian literature (the Avesta), translations of the Avesta and later literature, and Iranian art. Considering that the author has drawn all his materials from first sources—Persian, Zend, Arabic, Greek, Roman, etc.—and that he has subjected every part of his vast subject to minute research and strict elaboration, we are struck by the shortness of the time within which he has succeeded in executing his monumental task. What moderates our surprise is the knowledge that Spiegel's literary life has been almost entirely devoted to this branch of study, and that, before beginning the publication now concluded, he was famous as the translator and editor of the Avesta, and as the author of 'Einleitung in die traditionellen Schriften der Parsen,' 'Grammatik der altbak-

trischen Sprache,' 'Die altpersischen Keilinschriften,' and other writings on kindred topics.

—'Historische Beiträge zur Caesar-Literatur' is a pamphlet of twenty-three pages, quarto, by Dr. Franz Fröhlich, teacher in the gymnasium at Zürich. It contains two essays, upon Cæsar's Agrarian Law and Vercingetorix. The latter lays no claim to originality, but aims, in the interest of the pupils of the gymnasium, to present a vivid picture of the career of this "noble Gaul, alike deserving of admiration as statesman, warrior, and man"; especial emphasis is placed upon his achievements as a politician and organizer. Cæsar's own account is, of course, the chief and almost exclusive authority. The other essay has more originality, as it aims to give a nearly complete sketch of the events of Cæsar's consulship, the authorities for which are very conflicting and fragmentary. The author is of opinion that Cæsar promulgated two agrarian laws; the *Lex Campana*, dividing the public lands of Campania, being only an afterthought, when it appeared that the public lands distributed by the first law would not be adequate. These laws are usually regarded as purely demagogical measures; and, indeed, it appears that their effect, if carried out, would have been very materially to strip the state of its effective revenue. Nevertheless, it was no unmixed good for the Roman Republic that its revenue was secured without any regular taxation; and at any rate, in view of the fatal disease of Italy—the aggregation of its lands into great estates or *latifundia*—one cannot but feel some sympathy with the view presented by Dr. Fröhlich, that this measure had an element of wise statesmanship. A point of detail that Dr. Fröhlich appears to have made out, from Cicero's letters, is that the Vatinian Law, bestowing the military command of Gaul for five years upon Cæsar, was passed after the Agrarian Law—that is, not earlier than May. This is a point of some importance in determining the constitutional question at issue between Cæsar and the Senate at the outbreak of the civil war ten years later.

HOOKER AND BALL'S TOUR IN MAROCCO.*

THE isolation of Marocco from the European world is strikingly shown in the fact that up to the publication of this goodly volume the principal geographical authority for the interior of the country is Leo Africanus. This man was a Moor of Granada, who, with his kinsfolk, at the time of the siege of Granada in 1492, fled to Fez, then the headquarters of Arabic culture, and was taken into favor by Mouley Ahmet, the founder of the dynasty still reigning in Marocco. He travelled throughout the empire, and wrote in Arabic a description of that part of Africa, which he must have had with him in manuscript when, in the year 1517, he was captured by Christian corsairs and carried to Rome. The Pope, Leo X., hearing of this learned Moor, sent for him, treated him kindly, had him baptized, and gave him at the font his own names, Giovanni Leone; and so, as the writer of the narrative before us naïvely remarks, the Moor perhaps became as earnest a Christian as the pontiff himself. In Rome he translated his work into Italian; but it was not printed until 1550, in the first edition of Ramusio's 'Collection of Voyages and Travels.' Excepting Gerhard Rohlfs—who, by assuming the garb and professing the faith of a Mussulman, traversed districts where no Christian dare present himself, and who could make only surreptitious observations and trust them to memory—our British travellers were the first Europeans to travel in South Marocco and to reach the Great Atlas.

Their opportunity and their success were exceptional. It was a botanical expedition, in the spring of 1871, with the president of the Royal Society and director of Kew Gardens at its head, with Mr. Ball, a member, or at least an ex-member, of Parliament, as his companion, and a third naturalist, Mr. George Maw, as their associate for half the journey. High influence was required for obtaining the Sultan's permission to penetrate the country at all; and utmost skill, determination, and no small assertion were called for to surmount the obstacles which were systematically interposed by the authorities, and to baffle attempts to lower the personal importance, and therefore frustrate the aims, of this scientific embassy. On reaching the city of Marocco the playing of the game began. The Sultan's letter instructed the Governor of Mogador to "send the English *hakim* and his companions to the care of my slave El Graoui," said slave being the governor of the whole Great Atlas region. The city of Marocco was not in his province; and there the duty of providing for the sustenance and comfort of the travellers devolved upon Ben Daoud, governor of the city. Before entering the town our travellers had managed to learn that a very small house with only two rooms had been provided for them, and that Ben Daoud meant to make as little of them as possible. So a message was sent on that a larger house was needed, or else an enclosed garden in which to pitch their tents. In reply, a larger house with four rooms was offered. On reaching this house at nightfall it proved to be mean, dirty, and swarming; so when the *mona*, or present for the evening meal, came in, it was ordered back with scorn. It was felt that submission to any belittling at the outset would be the beginning of sorrows.

"Tell the Governor," said Hooker, "that my Sultana gives me a large house with a garden to live in; hospitality would require that the Governor of Marocco should provide me—the guest of his Sultan—with a better house; but, in any case, I shall not live in a worse one."

The messenger returned with the answer: "The Governor has no better house to give the Christians; but Marocco is large, and they are welcome to provide for themselves." Whereupon the cavalcade moved to the great square, or open space, beside the chief mosque and tower of the Koutoubia, sending at the same time a message to the Viceroy, son of the Sultan, that they should encamp in their own tents until a suitable house had been provided. The upshot was that on the following day the Viceroy installed them in the palace of Ben Dreis, with the adjoining garden, and soundly berated the city Governor for his churlishness; but it leaked out that the poor Governor had only obeyed the express orders of the Viceroy, who had directed him to begin by offering the mean house, then one somewhat larger, and to leave it to the Viceroy himself graciously to meet the higher demands if they should be insisted on. Fortunately, too, the row with the city Governor threw the travellers into the hands and good graces of his rival, El Graoui, under whose protection and care they were to explore the Atlas range.

It was now full time to determine how this visit, and the laborious journey they were to undertake, were to be made intelligible and satisfactory to El Graoui and the other Moorish authorities. The gratification of a desire to learn something about the vegetation of the Great Atlas would have seemed a thin pretext for some sinister design. An insanity of this sort might possess the unaccountable soul of some one Christian; but that three should be simultaneously smitten with it would be thought to pass the bounds of probability. The pretence of collecting live plants for Kew Gardens could hardly be made plausible to the Moorish mind, except, haply, for that one use of plants that every one can understand. The Royal Gardens are literally the Queen's Gardens, and herbs that will cure diseases are among its most valuable collections. Judicious representations upon this line would go far towards explaining the strange proceedings of the party of travellers, and would contain all the truth they were likely to get credit for. So "there is no doubt that the current belief among our own followers was, that the Sultana of England had heard that there was somewhere in Marocco a plant that would make her live for ever, and that she had sent her own *hakim* to find it for her." And when it was seen what toil and hardship these botanical explorations entailed, the natural commentary upon the whole proceeding was: "The Sultana of England is a severe woman, and she has threatened to give them stick (the bastinado) if they do not find the herb she wants."

Those interested in the natural history of an almost unknown district lying on the very border of Europe; those interested in its geography and physical features; the statesman and philanthropist, who may here contemplate in a typical instance the decadence and depletion of a once prosperous people, and note the misery which two or three centuries of misrule may bring upon a smiling land; and those who enjoy the charm of fresh and graphic narrative, the sketch by a practised hand of keen and quick observations by practised eyes—all these will find this volume attractive reading. To us it has been fascinating and full of suggestion. The main drawback to our travellers' enjoyment was the suffering which they unwittingly inflicted on the mountain villagers of the Atlas—the poor Berebers, who are altogether the worthier part of the population—through the insatiable rapacity of the large escort provided by the Moorish Government for their protection. If the naturalists could have journeyed by themselves, with needful attendants under their complete control, their support would have entailed no hardship whatever; but the shameless extortion and abuse by the guards, which the travellers were unable to prevent, must have left a painful remembrance upon their minds as well as upon those of the despoiled mountaineers. It is hardly a consolation to the former that the latter are used to it.

The appendix to this charming volume is filled with scientific, philological, and geographical details. The most elaborate article is that

* 'Journal of a Tour in Marocco and the Great Atlas. By Sir J. D. Hooker and John Ball.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

"On the Geology of the Plain of Marocco and of the Great Atlas," by Mr. Maw.

As to the orthography of the name of the city and country, Morocco is peculiar to the English. In the adoption of Marocco the authors follow, as regards the first vowel, the universal Continental usage.

STUBBS'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.*

A MAN'S real merits may at times be obscured by his pre-eminent reputation for some one virtue. Aristides, no doubt, was just, but if he possessed other qualities than equity the fame of his justice has hidden from posterity important features in his character. Hooker was judicious, but one of the greatest masters of English has certainly suffered by that reputation for calm judgment which has overshadowed his eloquence and wisdom. Professor Stubbs is in danger of suffering from the calamity which has befallen men as eminent as himself, and may find that his learning and sound sense have been so amply acknowledged by his friends that a careless public, apt to believe that the possession of one great talent is inconsistent with the possession of nine others as valuable, comes to the conclusion that a writer who is both learned and sensible has no marked qualities but learning and common sense. A critic, therefore, who has to any extent entered into the merits of by far the most remarkable historical work which has been published in English during the last quarter of a century, can do no better service to his readers than to attempt to make clear that Professor Stubbs is something much more than a man learned beyond all others in the history of England, and that he has, if not all, some, at least, of the rarest gifts which go to make up an historian of the first rank. Nor ought a judicious reviewer to find any insuperable difficulty in making intelligent readers perceive that Professor Stubbs has at least two historical gifts which are lacking to many authors who are not deficient either in learning or in good sense.

Of these gifts the first is a keen appreciation of character. Mr. Stubbs's style, which, though not wanting in force or terseness, is nevertheless deficient in emphasis and singularly unepigrammatic, may, indeed, hide from a careless student how considerable is the professor's skill in the analysis of character, yet we defy any one to read his estimate of Henry V. without seeing that the professor really understands a man whose merits were as easily understood by his own age as they are hard to be understood by men of the nineteenth century. The passage to which we refer is too long for quotation, but the following part of it gives a specimen, though, from its fragmentary character, an inadequate specimen, of the professor's capacity in this field :

"If," he writes, "we set aside the charges of sacrificing the welfare of his country to an unjustifiable war of aggression, and of being a religious persecutor, Henry V. stands before us as one of the greatest and purest characters in English history—a figure not unworthy to be placed by the side of Edward I. No sovereign who ever reigned has won from contemporary writers such a singular unison of praises. He was religious, pure in life, temperate, liberal, careful and yet splendid, merciful, truthful, and honorable ; 'discreet in word, provident in counsel, prudent in judgment, modest in look, magnanimous in act'; a brilliant soldier, a sound diplomatist, an able organizer and consolidator of all forces at his command ; the restorer of the English navy, the founder of our military, international, and maritime law. A true Englishman, with all the greatnesses and none of the glaring faults of his Plantagenet ancestors, he stands forth as the typical mediæval hero. At the same time he is a laborious man of business, a self-denying and hardy warrior, a cultivated scholar, and a most devout and charitable Christian."

When after reading this passage we take into account that Mr. Stubbs, without any use either of special pleading or of paradox, shows that Henry V. was a persecutor who did not love persecution, and that in undertaking the war which exhausted England and inflicted untold misery on France, Henry acted in accordance with the moral feeling of his age, we feel that the professor has rendered the greatest service which an historian can perform, and has made plain to a generation utterly unlike that which admired Henry, why he really deserved admiration. To do this is not only to explain a ruler who seems at first to modern readers a mere fighter who fought for fighting's sake, but it is also to interpret the feelings of one century to the men of another and quite different era. For to understand Henry V. is to understand the age of which he was a hero ; and the real difficulty to students in seeing how it can be that, without denying the truth of a single moral principle to which modern philanthropists attach value, we may yet admire a king who "renewed a great war which, according to modern ideas, was without justification in its origin and continuance," is at bottom the difficulty which every candid thinker must feel in entering into the merits of the civilization (if civilization it can be called) existing in the middle ages. This difficulty will never be removed or even lightened until readers realize that it is one of the penalties which not only great men but also generations with any touch of virtue "must pay for their greatness, that they have to be judged by posterity according to a standard which they themselves could not have recognized, because it was by their greatness that the standard itself was created." When this is clear, Henry and Henry's contemporaries become at least comprehensible. The technicality, the love of war, the religious intolerance which mark the man and the age, are seen not to be inconsistent with a sense of honor, of justice, and of generosity. A further result follows, which Professor Stubbs, unlike the crowd of paradox-mongers who descry modern civilization to enhance the merits of feudal barbarism, never dreams of concealing. Admit, as you must, that Henry V. was the ideal king of his time, that his policy in church and state seemed admirable to the men of his age just where they are most justly condemned by the conscience of later centuries, and you are compelled to admit that the mediæval ideal was not only defective but in many respects utterly vicious. If Henry's greatness was followed by a period of national calamity, half at least of the cause of the sudden change from prosperity to misery was that the society of which Henry was the head was doomed to break up from its own vices.

The second historical gift with which Professor Stubbs is endowed is the capacity for seizing the important features of an epoch. The power to do this is different from insight into the peculiarities of character, and is found lacking in men who can draw brilliant and truthful pictures of individuals. In no instance is Mr. Stubbs's special talent shown to greater advantage than in his treatment of constitutional history under the house of Lancaster. The period is one of dreary confusion. Warfare without generalship alternates with revolutions without statesmanship. The virtues of Henry VI. are scarcely sufficient to make his weakness pathetic, and the undoubted capacity of Edward IV. is not sufficient to atone, even in the lenient eyes of posterity, for his reckless selfishness. Amidst the din of battles and the perplexities of intrigues the reader feels as if the years which are filled up by the Wars of the Roses were a period marked by no feature but that of aimless turmoil, yet Mr. Stubbs shows that the rise and the fall of the house of Lancaster have, from a constitutional point of view, a singular significance. The Lancastrian kings were constitutional monarchs, who *bonâ fide* attempted to carry out what may fairly be called a constitutional system of government. The experiment whether the nation was fit for a system of government in which Parliament, if not supreme, should play a leading part, was tried and ended in failure. That the attempt failed was owing in part to accidents such as the weakness of Henry VI. and the results of the French wars, but Mr. Stubbs shows clearly enough that the reaction against constitutionalism which was represented by the house of York arose from a more permanent cause than the defects of a particular sovereign or the calamities of a particular era. What the mass of the people needed was a government powerful enough to protect the weak against the strong. Parliamentary rule under the influence of nobles could not supply protection against the tyranny of the great and powerful. To use modern phrases, which have far more meaning when applied to the middle ages than when employed with reference to present times, what the nation needed was "order" rather than liberty. When at last the Wars of the Roses ended on the field of Bosworth, the Crown became the representative and the guarantee of orderly government.

At this point Professor Stubbs's history pauses, yet even as it is he throws great light on the characteristics of the age on which he does not enter. As we read his pages we understand how good men and wise men and brave men could transfer to a king like Henry VIII. the kind of loyalty which in modern times is felt by all rational men not towards the crown but towards the law, and we can at least see how great was the temptation to think that the prosperity of the nation was bound up with the power of the crown. Professor Stubbs has paused in his task at a moment when constitutionalism was under a cloud. There is no living writer so capable of tracing the steps by which the forms of the constitution were kept alive under the reigns of the Tudors, and by which the spirit of Parliament revived with new vigor to resist the attacks, and at last to overthrow the power, of the Stuarts. He is the one living writer who combines the knowledge, calmness, fairness, and breadth of view needed in one who traces, in accordance with modern knowledge, the full growth and development of the English Constitution. We cannot believe that he will leave unfinished his half-completed work.

* 'The Constitutional History of England. By William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History.' Vol. 3. London and New York : Macmillan & Co.

BEDOUIN TRIBES OF THE EUPHRATES.*

CERTAINLY an Englishwoman is the queen of travellers. She sets off for the Euphrates and the Bedouin tribes, moved by no other stimulus than a general intelligent curiosity: she is prepared to be on horse-back or camel-back all day, and to sleep at night, by preference, *on* the roof rather than *under* it; she has neither personal attendant nor commissariat, but follows the Napoleonic principle of getting her supplies from the country she traverses. If her saddle is out of order, she restuffs it; if the horses are noisy at night, she goes down to the court-yard and straightens matters; she is up to her work every day, and finds abundant compensation for any little discomforts in the open-air life and

"the feeling of absolute ownership one has in each spot of ground one camps on. . . . Here in the desert it is absolute and complete, even to the closing up of rights of way; for one is at liberty to treat all comers, if one likes, as enemies, and to bid them be off. Not that at present we have hostile feelings towards any one; only *it is nice to think* that even the keeping of the peace depends on our good will and pleasure, not on the law of the land."

Ladies, ambitious of "the higher education," see what long centuries of civilization may bring you to!

Lady Anne Blunt and her husband (presumably) set sail for Aleppo, or its seaport Scanderoon, like mediæval merchants, not seeking ambergris or pearls, but the tribes and the horses of the desert. They provide themselves at Aleppo with a tent, "largely the work of my own (Lady Anne's) hands," horses, presents consisting of cloak, boots, tobacco, and sugar; hire a cook, who proves a treasure, and set off on January 9, 1878, at first through cultivated ground. On the second day they follow "a kind of road or track leading across a perfectly level plain. The loose stones had disappeared and our path was over a light, crisp soil thinly covered with grass." There were mole-hills and jerboa-holes; "except for these, the most beautiful galloping ground conceivable." Toward nightfall they reach the Euphrates, at that point about five miles wide, lying in a deep, broad cutting, perhaps a hundred and fifty feet below the level of the plain.

"The valley is a long, level meadow, green as emerald, and covered with flocks of sheep. We counted twenty of them, with perhaps a thousand sheep in each." "We could see the river winding to and fro in this great meadow, far away, fringed with a deep brown belt of tamarisks, in great curves and reaches."

The travellers follow the right bank of the river, which hereabout ran nearly due east, passing many ruined castles, and finding plenty of game —francolins, rock-pigeons, red geese, etc., until, as they approach Deyr, they are urgently invited to the house of the Governor, Huseyn. It being presently apparent that a part of his hospitable intention is to hinder their visit to the desert tribe of the Ánazeh, which was their main object, the travellers disregard the alarming stories which Huseyn tells, and join a caravan *en route* for Bagdad. The journey occupied nine days, but had sundry diversifications. Once "a venerable-looking man with a long, white beard, and the remains of a green turban on his head," greets them gravely with "Starboard, port, god dam"; explains that he knows their language and had served in Col. Chesney's expedition forty years before, and then mysteriously vanishes. The travellers eat their "first really Bedouin meal," an unspeakably nasty mess of butter, dough, tallow, and boiled mutton. Lady Anne passes the towns of Hitt and Jebbah, and finds them, "of course," the cities of the Hittites and the Jebusites, and also sees the place where it is "most likely" that Noah built the ark, because *pitch—i. e.*, bitumen—springs were so conveniently near; "so that it is foolish, though it appears to be the fashion, to put down the account in Genesis as fabulous." Snow falls, and the weather is severely cold (February 9); a wolf is hunted and wounded, and thus variously with sport and archæology they beguile the way till "the City of the Caliphs loomed through the driving rain, a grimy and squalid line of mud houses, rising out of a sea of mud." They go directly to the English Residency and rejoice in the appliances of civilization. Bagdad is described as utterly desolate and decayed, and suffering alternately from the rapacity of evil-minded governors and the folly of the better disposed. Ruins and mosques are unvisited, but the travellers buy "four fine young camels, capitally matched, and said to be fast walkers, at ten pounds apiece, a she dromedary, and a white ass," and slipping off to the country-house of the Nawáb Ikbálet Dówlah, they silently steal away.

From Bagdad the party take a route nearly north, finally turning west at a sharp angle, and on the 14th of March reach the tents of Faris, chief of the Shammar, who welcomes them "with a smile which had so much honesty and good will in it that we felt at once that we were safe in his hands," so that they think they have found at last what they have hitherto sought in vain, "a *gentleman* of the desert." In person Faris is small, as a true Bedouin should be; but he is a model of grace, and strength, and activity. On horseback there is no one of the tribe that can come near him. "Wilfrid" makes himself so delightful to this chieftain that Faris takes with him the oath of brotherhood, which binds them to each other's help and service "to-day, to-morrow, and hereafter." After five days with the Shammar the travellers make a push for Deyr again, as they expect there to meet the friendly consul, renew their credit, and generally put themselves to rights. The over-hospitable Huseyn again attempts to detain them, and Mr. S., the consul, does not arrive, but after some delay and some diplomacy the party gets away from Deyr, and succeeds in reaching the encampment of the Ánazeh, and Jedáan, their chief, who compares but ill with the handsome Faris. As they move along with the tribe they make acquaintance of the sheikh of a minor sept, Ferhan, who has "something in his air which points him out at once as a man of rank and breeding." He has distinguished manners, and resembles a Spaniard of the very best type. He ranks next to "the five great families of absolute nobility" whom Lady Anne's soul yearns after, and tells her that the five families are thus distinguished because they had "at *all* times killed a lamb for their guests. The rest of us have only *learned* to do so." More travelling with the tribe, much chaffering for horses, a suggestion that Lady Anne should act as diplomatic agent to an estranged portion of the tribe, apprehension of robbers, dinners to the chief, presents judiciously applied, and at last, April 11, the travellers set their faces homeward, taking Damascus by the way.

Better travellers could not be, as far as endurance and determination make good travellers. Nevertheless, the book is somewhat hard reading. The absence of vivid description becomes a weariness; the reader must make an effort to remember just what point he has reached, and the attitude of voluntary attention must be maintained longer than is comfortable. The final chapters, added by "Wilfrid," give a good deal of valuable information as to the breeds and qualities of Arabian horses and the honesty of their owners. He describes the desert as splendid with flowers in February and early March—"tulips, marigolds, asters, irises, and, most beautiful of all, certain pink wallflowers, cousins each of them to our garden plants, for it was from the desert, doubtless, that the Crusaders brought many of those we now consider essentially English flowers. Through this, as through a garden, the vast herds of camels, with their attendant Bedouins, move slowly all the spring, and the mares grow fat upon a certain crisp grass that grows among the purple stock, fine and dry and sweet as sugar." Of the limited mental horizon, the noisy, monotonous life, the decent morality of the desert tribes, some account is given, and it strikes us that the last five chapters should be at the beginning, not at the end of the book.

* 'Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates. By Lady Anne Blunt.' Edited, with a preface and some account of the Arabs and their horses, by W. S. B. Map and sketches by the author. New York: Harper & Bros. 1879.

READ'S THEORY OF LOGIC.*

THIS work is the fruit of a travelling scholarship. But in all his travels the author seems never to have come across any modern logic, except in English. Three views, he observes, have been taken of logic; which, if limited to England, is true. Some writers consider it as a study of the operations of the understanding, thus bringing it into close relations with psychology. Others regard it as an analysis of the conditions which must be conformed to in the transformations of verbal expressions in order to avoid the introduction of falsehood. While others again—our author among them—think the propositions of logic are facts concerning the things reasoned about.

There is certainly this to be said in favor of the last opinion, namely, that the question of the validity of any kind of reasoning is the question how frequently a conclusion of a certain sort will be true when premises of a certain sort are true; and this is a question of fact, of how things are, not of how we think. But, granted that the principles of logic are facts, how do they differ from other facts? For facts, in this view, should separate themselves into two classes, those of which logic itself takes cognizance and those which, if needed, have to be set up in the premises. It is just as if we were to insist that the principles of law were facts; in that case we should have to distinguish between the facts which the court would lay down and those which must be brought out in the testimony. What, then, are

* 'The Theory of Logic: an Essay. By Carveth Read.' London, 1878.

the facts which logic permits us to dispense with stating in our premises? Clearly those which may always be taken for granted: namely, those which we cannot consistently doubt, if reasoning is to go on at all: for example, all that is implied in the existence of doubt and of belief, and of the passage from one to the other, of truth and of falsehood, of reality, etc. Mr. Read, however, recognizes no such distinction between logical principles and other facts. For him logic simply embraces the most general laws of nature. For instance, he recognizes as a logical principle the law of the conservation of energy, which is even yet hardly set beyond all doubt. If he excludes the laws of geometry, as being "quantitative," it is by an ill-founded distinction. If he does not mention the law of gravitation nor the existence of a luminiferous ether as logical principles, it must probably be because he thinks them less general truths than the laws of motion.

The especial purpose of the book is to arrange the principles of logic, considered as matters of fact, in regular order, beginning with the most abstract and general, and proceeding towards the particulars. In short, it is an attempt to give a syllabus of the most general laws of nature. This is a well-conceived idea.

After the introduction, the first chapter treats of *Relation*. We notice immediately the illogic of thus making relation the most abstract of facts. Existence should come first and quality next; no competent logician, however he might modify this statement, will deny its approximate truth. Why does Mr. Read not begin with *Being*? Is it because the writers he follows greatly insist on the point that existence and qualities depend on relations? There is this dependence, no doubt; the abstract and general always depend on the concrete and particular. But having undertaken to arrange the subject in synthetical order, which consists in putting the abstract before the concrete, Mr. Read should not violate the principle of arrangement at the very outset. Turning, however, to the substance of the chapter, we are told that relation cannot be defined. This is not exact; it can and has been defined; but what is true is that it cannot be defined without considering the operations of the mind or the general nature of language. But the author is endeavoring to state the principles of logic without referring to either of these. He is, therefore, unable to explain the notion of relation, because to do so he must explicitly introduce those notions which he wishes to exclude. Not being able to define relation, he typifies it. This he does by the following figure—two spots united by a line:

•————————•

But here he betrays a not altogether distinct conception of relation. These two spots are similarly related to one another. Now there are certainly relations of this kind. If A is like B, B is like A; if A is unlike B, B is unlike A, etc. But, generally speaking, two related objects are in different relations to one another. The relation of father to son, for example, is different from the relation of son to father. So that if we desire to make a sort of hieroglyph for relation in general, it should be something like this: A ——> B.

We next meet with an enumeration of the ultimate modes of relation. These are stated to be three—viz.:

1. Likeness and unlikeness.
2. Succession and non-succession.
3. Coexistence and non-coexistence.

Succession is defined as unlikeness in time; and coexistence as likeness in time. If that be so, the second and third modes are not ultimate, but are only species of the first. Substituting the definitions for the terms defined, they are:

2. Unlikeness in time and non-unlikeness in time.
3. Likeness in time and non-likeness in time.

Hardly a model of synthetic orderliness.

But what does the author do with the great body of relations? What pigeon-holes has he for them in his scheme of arrangement? Take, for instance, the relation of striker to struck. A man's striking another constitutes certainly no resemblance between them. But neither is it an unlikeness, for a man may strike himself, and since he is then a striker only so far as he is struck, and *vice versa*, it is impossible to say that striker and struck are unlike. In short, the relation is neither a likeness nor an unlikeness, for the reason that both these latter are relations between objects similarly related to one another, while the relation of striker to struck, like most relations, is between dissimilarly related objects.

The few pages we have thus examined are a fair specimen of the strength of the whole book. Its purpose is a sharply-defined one; its style is clear and free from verbiage; and if it is not a striking success, it is because its author is not thoroughly well grounded in his subject.

The Libraries of California, containing Descriptions of the principal private and public Libraries throughout the State. By Flora Haines Apponyi. (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co. 1878. 8vo, pp. 304.) —The range of this book is so broad that the author is in no danger of having her motives misconstrued. The great railroad and mining nabobs who form one end of the social scale of which Kearney and the hoodlums form the other, receive no incense-burning here, but, so far as they are admitted at all, stand on a level with the humblest lover of books named in the "Collected Notes." In fact, we are more or less explicitly made aware in the preface that the task was undertaken as a protest against the materialism of the Pacific coast, and an incentive to the pursuit of higher ideals than those which find favor in circles to which the vulgar rich give tone. In a work which may be said, therefore, to have some of the qualities of a tract, the author was justified in including the free-thinker's "small collection," of which the chief merit appears to be that the books are "stout, clean, and to the purpose"; the library whose "notable feature is its lack of complete editions"; that of the collector who "has made it a principle never to buy a book that he could obtain in a public library," and whose interesting assortment was "temporarily packed away"; along with the working libraries of professional men, the showcases of the millionaires, and the few large and intelligently selected libraries of specialists, of which the account, evidently by the owners themselves, makes the volume valuable to scholars and bibliophiles as well as to the social philosopher.

There is, in point of size, a great gap between Mr. Hubert H. Bancroft's and the next best library. He reports 20,000 volumes, MSS., pamphlets, and maps, and 200,000 copies of Pacific Coast journals, for which an index of subjects has been prepared at his expense. Forty-eight pages are filled with the description of the riches of this truly unparalleled collection, whose reason for existence was long since given to the world in the 'Native Races of the Pacific Coast.' The MSS. consist of ancient Spanish-American originals and, to an enormous extent, of copies and digests directed by the historian. The spoils of Maximilian's library are gathered here. The library of "P. C.," perhaps second to Mr. Bancroft's, is, among other lines, devoted to the imprints of Aldus, Stephanus, and Elzevir, reckoning 1,500 volumes of the last-named. An ardent student of language has a fine polyglot collection which he is now engaged in mastering; an admirer of Dickens possesses more than 2,300 illustrations of his works; a lover of the stage delights in large photographs of actors and actresses, which fill a specially constructed album; another collector is happy in having 500 volumes, 1,000 pamphlets, and 2,000 engravings pertaining to the French Revolution, and "points with pride to several specimens of San Francisco bindings"; a "veteran San Francisco journalist" is busy over a history of the California press, to be followed by that of the St. Louis press, and then, "if he lives long enough," by that of the press of the United States. His plan is as heroic as it is novel: it is "to take up every important subject and occurrence—as, in our own State, the proceedings of the Vigilance Committee in the early days, political struggles, various resources of the State, mining developments and bubbles, etc.—and give the positions taken by the various newspapers at various times." Some of the collectors to whom separate articles are given might have been relegated to the briefer Notes, since what we may call the library fixings furnish the bulk of the notice. We are treated to such minutiæ as the subjects of engravings on the walls, the size of Smyrna rugs, and the obscure beauties of the Old Masters; "in a good light," we are told of the St. Peter by Goya, "a tear can be seen coursing down one cheek."

The State Library is pre-eminent among the public libraries, and, indeed, with its 48,000 volumes, seems very well equipped. In the 16,300 volumes of the library of the University of California are included the late Dr. Francis Lieber's library. The Mercantile Library of San Francisco was rescued from bankruptcy and despair by a *deus ex machinâ* in the person of Camilla Urso, and by three legalized gift-concerts. We regret to learn that "the financial reverses of the Young Men's Christian Association have not contributed to the prosperity of the library," but this was perhaps hardly to be expected. A miscarriage of statistics in the mail leaves only the size of the library of the Academy of Sciences to be stated; it exceeds 16,000 volumes.

The aim of this work is so respectable, and the labor involved in it so

considerable, that we shall not dwell on the typographical and other errors which disfigure those portions for which the author is mainly responsible. She has fairly earned the gratitude of her fellow-citizens.

Aucassin et Nicolette. Chantefable du 12me siècle, traduite par A. Bida. Revision du texte originale et préface par Gaston Paris. (Paris: Hachette & Cie.; New York: F. W. Christern. 1878.)—To one who reads history with human sympathies few things are more charming than the early songs which woke in France in the morning of the Renaissance, with their burden of courtesy, sentiment, and valor; and of these 'Aucassin and Nicolette' is one of the earliest and most delightful. Pure romance, woven of threads of Eastern fable, it is far removed from us in spirit; the childlike simplicity of its surrender to sentiment, its daring absurdities, in which the narrator seems almost to be satirizing something the essentially exquisite charm of which he knows only too well, the intangible magic that makes the marvellous influences of the Saracen captive seem natural, the playfulness in it all, belong to its own age and have vanished from ours. All this tests the catholicity and subtlety of the reader's taste; but if he is only amused at the infatuation of the amorous pair; if Aucassin going out to battle so lost in dreaming of his love that he is half-disarmed by his enemies before he wakes to his danger—if Nicolette descending from her prison-chamber in the fair night and escaping through the dewy garden, and stopping in the shadow to talk with Aucassin through the crevices of his dungeon and dispute with him whether he loves her more than she loves him, while the armed troop in search of her life passes by—if the lovers riding through the forest and the mountain passes, careless where they wander so they remain together, and coming to dismount at morning on the sea-shore where captivity is waiting for them both—if the childishness in such experiences only amuses the reader, and he is moved by no finer emotion, there is much beside this left for him in the realism of natural description, the besieged town, the tower, the forest with the hut adorned with flowers through which the stars shine, the pastoral scene of Nicolette meeting the peasants, and many other details which are drawn with a vigor, sharpness, and delight in beauty for its own sake which are rare in later centuries. It is impossible to describe in a brief space the various and refined interest which pervades the poem—Mr. Pater has failed to do so in his well-known essay; but now that it has been translated into modern French excellently, and is accessible to any one willing to give to it half an evening, it should become familiar to all lovers of graceful sentiment and simple nature. This version is not literal, but conveys the spirit of the original in a paraphrase in parts, while in other parts it approaches nearer the text. It is illustrated by the translator and contains the revised text of M. Gaston Paris, with an entertaining and instructive preface also by him.

Socrates. A translation of the 'Apology,' 'Crito,' and parts of the 'Phædo' of Plato. (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. 1879.)—The aim of this volume is to make the personality, the individual qualities of Socrates, known to its readers, and, therefore, only those parts of Plato have been selected which possess a biographic interest apart from philosophy. This was work worth doing, and undoubtedly any one who wishes to know what manner of man Socrates was cannot do better than learn from this convenient book, and its preface by Prof. Goodwin, what his contemporaries said about him. The translation itself is not, of course, to be compared even remotely with the literary power of Prof. Jowett's, but it is clear and trustworthy, and if, after reading it, one should read also Xenophon's description of his master, he would possess the clearest knowledge attainable of Socrates biographically, and most readers, we fancy, would be surprised at the entertainment as well as instruction to be so simply derived in regard to a man whose name is known so much more widely than his worth.

A Holiday Tour in Europe. Described in a Series of Letters written for the *Public Ledger* during the summer and autumn of 1878 by Joel Cook, "J. C." (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.)—Philadelphians always dwell lovingly on the old-fashioned 'American in Paris' of forty years ago, by John Sanderson, so well hit off by the late Dr. Chapman as "too broad but not long enough," and they will now welcome this modest volume as a record of the changes that have marked the lapse of years, both in morals and in manners. Mr. Cook's keen scent for useful information and his accurate knowledge of home statistics are made to serve a useful purpose, notably in his comparison of taxation in London and Philadelphia. As he pithily puts the case, in the former city a property worth $50,000 pays $125 in taxes. Of this $69 is for poor-rates and $56 for all other municipal charges, the poor-rate being paid quarterly, the others half-yearly. Not only would this property in Philadelphia pay eight or nine hundred dollars in taxes, but in London there is an actual reduction in consideration of the improvements. Then, again, London collects revenue from its streets over and above the cost of cleaning them, besides that from cabs, omnibuses, railways, steamers, markets, and franchises, while it gives its inhabitants such pavements, gas, and sewerage as would put the best American town (to say nothing of Philadelphia) to the blush. The true Philadelphian comes out again in the reference to the new Palace of Justice in Brussels, "as large as our public buildings at Broad and Market streets," eleven years building and costing thirteen millions of dollars; and a local prejudice of a little broader reach, but not going beyond the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, finds the Rhine "a reminder of much similar scenery on the upper Allegheny," barring the castles and vines, the legends and the population. Even the mosquitoes on the Lake of the Four Cantons serve to point a moral of endurance for the Philadelphia reader who was suffering from them at home in September too. The Swiss mountains found no answering echo in the bosom of the *Ledger* correspondent; but the busy scene of Lyons, with its manufacturing done in the workmen's houses, and its Sunday election with lively charges of fraud, are described with great vivacity and in a way to enable the reader to make his own comparisons. The book is an interesting recital of the sort of sight-seeing that most commends itself to the American in search of change from home work and home scenes.

The Commercial Products of the Sea. By P. L. Simmonds, Editor of the *Journal of Applied Science*, etc. With thirty-two illustrations. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879. 12mo, pp. viii. 484.)—"Food Products of the Sea"—fishes, namely, *bêche-de-mer* or trepang, and various edible mollusca; "Marine Contributions to Industry," as sponges, oils, isinglass, seaweed, shells, and salt; and "Marine Contributions to Art," in the shape of coral, amber, tortoise-shell, pearls, and mother-of-pearl; these are the three divisions and the chief topics of Mr. Simmonds's book. It is of English origin, being made up of papers contributed to the author's own and to other serial publications. Recent statistics are given of the various industries described, and of their products; and there are glimpses, too, of some of the correlations between the world of fishes and of men. France, for instance, offers bounties to her fishermen, paying about 540,000 francs a year, or £2 to each man engaged in the fisheries in British America; "an expensive process, but it is alleged that it would cost twice as much to train an equal number of men for the navy in any other way. In 1861 a French commission appointed to enquire into the deep-sea fisheries said in their report: 'It is on fisheries that at this day repose all the most serious hopes of our maritime enlistments.'" Railroad traffic, again, has greatly increased the consumption of fish. "Before the Eastern Counties Railway was constructed, the transport of fish from Yarmouth to London was effected by light vans drawn by post-horses, and the quantity amounted to about 2,000 tons a year. Nearly double that quantity is now conveyed to London and the great manufacturing towns in the course of a fortnight. . . . The increase of fishing power brought of late years to bear upon the sea is equally remarkable." The most noticeable deficiency in this book is that of any sufficient account of the seal-fishery—a purposed but injurious omission. Mr. Henry W. Elliott has given, under the unpromising title of 'A Report upon the Condition of Affairs in Alaska' (Washington, 1875), a full account of the fur-seal and of his habits, which more closely resemble a human polity than that of any other gregarious animal. It is Mr. Simmonds's misfortune that he has not apparently read that very interesting description. For the rest, his book covers much ground carefully, and reconciles instruction with entertainment better than most books of its class.

Patchwork. By Frederick Locker. (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1879. Pp. 234.)—Mr. Locker is already well known to American readers as the author of 'London Lyrics,' a little volume which contains some of the best *vers de société* of our time, and as the editor of 'Lyra Elegantiarum,' a book into which he had collected nearly all the good specimens of that difficult form of poetry in our language by authors not living. The same skill which made the latter volume a model of what a special collection of verse should be is visible in 'Patchwork,' which is, however, not wholly a compilation, for Mr. Locker now and again introduces some

of his own writing—a brief and pungent little essay, or a line or two of apt comment on a quoted rhyme or smart saying. He intimates in his preface that 'Patchwork' is really but a few "leaves from his commonplace book," under which title the volume was at first announced; and he also suggests that although some may hold "that a commonplace book is a book kept by a commonplace person," and therefore but a miscellaneous and aimless gathering of fragments, yet as this gathering was made to please one person only it may perhaps thereby have a more individual flavor in general lacking in such compilations; and this is really the case. Mr. Locker draws from out his store of autographs letters of Swift and of Fielding and of Steele hitherto unprinted, and poems of Wordsworth in their early form; and he flanks this prose and verse of the past with Dr. Holmes' "Last Leaf" and Mr. Lowell's "Within and Without" and Mr. Austin Dobson's "Love Letter," and with four new London Lyrics of his own not to be found in the American edition of his poems.

Of jests either single or grouped together by unity of subject there is great variety and, on the whole, much merit. None of them are broad or in bad taste. Few, if any, are cheap or weak. The weakest are the poor fatherless bantlings which are laid at the broad door of America. Many of them have not appeared in print before; these are among the best in the book, and several of them have already been borrowed since the publication of the volume to serve as legends for the vigorous designs on wood of Mr. Charles Keene in recent numbers of *Punch*. Two or three of Mr. Locker's brief anecdotes may be quoted as specimens. Some one remarked of the portrait of the Rev. Holwell Carr (who, tradition declares, was a carping and sceptical art-critic) that it looked as if in the act of saying, "Yes, but the original is in the Borghese Gallery." Another clergyman, we are told, was churching a lady of very distinguished rank, and in consequence modified the formula thus: "God save this *lady* [woman], thy servant." His clerk was also equal to the occasion, for he added: "Who putteth *her ladyship's* trust in thee." It is a pity that Mr. Locker did not immediately follow this story with an anecdote which we presently come upon about a dignitary of the Greek Church who ventured to alter the form of his ritual. The historian who relates the event gravely remarks: "And his congregation, justly incensed, tore their bishop to pieces." But the gem of the whole collection tells of an American diplomatist, a very genial and social being, who made the round of the sights soon after his arrival in London, and, of course, included Madame Tussaud among the number. "And what do you think of our wax-work?" asked a friend. "Well," replied the General, "it struck me as being very like any ordinary English party."

Stock Breeding: A Practical Treatise on the Application of the Laws of Development and Heredity to the Improvement and Breeding of Domestic Animals. By Manly Miles, M.D. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.)—This is a commendable and more than usually successful attempt to translate the teachings of scientific investigators into the language of common life, and to bring their discoveries to the service of practical men. It differs greatly from previous farm-books on the subject of breeding, especially in the prominence it gives to the influence of *heredity*—through its various tendencies to produce likeness; to produce variety; and to reproduce lost ancestral characters. These are the three agencies by which the thoughtful breeder, bent on the improvement of a race, must seek to gain his end. Only the first of them enters into the calculations of the average farmer. But the average farmer is hardly to be called a stock-breeder; as a rule he is only a multiplier. He pins his faith to the theory that "like begets like," and by selecting always the best parents, he produces a creditable average result. If he is a good feeder he improves the average quality of his stock.

The better breeder, who looks for something beyond improved averages, and seeks a radical and fixed advance beyond the foremost point yet reached, must have a quick apprehension of the meaning and tendency of those slight variations which, even in thoroughbred animals, distinguish progeny from parents. It is through this channel that his road to success must lie—through recognizing a promising deviation from the present type, and fixing the divergence. In addition to this he must, so far as his knowledge of antecedent pedigrees makes it possible, study the value and importance of good or bad qualities which have died out from earlier generations. When these recur—by what the moderns call *atavism*, and what old breeders call "throwing-back"—he must determine their advantages and disadvantages, and discard or foster them accordingly. Prof. Miles sets forth the present state of knowledge on these subjects with much clearness, though in his illustrations he has perhaps been misled into attaching too much importance to occurrences which may have been mere coincidences. A recent writer has illustrated this defect as follows: "If a number of players are throwing three dice, and one should throw three sixes, that combination would attract more attention than perhaps any other, though it is precisely as likely to occur as any other combination of three." In breeding we must always guard against attaching too much importance to the recurrence of striking defects or merits. Having the desired type thoroughly fixed in the mind, we should cherish every characteristic that approaches it, and reject every one that deviates from it, whether they seem to be important or not, for the characteristics of an animal are of more consequence in their relation to the whole result than they are in themselves alone.

In all breeding nothing is of greater service than such a chart of the pedigree as will show the interlacing of the different strains of original blood. Prof. Miles has devised a system of charting which would of itself be an ample justification of his work. Aside from these more recondite elements of the subject, the book treats in a practical and suggestive way the better-known rules and processes of the breeder's art. It will probably be accepted as of decided value to the better class of agriculturists.

Fine Arts.

EXHIBITION BY THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN ARTISTS.—II.

AN effort to demonstrate to the public, as at the Kurtz Gallery just closed, what are the primary effects sought by a proficient in art technic, is certain to be misunderstood by most spectators. These primary effects are in the nature of a workman's secret; their success or shortcoming is never truly viewed but by the professional. The person of mere social or travelled culture, the "person of taste," whom Whistler so witheringly anathematizes, may think he sees a great deal in a work of art, but he never sees the real mystery. He divides his admiration between the dramatic expressiveness of a picture (a thing too external and too much allied to literature to engage the best sympathies of an art proficient) and a kind of polish which he calls finish, and which may be really the reverse of finish, being the cold elaboration of surfaces under which the real fire of the conception is choking to death. On the one side, the technical proficient sees during the progress of a sketch some daring stroke which has succeeded in conveying at a blow all that a stroke may convey of attitude, of movement, of form, of unmixed and unteased color; the professional economy of the touch takes his eye; so much is got by so little waste of effort! To an expert the masterly stroke tells everything; let the stroke be retouched and finished into softness and roundness, there is not only a waste of concise expression, but there is the inevitable opacity and dulness and color-loss always accompanying tormented workmanship. To the professional the mended stroke is a stroke enfeebled, and rather basely modified to conciliate the fogies. A remark made by such an economist of art-labor showed his point of view:

"My sketch tells the greatest number of facts about nature that the touches I have used can convey. By this kind of breadth I get atmosphere, the just relation of values, and the live movement of my objects. I see no use in carrying the thing further, so as to explain myself to those who really know nothing about art. The things I admire in nature are just those things—its live movement in organic objects, its values, and its luminous atmosphere. Having expressed these I do not see why my picture is not done."

The picture so defended would be, it goes without saying, one of those patchworks of flat tints and vigorous indications which are the puzzle of the "man of taste"; but every touch might be a master-stroke of reserved force to the eye of a brother artist. To set against this *credo* of a painter by indications there might be quoted the lament lately made by a landscapist who fully appreciates the vigor of the most summary technic, but whose own aim is at something different. Bringing out a preparatory sketch which was full of light, of breadth, and of strength, and which was already a finished masterpiece for an impressionist, he said discontentedly:

"I shall never satisfy myself until I get all of this luminous quality, without the least loss, into my thoroughly-finished canvases; it is so easy to be luminous in a broad sketch—my first sketches always are luminous. But when I look at nature it permits me to examine into its details without detecting paint-strokes. Nature is brilliant and pure-colored without showing the technical carpenter-work by which brilliancy and color

are got. I must carry those qualities into canvases which do not invite the eye to study their clever strokes; I shall not be content with pictures that are mere brags of technic."

The greater number of the efforts at the Society's exhibition are willing to halt at the stage where art displays a few telling touches, whose adequacy can only be estimated by artists. The pictures are epigrams. To produce a canvas in which the workmanlike directness is quite preserved, at the same time that workmanlike methods are not made conspicuous, seems almost too much to ask of humanity. Remembering that Velasquez did it, however, we need not quite despair, and meantime may acknowledge that technical economy of stroke is a good and refreshing thing to see, and that there was a large quantity of it in the late exhibition, where the professionals met to dare each other to gymnastic feats of pure "method." As the entire collection goes to Philadelphia this month, we have the advantage of being able to consider it as a continued exhibition.

The "Interior" (117) by Whistler is perfectly successful, from the point of view of its intentions. It is a dim room in which none of the shadows are opaque or black, but always let you seem to see more and more as you peer into them. In this adumbration the objects, each at its own plane, partake in proper degree of the greater or lesser illumination, and are solid and real though but half-glimpsed. On going up to it the picture falls to pieces entirely, letting you know that it is a magician who is working before your eyes, not an arranger of puppets. Miss Mary Cassatt's portrait of "Mrs. Cassatt" (99) is an admirable work of indicative painting; it is constructed as if on a wager to tell the greatest number of truths with the smallest number of strokes; and yet—a characteristic in which this showpiece of good French technic differs from the superficial Munich technic all around—there is a recognition of the essentials of anatomy, and the stroke that defines a cartilage, or a knuckle, or a muscle has its own summary way of specifying what is the organic structure it means to express. "A Spanish Beggar" (122), by Humphrey Moore, is a good and brilliant preparation for still better and more brilliant work to be done when the artist is older. Every plane, value, and fact of modelling on the bare torso is well put in place, the unifying and connecting finish being omitted by design. The "Court-yard in the Trastevere" (66), by Mr. Sartain, is one of the most intensely real and solid reproductions of the effect of stonework in tempered sunlight that we know to have been achieved by an American painter. Without the least trick or exaggeration it perfectly gives quality, texture, and substance; it stands beside the somewhat rare architectural subjects of Corot (hardly known in this country, perhaps) in its perfectly honest rendering of frank daylight playing over enduring architecture. Mr. Tiffany's scenes in broad sunshine are successful, too, this year, and he has come nearer to the wished-for trick of conveying, by the sleight of the "luminarist," a dazzle of blinking sun than he ever did before. Mr. Twachtman's "Venetian" boat (67) bathes in real, deep, transparent brine, enriched with profound sun-gilt shadows; and Mr. Low's "Cloudy Weather on the Seine" (16) shows us a full-fed tide that floats its river-boat with a satisfactory appearance of supporting power and levelled repleteness. We cannot omit all mention of the graceful ease and breadth of Mr. Wordsworth Thompson's figure-groups in his "Rappahannock" (145); nor ought we to grudge a quick tribute to Mr. Fussell's "Friends' Meeting" (5), whose rich soberness of color somehow recalls Titian's row of bishops' backs in the Louvre.

Mr. La Farge contributes two little pictures that partake of the magical, and fix for him a level from which he must henceforth take heed never to fall. The "Cactus on a Pearl-shell" (115) is a silky web of rays of light, defining the pearl and petal textures with the most subtle and penetrating conciseness; the appeal to what we love in flowers is so sharp, so quickly done, that we are perforce reminded of Othello's blossom "that the sense ached at"; to relieve us a little, though, and show himself human, the painter underlines this success with another effort (116), in which his flower-painting sinks to the mere bric-à-brac artist's enamel and ivory chips. His "Anadyomene," a miniature work, is the most beautiful fancy we recollect from his pencils; perfect in color, movement, and pagan grace, this soft page seems like the devoutest of missal-painting applied to the illustration of the Greek anthology. Another mystic, Mr. Albert Ryder, contributes at least one success, a female figure straying through a deep wood, and, with the wood-spaces, quite bathed in the red sunset. The hitting of this particular effect was a curious instance of premonitory sympathy. When he had finished it he was reminded by his comrade, Marshall, the engraver, that he had done something precisely in the vein of an Italian artist whom all the French painters raved over, and whose works, never bought for galleries, were stuck up in paint-shops to tempt the modest purses of artists. The Italian in question was Monticelli, then quite unknown to Mr. Ryder. When Messrs. Cottier & Co., by their exhibition of a group of the Italian's caprices, created a Monticelli craze in this country, Mr. Ryder's admonisher recalled the name and the style, and dragged the New York artist into the presence of his prototype; but the American painter's work was long since finished and dry, and the seeming imitation was a mere example of unconsciously congenial parallelism.

His friend, Mr. Baur, a sculptor, contributes a sketch of a Silenus, most profoundly and successfully asleep; if the artist can carry out the intensity of the sketch into an adequate thoroughness of finish, he will give us one of the best possible pendants to the famous Pompeian lamp-holder. Mr. O'Donovan, among a quantity of admirable portraits, exhibits one miniature head of a Boy (156), which is full of a fleeting grace and delicacy most hard to fix, reminding us of the most innocent of the boy-choristers of Luca della Robbia; Mr. St. Gaudens's bronze portrait-plaques are striking, quaint, and spirited in treatment, and Mr. Warner's marble "Twilight" (148), though not quite successful in reconciling the impertinent realism of the model with the abstracted canons of the ideal, confers on us a decorative statuette beyond the usual merit of our national work in this kind.

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 10, 1879.

The Week.

THE financial event of the week was the subscription, on Friday, the 4th inst., of $59,000,000 to the United States 4 per cents. Of this amount $40,000,000 were subscribed in a single order by the National Bank of Commerce. The subscriptions on this day took all the 4 per cent. bonds necessary to furnish the means with which to redeem the entire remainder of 5-20 6 per cent. bonds, and the 4 per cent. bonds were then formally withdrawn from the market by Treasury circular of that date. In addition to the bids above mentioned there were other subscriptions forwarded to the amount of about $75,000,000. These arrived too late, and were rejected in accordance with the Treasury circular of March 4, in which the Treasury gave notice to all the world that when enough 4 per cents had been sold to redeem all the outstanding 5-20 6 per cents, no more would be furnished on the terms then offered. There was great disappointment among the unsuccessful bidders, and Wall Street witnessed the spectacle of about one-half the leading bankers quarrelling with the other half over the purchase of 4 per cent. bonds at par less the commission. Had such a thing been predicted at the beginning of the year the prophet would have been considered mad. On the first day of January last there were outstanding about $350,000,000 5-20 bonds which bore 6 per cent. interest. These have now all been replaced with bonds bearing 4 per cent. interest; so that so long as the debt runs there has been made an annual saving in the interest charge of about $7,000,000. This record is without a parallel, and Mr. Sherman is entitled to the main credit for it, as it would have been very easy to mismanage the matter so as to have prevented the saving.

The debating in the House improved greatly after the effects of General Garfield's rather stumpy speech had worn off, and there was, before the passage of the Army Bill on Saturday by 148 to 122, some excellent speaking on both sides. But as soon as this real discussion began, "the revolution" disappeared. General Garfield disposed of it by candidly acknowledging on Friday that there was nothing objectionable *per se* in fastening the repeal as a rider to the appropriation. Of course this acknowledgment had to be made sooner or later, but scores of Republicans apparently thought it could in some manner be avoided. He then pointed out that if they repealed the Army Bill pure and simple they would deprive the civil power of the right to summon the army as a posse or use the army for any purpose whatever. It was accordingly amended before passage so as not to prevent the President's responding to the constitutional call for assistance from a State. It is now before the Senate, and will doubtless soon go to the President. Thus far no harm has been done, and, considering the Republican precedents and concessions, we do not see what there is to prevent the President's signing it, and think it most likely that he will sign it. If he does, the uproar of the past fortnight will seem very ludicrous. If he does not, and the Democrats, being unable to defeat him by a two-thirds vote, try to overcome him by withholding the appropriation, the coercion will begin; but even then it will not be time to arm ourselves. The proper punishment for such conduct on the part of the majority is defeat at the polls, and not war, or threats or preparation or talk of war.

The Senate has not been wholly idle, though still kept waiting for the action of the House on the Army Bill. Mr. Hoar's "revolutionary" resolution was tabled on Wednesday week by 35 to 20, in accordance with the determination of the majority to postpone abstract discussions. In executive session the appointment of Mr. Andrew D. White to be Minister to Germany was confirmed, and so also was that of Mr. Clarence King to be Director of the newly-created Geological Survey, by which science and economical administration will greatly profit. An interesting subject for debate was found in the case of Mr. Charles H. Bell, appointed by the Governor of New Hampshire to fill the vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of Senator Wadleigh. Objection being made to Mr. Bell's title, it was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, who on April 2 reported—the majority (all Democrats) against, and the minority (all Republicans) in favor of, admitting him to a seat.

The circumstances are peculiar. New Hampshire is about changing from annual sessions of the Legislature to biennial, and last year elected two Legislatures at an interval of several months, the last chosen being the first biennial Legislature, to convene in June next. There was, consequently, at the expiration of Senator Wadleigh's term, no Legislature competent to fill the vacancy. The question had been discussed in the Senate of the Legislature of 1878, and had been decided adversely: an Act of Congress of 1866 expressly names the Legislature "*which is chosen* next preceding the expiration" of a Senator's term. The Governor's right to convene the Legislature of 1879 in advance of the time fixed by law appears to be more than doubtful. He therefore concluded that the case was one which came under the clause of the Constitution providing for Senatorial vacancies, and made the temporary appointment of Mr. Bell. All the precedents cited by the majority seem defective in analogy, and the hair-splitting over the meaning of the word "happen" seems uncalled for. Though the committee divided according to party, the debate has been free, and Senator Bayard supports the minority, while Senator Carpenter takes the other side.

The extent of the negro exodus from the lower Mississippi cannot be stated exactly. A *Herald* correspondent at Leavenworth telegraphed on Monday that the number of immigrants who had already arrived in Kansas was about two thousand, and more were coming by every boat. This appears to be confirmed by estimates made in St. Louis, where on Saturday, according to the report of a custom-house officer, there were still thirteen hundred awaiting transportation. In Kansas some dispersion has taken place, but the great body of the newcomers have helplessly sat down at Leavenworth, Wyandotte, and Topeka. Those who first arrived, a month ago, were comparatively well clothed and provided with slender savings, but not at all capable of purchasing land or cultivating it for themselves. The rest have been worse off in all respects, and have suffered much from the change of climate. It is, in fact, essentially a pauper immigration, and as such is not heartily welcomed by the people of Kansas. The reasons assigned for this unfortunate movement are very numerous, and are both local and general. The truth appears to be that the crop-failures of the past two years have greatly discouraged the negroes now abandoning the cotton plantations along the Mississippi, and have also convinced them that labor was too plentiful there. If this were all, the movement would naturally check itself in a short time, nor would it tend all one way; and if the migrating blacks were not benefited, those who stayed behind and the planters would be. But there is no little alarm felt for the immediate consequences in Louisiana, and apprehensions are expressed in others of the Gulf States that a similar unrest will shortly be developed among them. It is alleged by independent witnesses that systematic efforts have been made to produce this result. The leading colored Baptist clergyman in St. Louis says that the leading agents in the churches and Sunday-schools, and the "moral, mental, and social organiza-

tions," have for at least three years been holding up the idea of emigration as the evidence and seal of emancipation. This mischievous doctrine may have been preached everywhere, and wherever it has encountered sufficient misery it may be expected to work in proportion to the facility of transportation.

The condition of the poor people who, however real their ills, political, social, or material, could only have been deluded into a migration northward and *en masse*, calls, of course, for pity and charity. But the best friends of the negro cannot wish to encourage or to make themselves responsible for the further spread of the movement. Yet such is the avowed aim of the organization at Washington known as the National Emigration Aid Society, of which the president is Senator Windom, of Minnesota, who introduced last winter a resolution for a committee to enquire into the expediency of assisting the Southern blacks to move away from that section. This is thought by some to have been the signal for the present exodus. Of course the society means to regulate the emigration it fosters, and to prevent scenes like those now occurring in Kansas, but that its animus is not sympathy for the blacks but hostility to the South—the assumption, at least, that whites and blacks can never agree, and might as well give up trying to do so—is clear from the constitution of the Executive Committee. No one will suspect Mr. Wm. E. Chandler or Mr. George C. Gorham of any but a political purpose in sending agents to the South to promote emigration; nor need their designs be as far-reaching as the depopulation of the South before the next census is taken, to make their motives perfectly intelligible. We hear also of a Boston "National Farmers' Association" having in view the colonization of Northwestern Texas with negroes from the other Southern States, and the ultimate erection of a separate State. Its circulars or tracts, addressed to the freedmen, declare in the wildest terms that they "must emigrate, fight, or perish." Nothing could well be more pernicious than such counsel coming from a land and railroad speculation.

The offer of the Berlin mission by Mr. Evarts to Mr. Whitelaw Reid, the editor of the *Tribune*, as a testimony to "his public position and public services" as "an eminent member of the Republican party," must have been gratifying to Mr. Reid, though he declined it; but the manner in which it has been received by his "esteemed contemporaries" shows that the old indomitable spirit of the New York press is dead or dying. We expected to see the *Times*, at least, equal to the expression in vigorous and simple English of the profound disgust which the affair has no doubt caused it. In the old Jennings days this unseemly spectacle would not have been witnessed, and we may guess the feelings with which he will in his island home read the announcement, and then glance at the milk-and-water editorial columns of his old sheet, in which he so often chastised "the man Reid" and threatened him with temporal ruin, after his eternal ruin had been fully provided for. In those days, when a brother editor was dangerously ill, the *Times* did not hesitate to call attention to the horrible forebodings with which his condition could not fail to fill him. Now it wastes its magnificent powers of invective on the distant bull-dozer or confines them to Tilden, to the great regret of some of its readers, at least.

The Advisory Board of Officers appointed by the President to examine the proceedings of the court-martial which in 1862 found General Fitz-John Porter guilty of misbehavior in the field, and sentenced him to be cashiered, have made their report. They not only acquit General Porter of the offence with which he was charged, but pronounce his conduct during the Pope campaign to have been in all respects praiseworthy, and to have contributed largely to the salvation of the army. They have been enabled to reach this conclusion in part owing to the breakdown of testimony produced for the prosecution before the court-martial; in part to accurate surveys of the field of the campaign recently made by the Engineers; and in part to the production of documentary evidence which was not previously obtainable, and to the evidence of Confederate officers. Much of this new proof is of the most crushing character. Nothing in the recent enquiry was so extraordinary, however, as the testimony of General McDowell. This is *so* extraordinary and affects so seriously that officer's reputation that, even if we had not ourselves held and expressed opinions unfavorable to General Porter, we should feel bound to make more extended comment on the case than is possible within the limits of a paragraph, and we shall return to the subject next week. As the matter now stands it is impossible to look on the prosecution of General Porter as anything but a most astonishing piece of deception practised on the public, the authors and promoters of which ought not to escape the reprobation of honest men.

The extraordinary constitution drafted by the late Convention in California, on which we commented last week, is naturally exciting great alarm in the State, and, according to the San Francisco *Commercial Herald*, "hangs like a pall over the whole business community," and has created a feeling of such uneasiness that the banks will not lend except on the best security. The situation will not improve, if it ever improves at all, until the vote is taken on the 7th of May. The truth is that the constitution puts the banking, insurance, telegraphing, and railroad business—or, in other words, all business carried on by corporations—at the mercy of "sand-lot" statesmen and blackmailers; and the business men of the community must either defeat it, or wind up their affairs, or try to nullify it by corrupting the Legislature and the courts. We fear they will take most kindly to the last course.

The trial of Talmage over in Brooklyn has turned out, as we anticipated, a most amusing farce—very like the services in Talmage's church. There has been an immense and uproarious audience during the proceedings, which the Presbytery, which calls itself "the Court of Jesus Christ," has been entirely unable to control. The unfortunate trustees of the church in which the sessions are held have filed a protest, alleging that the "riotous crowd" have broken the pews and "two treadles of the organ," "written numerous scurrilous and indecent things in hymn-books and the backs of seats," and "have been heard to threaten the destruction of an oil-painting hanging in the church parlor." The sympathies of this crowd, we need hardly say, have been all with the defendant, and they greeted him with thunders of applause whenever he rose, as he has several times done, to "hurl defiance" at his foes. The counsel on both sides are ministers, and their discussions have been acrimonious beyond anything known at the secular bar, in courts of record at least. One gentleman has had to accuse his adversary of "aiming a poisoned lance at the very centre of his moral being," an outrage never witnessed in temporal tribunals. The attempts to maintain the gravity suitable to an ecclesiastical court have been comically unsuccessful. No witnesses were ever funnier than the managing editor and publisher of Talmage's old paper, the *Christian at Work*, one of the charges being that when Talmage was "the Christian" of that periodical, part of "his work" consisted in cheating his partners. There was one very ludicrous scene, when the Moderator tried during one of the pauses in the middle of the drollery to have a hymn sung. The opening lines of that which was suggested, "Blest be the tie that binds," fairly brought down the house, and a suggestion of the Lord's Prayer was equally mirth-producing. But nothing excited so much merriment as the Moderator's proposal that, on the failure of the hymns, they should pass a few moments in "sacred silence." This was more than the audience could bear, and they doubled themselves up with laughter.

It is easy to exaggerate the importance of the political excitement in Canada, growing out of Lord Lorne's referring a domestic question to the British Colonial Secretary. Nevertheless, it seems

clear at this time that any undue emphasis on the Imperial right of revision and control over the Dominion will greatly strengthen the feeling in favor of complete separation. The Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, Mr. Letellier, last year dismissed a so-called Conservative ministry, opposed to him in politics, but having eighteen majority in a House of sixty-five members, and appointed one of his own stripe. This change involved a general election, which gave the new ministers a bare majority with the casting vote of the Speaker. The national elections subsequently resulted in a great triumph for the Conservatives, and one of the pledges of the canvass was that Sir John Macdonald would bring about the dismissal of Letellier. His Government did, in fact, after a vote of censure of Letellier by Parliament, recommend the Governor-General to remove him, but Sir John was obliged to announce to the House of Commons on Thursday that Lord Lorne declined to act on his own responsibility, as the precedent would affect his relations with all the other members of the Confederation. The cry was at once raised that this affair concerned Canada only, and did not concern the Home Government, and there appears to be no doubt that the Governor-General-in-Council (that is, in agreement with the ministers) might safely assume the power which Lord Lorne declines to exercise. The feeling among the French Canadians runs very high, but the friends of Letellier endeavor to enlist support for him on the ground of the disrespectful treatment he received from the Conservative Cabinet, its Ultramontane character, and the Protestantism of Mr. Joly, the new Premier. Meantime, a special commissioner has been sent to England to confer with the Colonial Office.

The Khedive has just played a trick on France and England, and his European creditors, for which all those who believe in the impolicy and inhumanity of trying to patch up and maintain Oriental governments ought to be grateful to him. He has got tired of the restraints imposed on him by his conventions with France and England, which put his finances in charge of Mr. Rivers Wilson and M. De Blignières, and deprived him of his enormous private estate, and introduced European bookkeeping into the management of his affairs. He has accordingly dismissed the whole of his present Ministry, including the English and French financiers, and has formed another composed entirely of good old Turks, who are going to "make sacrifices," he says, which will enable him to settle with his foreign creditors without submitting to their interference. Of course this is mere brag. The Khedive is bankrupt. His subjects are taxed to the starvation point. He cannot meet the demands of his creditors, even if his finances are managed by Europeans; he cannot make even a pretence of meeting them with a native ministry composed of his own favorites. He doubtless knows very well what the effect of his new move will be, and calculates on being saved from interference or coercion, as Turkey has been for so long, by the jealousy of the Mediterranean powers, and in this he is not far wrong. From the peace of 1815 until very recently Egypt has been looked on as a sort of dependency of England, which she might occupy or not as she pleased. The rise of Italy, the growth of French commerce, the crushing of French hopes on the side of the Rhine, and the investment of enormous amounts of French capital in the Suez Canal and Egyptian bonds, have changed all this; and when Lord Salisbury came to test the nature of British influence over Egypt he found he had to count with both France and Italy, and that the opportunity of annexing Egypt to the Jingo Empire was gone. The Khedive has begun to understand the situation, and has gone off on another frolic.

The news from Zululand does not improve. It appears by the latest Blue-book that Lord Chelmsford now says he wrote to the Duke of Cambridge as long ago as last June that the mental and physical strain of his command was too much for him, and that he is now no better than he was then. This is a hard blow for the Government, if true, and they are in self-defence reduced to the necessity of denying that Lord Chelmsford ever said anything to the Duke of Cambridge about his weakness, which, on the other hand, if true, puts Lord Chelmsford in an absurd position, and this again reacts on the Government which persists in retaining him. The force for the relief of Ekowe has probably started before now, but in the meantime the Zulus have repeated their tactics at Isandlana, on a smaller scale, in the Transvaal, 5,000 of them falling suddenly in the early morning on a detachment of eighty men and killing or drowning sixty of them, the rest escaping, solely owing to their having crossed a river over-night. The ability of the Zulus to bear slaughter without flinching appears to be something unprecedented among savages, and makes the charges of their heavy columns irresistible by a small force, if not entrenched, no matter how close or rapid its fire. Their capacity for rapid movement, too, is very great—as great as that of our Indians, but their discipline and steadiness are far greater. It would seem as if small parties of European troops would have to carry with them something in the nature of the movable *chevaux-de-frise* with which the Russian infantry in the old days before the bayonet kept off the Tartar cavalry on the steppes.

The despatch addressed by Lord Salisbury to Lord Loftus on the 26th of January, which has been recently published, complains of the encouragement given by Russian agents to the tumultuous agitation in Eastern Rumelia for annexation to Bulgaria by keeping up a single administration of the two countries, and making the newly-raised militia of both a common force under a single commander. He points out that when the Russians withdraw this union will come to an end, but the spirit of resistance on the part of the people to the Treaty of Berlin will remain, and so will the warlike ardor. He then goes on with the utmost coolness to show that the Turkish troops will enter the province to assert the Sultan's authority, and that they will be too strong for the insurgents and will probably renew the "unexampled sufferings which the people underwent in the last war"; in other words, he looks forward to the Turkish troops being let loose on the province to subjugate it, in Turkish fashion, by massacre, pillage, and rape. This little programme, too, it must be remembered, emanates from an English minister, and it has for its object the subjection of a Christian people to an odious, effete, inhuman, and licentious Oriental despotism. No such state paper, it is safe to say, has been produced in the English Foreign Office within the present century. It is, however, quite in keeping with the now famous dictum of Sir Henry Elliot, that if England was interested in the maintenance of the Turkish Empire, whether 10,000 or 20,000 or 30,000 Bulgarians were massacred or no was of no sort of consequence.

Prince Gortchakoff's reply was what it ought to have been—brief, cold, and slightly contemptuous. He said he did not care for controversy with Lord Salisbury, and that what Russia had done or was doing was dictated by a natural interest in the safety and welfare of the people she had liberated, and that this interest she could not avoid retaining, even after her troops had evacuated the provinces. It is the sort of despatch, in short, which British ministers used to write to Austrian, Italian, Russian, and Spanish despots who complained of England's making trouble among their subjects by the unguarded display of her sympathies. Since this was written, however, it has become plain even to the English Cabinet that the plan of having the Turks seize Rumelia by force of arms cannot be carried out, and that, in fact, the possibility of maintaining the Turkish sovereignty over it is more and more doubtful, and that in any event the peace must be kept after the departure of the Russians by other than Turkish troops. But as this means the loss of the sole feature in the Berlin Treaty on which Lord Beaconsfield prided himself, it has, of course, to be disguised as much as possible. In the coming negotiations Russia is likely to be much less pliable than she has been, as she cannot again be threatened with the Sepoys and other theatrical thunder.

THE FLIGHT OF THE NEGROES.

IT would be difficult to conceive of a situation less favorable to healthy social progress than that in which the negroes at the South found themselves since the war. They were very poor, and very ignorant, and very timid, and surrounded by fierce, warlike, and contemptuous neighbors of a different race. Their ignorance, too, did not consist in the want of book-learning, but in the want of the common discipline of civilized life. All this was bad enough, or would have been bad enough, even if they had nothing to trouble them but the difficulty of getting a livelihood. They were, however, armed with the franchise, and were at once plunged into a sea of troubles which even the best equipped races would have found it difficult to navigate. The party which gave them the ballot had really no means of protecting them in the enjoyment of it, and yet had the strongest interest in preventing the Democrats from getting the benefit of it. Accordingly, it had to resort for this purpose to keeping alive among the negroes as long as possible a spirit of hatred and distrust towards the whites, and at the same time to nourishing the passions of the war at the North by stories, some true and some false, of negro wrongs. The whites, on their side, rather helped this plan by the savage means to which they resorted, in those States in which the negroes were in a majority, to overturn or prevent negro rule. The effect of the struggle on the unfortunate colored people has, of course, been bad; the wonder is that it has not been worse. It has kept them in a state of permanent hostility with their white neighbors, and has filled their minds with vague expectations of advancement or elevation of some kind from the Northern Republicans.

That they should have, under these circumstances, cultivated the soil as faithfully as the Southern crop-returns show them to have done, and at the same time purchased so much land, and taken so much advantage of the schools, is very remarkable, and suggests some melancholy reflections as to what they might have accomplished during the past fifteen years if they had enjoyed thorough security, and had not been compelled to take part in the electioneering contests of their white countrymen the minute they crossed the threshold of civilization. The flight of several thousand of them in a sort of panic from Louisiana and Mississippi, with accounts of which the papers are now filled, is dismal reading enough, because it is largely the result of delusions of one sort or another, and the danger is that it will be fostered and used during the next year as a fine campaign incident. The immense misery that it is about to produce will, of course, cause the managers and stump-speakers little concern.

When one reads in the correspondence of the Stalwart paper which is making the most of it for party purposes, that the negroes in South Carolina are ceasing to purchase homesteads and are hoarding their money, we perceive clearly enough that the more thrifty and well-to-do are alarmed by something that is impending, rather than suffering from anything which has happened in the past. A state of things in which a poor man has been able to save money to buy a homestead, as tens of thousands of negroes have done, is not one in which he is likely to think himself unhappy or ill-used. What is probably alarming this class is the accounts which have been circulated amongst them of the evils which are likely to befall them now that the Democrats have secured control of Congress. If the Stalwart reports of their condition during the past ten years, however, were true, nothing the Democrats could now do would have any terrors for them. Senator Dawes told the people of Massachusetts in 1876 that there was not a negro at the South who did not fear when he went to bed at night that he would have his throat cut or his cabin burnt before morning. The New York *Times* says that for a long time past Christmas Day and election days—that is, two days in the year—"have been appropriated [by the Southern whites] for the sole purpose of killing 'peart niggers'"; the other days of the year being reserved for "robbery and personal violence." Moreover, we learn from the same paper that during recent years, while the negroes have been raising these tremendous crops of cotton and sugar, the whites "gambled, drank whiskey, and improved their skill as marksmen by shooting offhand at a servant who did not please them." One would think that a laboring man who was murdered regularly on Christmas day and election day, and was robbed and assaulted on other days, besides occasionally serving as a mark for a drunken man's rifle, would have little to fear in this world from any change in the Government. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the thrifty colored men at the South were pretty well off; that a very large number were, in spite of many difficulties, making their way in the world, and that the accounts from Republican sources of the horrors that are to result from Democratic rule have determined them to get by hook or by crook into a State in which the Government would be friendly to them.

The impelling motives of the poorer and more shiftless class of emigrants in abandoning their homes are not difficult to divine either. Both the planters and the laborers at the South resumed their farming at the close of the war absolutely without capital and without business habits. Little or no money passes between them, and the negro subsists during the year on supplies furnished him on a credit account either by the planter or that still greater man in Southern society nowadays, the cross-roads storekeeper. This, of course, means monstrous prices, and probably a good deal of fraud in the tally. No laboring man who lives in this way anywhere, be he black or white, ever rises above the direst poverty or escapes debt. Laborers suffer terribly from the process at the North, and it would be difficult to say what legal remedy could be devised for it. It is probable, too, that all negroes suffer in nerves about election-time. Either the Democrats "intimidate" them to keep them from the polls, or the Republicans assure them that they will be intimidated, and between the two they have a month every year of great anxiety, and no matter which side wins, it brings no change in their condition. But if the emigration could be properly conducted, and the emigrants were able to take care of themselves until they found employment or raised crops, there would be little to regret about it. In fact it would be an excellent remedy for the trouble in some of the Southern States. There are too many negroes now in South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi both for their own good and that of the whites. Profusion of labor generally means misery for the laborer, and the negroes' best chance of social and political advancement lies in scattering themselves in more advanced communities. Nothing but a return to barbarism is to be expected from dense masses of colored people, such as fill Mr. Chalmers's district in Mississippi. In England, the fight which the agricultural laborers have been long waging with the farmers over grievances strikingly like those of which the Southern negroes complain, has been won by emigration on a great scale, begun by Canon Girdlestone ten years ago. The result has been a rise of twenty per cent. in wages, and an immense improvement in treatment in all ways. The more negroes leave the Southern States the more considerate will the whites become towards those who remain behind. Indeed, even if the proportions of the present movement be, as we have little doubt they are, greatly exaggerated, the mere demonstration that it is possible must have a good effect on the relations of both races; for the only radical and effective remedy after all for defective State government, no matter in what the defectiveness consists, is the loss of population and capital. It is this that rouses property-holders, and convinces them that the paths of peace are the paths of prosperity. Politicians who are urging the poor blacks to start for Kansas, either for the purpose of confirming the "bloody-shirt" view of Southern society or for the purpose, as one writer has frankly avowed, of causing the loss of fifteen representatives to the South at the next census, nevertheless have a great deal to answer for. The bulk of the emigrants appear to be able to get no further than St. Louis, or, if they reach Kansas at all, will enter it as paupers. Kansas, too, according to all the best accounts, has already more white labor than it can pay for, and is ill prepared to undertake the maintenance of a large body of destitute negroes, particularly as it does not need their votes, the State being already overwhelmingly Republican.

CABINET OFFICERS IN CONGRESS.

THE project introduced by Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, or, rather, re-introduced by him—for he first brought it forward in the House some fourteen years ago—to bring the executive branch of the Government into closer relations with the legislative branches, belongs to the highest class of political questions, and is destined, we trust, to receive a wide and continued discussion until a decision of some sort is reached upon it. Regarded merely as a change of diet from the treason of Jefferson Davis, the cipher despatches, unlimited greenbacks, and other stale pabulum, it ought to be welcomed by everybody. We propose to point out in this article some of the changes involved in a measure of this kind.

The plan proposes, in brief, that the members of the Cabinet shall be enabled to occupy seats in either house of Congress, and to participate in the debates and proceedings thereof, except as to the right of voting, and that they shall be required to be present on certain days to answer questions propounded by any member under the authority and sanction of the house, of which previous notice shall have been given in a prescribed manner. The principal reason assigned for this innovation is that, under the present system, Congress and the departments are always at arms' length to each other; that the information required by the former from the latter is not attainable except by slow degrees, and then only imperfectly, and in many cases too late to be of service; that the Secretaries keep back what it does not suit them to communicate, by evasive answers which would be impossible if delivered colloquially, etc., etc. In other words, there is a mechanical defect in the working machinery of the Government, for which a remedy is sought by bringing the several parts nearer together. This is the reason most frequently and forcibly assigned for bringing the members of the Cabinet upon the floor of Congress; but it is not the most important one that might be urged, and since the opponents of the plan have already dived to the bottom of it, and have attacked the project upon the ground that it seeks to introduce the English system—or, as some persons have termed it, the monarchical system—of responsible government, it is best for the friends of the measure to defend it upon that ground, if they can. To call a thing English or monarchical is, of course, to arouse a great mass of prejudice against it, but those phrases are most commonly and unbecomingly used by persons who in the same breath favor the election of General Grant to a third Presidential term.

The question whether Cabinet officers can be *required* to be personally present in either house of Congress has been learnedly discussed by Mr. Perry Belmont, who has also pointed out that the law of 1789 establishing the Treasury Department, passed by the first Congress after the adoption of the Constitution, and still in force, provides that the Secretary shall give information "to either branch of the legislature in person or in writing as may be required." This question is hardly worth spending much time over, since it can have no practical bearing until, the proposed change being made, some Secretary shall refuse to occupy the seat assigned to him. It has been so long customary for Congress to call for information from the departments in writing, and to do this in the tone of authority, that the right to do so is not likely to be a matter of dispute, and certainly the distinction between oral and written information is extremely narrow. The power of Congress to pass a law authorizing and requiring the members of the Cabinet to attend its sessions may be assumed at the outset. It cannot make them members of Congress—the qualifications and mode of electing members being fixed by the Constitution—but it can open its doors to them and give them a hearing, and it can require from them by word of mouth all that it can require by any other mode of communication.

It may be assumed, also, that oral communications, with the right to debate, would tend greatly to expedite and clarify the public business. The existing means of communication between Congress and the departments are as lumbering and antiquated as possible, and if once superseded by oral methods would be like the stage-coach and the pack-saddle in competition with the modern railway. Everything that can be urged upon this point may be taken for granted. But it is highly probable that a change of machinery of the kind proposed would lead to changes of substance also; that the heads of departments, once installed on the floors of Congress, would eventually become the leaders of their party in both Senate and House. The natural course of things would be that the Executive would seek to be represented by men able to lead, and, if for any reason those whom he had selected were unable to lead, he would choose others possessing this paramount qualification. This is of the essence of responsible government as it exists in England, but is not the whole of it. Responsible government requires that the chief executive shall belong to no party—shall have no preference for one party more than for another—so that whenever the cabinet cease to be the real leaders of the legislature by reason of a change in the political complexion of that body, they shall give place to a cabinet agreeable to the new majority and capable of leading it. This implies a permanent executive, or at all events a more permanent one than ours. The French are trying the experiment with a seven-years Presidential term, the outcome of which is still doubtful, although it is not likely to be put to a severer strain than that given it by the De Broglie-Fourtou Ministry. The relations of the Cabinet to the Commons in England have been defined by Mr. Gladstone in a recent essay. He says:

"The association of the ministers with the Parliament, and through the House of Commons with the people, is the counterpart to their association as ministers with the crown and the prerogative. The decisions that they take are taken under the competing pressure of a bias this way and a bias that way, and strictly represent what is termed in mechanics the composition of forces. . . . The various currents of political and social influences meet edgewise in their persons, much like the conflicting tides in St. George's Channel or the Straits of Dover, for while they are the ultimate regulators of the relations between the crown on the one side and the people through the houses of Parliament on the other, they have no authority vested in them to coerce or censure either way. Their attitude toward the Houses must always be that of deference, their language that of respect if not of submission. Still more must their attitude and language toward the sovereign be the same in principle and yet more marked in form, and this though upon them lies the ultimate responsibility of deciding what shall be done in the crown's name in every branch of administration and every department of policy, coupled only with the alternative of ceasing to be ministers if what they may advisedly deem the requisite power of action be denied them."

Under existing conditions responsible government, of the English type, is impossible in this country. The President will continue to be a partisan, even if not the chief of his party, and will continue to appoint or retain a Cabinet of his political friends, regardless of the complexion of either House of Congress. That he should do so is not a matter for regret, seeing that the people can deal with both him and his Cabinet every four years Semi-responsible government, or the responsibility of the Executive to his own party as represented in Congress, is possible, and it is this which Mr. Pendleton's bill would be most likely to result in. We should expect to witness, from year to year, a gradual yielding of executive influence to legislative influence. The effect of numbers counts for much in the long run, and no President would care to see his Cabinet repeatedly overridden and voted down by his own party. He would soon learn the art of choosing advisers satisfactory to the House—in other words, he would consult their preference rather than his own. Whether this would be a useful change in our politics is by no means clear. It is not to be accepted without proof. That this would be the course and tendency of the proposed measure rather than an absorption of legislative power by the Executive, we may reasonably infer from the fact that such has been its course and tendency wherever responsible or semi-responsible government has been tried.

The proposed change would not be without some effect upon the character of the Cabinet itself, and it would probably be improving. Weak and second-rate men like those whom President Grant preferred to surround himself with; not being able to meet the best

minds of the House and Senate in daily competition, would be speedily brushed aside and a stronger phalanx substituted in their places. The duty of leadership would be upon them *ex-officio*, and a failure to lead would necessitate their retirement under penalty of general contempt. The seven best intellects of the party would always be drifting by a process of natural selection into the Cabinet, and all the rest would be taking seats below them; and thus, while the legislature as a mass would gain in influence at the expense of the executive, its individual members would be overshadowed and count for something less than they do now. On the other hand, the Senate and the House would be the natural training-ground for Cabinet officers. It will be seen from this outline that there is much more involved in Mr. Pendleton's bill than a mere change of vehicles for the conveyance of information from the Departments to Congress.

THE INUNDATIONS OF THE THEISS.

THE recent floods in Hungary, so exceptionally disastrous in their effects, are, unfortunately, the natural result of causes which have given to an area of about 6,000 square miles the name of the "territory of inundation." This territory comprises nearly one-sixth of the great plain of lower Hungary, which stretches from the shores of the Danube to the borders of Transylvania, and in a southerly direction almost from the foot of the Carpathian Mountains to the frontier of Servia, a distance of 300 miles. That portion of the great plain lying east of the Theiss and north of the Maros, between the cities of Tokay, Debreczin, Arad, and Szegedin, is emphatically called the *Alföld*, the "lowland." It is one vast alluvial plain, the real home of the Magyar, and the land of the *pusztas*, whose striking features have often been described. Almost absolutely devoid of trees, the natural fertility of the soil offers an unlimited resource to the semi-nomadic natives of the *puszta*—the indolent herdsman in his sheepskin furs, which "warm in winter and cool in summer"; the fiery *csikós*, who tames his horses with the lasso; the powerful *gulyás*, who tends the long-horned cattle, and the daring *betyár*, or cattle-stealer, who survives now only in song. In spite of the absence of trees, want of water, and existence of marshes, the soil yields wheat and maize in immense quantities, and scattered villages, some of them very large in extent, break the monotony of the landscape—a monotony which is shared by the climate, the fauna and flora of the entire Hungarian plain, and of which Baron Eötvös gives, in his famous novel, 'A falu jegyzöje' ('The Village Notary'), a striking description, thus rendered by Mr. Arthur J. Patterson in his excellent work on 'The Magyars: their Country and Institutions':

"Whoever has once traversed any portion of the Alföld on either side of the Tisza, or has spent but a few days in any one of its villages, may boldly say that he knows the whole of it. . . . When the traveller who has been surprised by sleep during his journey across its sandy plains wakes up a few hours after, the only perceptible signs of his progress are afforded by the condition of his horses and the position of the sun. The general character of the scenery around him, and even its separate details, give no more indication of the progress he has made than does the monotonous waste of waters to the sailor in the midst of the Atlantic. The meadows which extend far and wide, whose undiversified appearance is only broken here and there by the tall wooden crane above some uncovered well, or by a few storks around a half-dried pool; the ill-cultivated fields, whose wheat and maize are entrusted to the care of Providence: . . . here and there a lonely farm-house, whose shaggy watch-dogs remind him by their barking of the sanctity of private property, and whose vast hay-ricks and straw-stacks, left from last year, prove that the farmer had a very abundant harvest or keeps but a small amount of stock—all these objects he saw before him when he closed his eyes, all these he has still before him now they are open again."

Although the great plain extends west even beyond the Danube, it derives its characteristic features from the Tisza or Theiss, the river of Hungary *par excellence*, whose source and mouth are both within the confines of the country. It rises in the northeast in the county of Mármaros, where the Carpathians of Hungary proper, joining those of Transylvania, rise to a height of eight thousand feet, flows, rapidly descending and augmented by the Bodrog, westward to Tokay, and, near its confluence with the Hernád, enters the Hungarian plain. After a south-southwesterly course to Szolnok, where it becomes navigable for large craft, it turns southward, and thenceforth winds sluggishly through the country, between flat and often marshy shores, the fall along this section of the valley of the Theiss being only one inch in six hundred feet. It enters the Danube south of Titel, near the Servian frontier, having traversed about six hundred miles. For nearly three hundred miles its lower course is parallel to the Danube, with which it is connected by the Francis Canal. Throughout its extent the Theiss abounds in fish to a degree which is expressed in the popular saying that the fishes make up one-third of the river.

Foremost among the causes of the frequent and wide-spread inundations of the Hungarian plain is the absorption by the Theiss of almost all the waters descending from the northeastern, eastern, and southeastern slopes of the Carpathians. All the large rivers of Transylvania, with the exception of the Aluta, find their way into the Theiss, chief among them the Szamos, Körös, and Maros; the ill-fated city of Szegedin being situated at the confluence of the latter river and the Theiss. In a similar manner the cause of the recent inundations in southern France must be sought in the mountain streams of the Pyrenees and Cévennes, which swell the waters of the Garonne.

Before the regulation of the Theiss was begun, its overflow left behind pools and marshes which did not dry up for several years, and whose exhalations poisoned the air. It was the glory of Count Stephen Széchenyi, one of the greatest Hungarians and most practical of reformers, to have conceived and begun the work of drainage and canalization which from 1846 was continued to almost the present day. Thousands of square miles have been restored by it to cultivation, and 108 cuts have been made, shortening the tortuous bed of the river by 280 miles. That the regulation of the Theiss as hitherto carried on is insufficient for the protection of cities along its shores has been sadly demonstrated by the destruction of Szegedin. It was, in fact, this conviction which determined the Hungarian Government within the last few years to suspend operations pending negotiations looking to a change of system. Not unnaturally, the Government now finds itself charged with the responsibility for a catastrophe which it could not have averted by continuing the labors of preceding administrations—nay, which, as has been pointed out by competent critics, was partly caused by a fatal defect in one of the most important features of the work of regulation. In short, Hungary has just passed through the bitter school of experience in which Holland, in the course of centuries, acquired the art of constructing her wonderful dikes. Repeatedly the embankments thrown up for the protection of Szegedin and other towns on the Theiss have been strengthened and heightened, but they have either proved utterly powerless to stem the flood or, in some instances, their presence has even added to the danger by staying a current which would otherwise have sought a natural outlet. Thus, the town of Szentes, on the left bank of the Theiss, about eighteen miles north of Szegedin, was saved from the fate of the latter city only by the timely piercing of a dike that threatened destruction. It has even been asserted, by persons thoroughly familiar with the localities, that the destruction of Szegedin itself might have been prevented had not the ignorance of officials and the incredible narrow-mindedness of a small commune in the immediate vicinity of the city opposed the opening of a dike by which the flood would have been deflected from Szegedin at the sacrifice of the village. As it was, the outer dike constructed for the protection of the rear of the town, which for years had suffered from the action of water, gave way as early as the 5th of March, the flood filling the space between it and the second dike. With the vain attempts to strengthen and heighten this embankment—attempts which at one time promised success—and the details of the final catastrophe, which occurred on the morning of March 12, the world has been made familiar. It will, however, not be amiss to recall a few characteristic features of the unfortunate city, the less so as they afford a certain gleam of hopefulness which a mere account of the desolation does not present.

Szegedin, though in point of population the second largest city in Hungary (the number of inhabitants being 70,000), was in reality no city at all. It has been said that in Hungary the villages are often cities and the cities villages. Szegedin was such a village, for of its 9,500 houses but a few hundred deserved that name, the rest being primitive habitations built of sun-dried brick, a material which the lack of stones in the Alföld—as notable as its destitution of trees—has brought into common use. As regards the number of buildings of more than one story in height, Szegedin occupied almost the lowest rank among the towns of Hungary. Of its 70,000 inhabitants, 14,000 men were directly or indirectly devoted to agriculture; roughly speaking, therefore, at least half the population depended on it for its support. Only nine and a half per cent. were addicted to commercial pursuits, and these figures find further confirmation in the fact that hardly one-half of the population were able to read and write. Consequently, the individual losses were in themselves comparatively small, and altogether of a nature which admits the hope of speedy recovery. Agricultural products and implements and cattle con-

stitute the chief losses Domestic animals naturally formed the largest part of the wealth of the agricultural population of Szegedin, and although probably only a small portion of its 7,000 horses, 9,000 cattle, 92,000 sheep, etc., escaped destruction, the natural wealth and fertility of Hungary will easily replace what has been lost. At all events, the sting of the pecuniary losses will scarcely be felt in view of the active sympathy which animates the monarchy and most of Europe, opening hearts and purses to an almost unparalleled extent.

It will be the task of science to devise schemes for the prevention of similar catastrophes. Already suggestions are forthcoming which will serve to stimulate action. Thus, Count Lónyay, the former President of the Hungarian Ministry, gives in the *Neue Freie Presse* his views on this subject, which, as emanating from a member of the first committee on the regulation of the Theiss under Count Széchenyi, are worthy of consideration. He finds the fatal defect of the old plan in the fact that sufficient space was not allowed, as proposed in 1846, to intervene between the shores of the Theiss and the dikes. This defect admits of no remedy now, but the danger of inundations in the lower districts may still be averted by a thorough dredging of the cuts hitherto made, and their consequent deepening and widening. The chief danger to Szegedin in particular lies in its situation at the confluence of the Theiss and the Maros. Already in 1846 it was pointed out that the deflection of the mouth of the Maros from Szegedin was necessary to save the city from possible destruction ; but though engineers have since fully concurred in the opinion, the citizens of Szegedin themselves, looking only to the commercial advantages derived from its present situation, have opposed all efforts tending to change the course of the Maros. Such a change into a deeper and wider bed Count Lónyay considers as the necessary foundation of all plans for the rebuilding of the city. In the same journal a technical authority attacks the evil at its source—in the mountain streams which feed the Theiss. He would assign to some of them different courses, lessening their rapidity, and construct canals for the reception of the surplus waters, communicating with the Danube at a more suitable point than the present mouth of the Theiss, say at Báziás, about sixty miles further east. The negotiations commenced by the Government in 1873 and alluded to above had for their basis the leading features of this plan, by which a better irrigation of the Hungarian plain east of the Theiss is to be accomplished.

POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN ENGLAND.

London, March 22, 1879.

ALTHOUGH the time has past when politics in England were simply the amusement of English gentlemen during that period of the year which does not admit of sport in the open air, there are traces in existing arrangements of this state of things. The two Houses are, in the ordinary course, prorogued in August just before grouse-shooting begins, and are summoned again in February just after partridge-shooting ends. Any departure from these dates is received with the greatest disfavor, and the "whips," except in the gravest emergency, frown upon it. It is their business to keep their respective parties in good humor with their leaders. Unless money is absolutely needed, or a war has to be declared—not always even then—or an act of indemnity has to be voted, a winter session is not to be thought of. The subordination of public business to the amusements of the leisured class remains now rather in form than in substance, but the reality has not wholly disappeared. The announcement of the leader of the House of Commons that if business is not advanced more rapidly Parliament cannot be prorogued before the middle of August, is felt to be the last threat of a baffled minister in arrears with his measures. It is his ultimatum, and it seldom fails of its effect. Sportsmen have taken their moors and invited their guests, and they cannot afford to disappoint either themselves or their friends. The eagerness with which an early and a long Easter and Whitsuntide recess is looked forward to is in great part due to the avidity of country gentlemen to get back to their estates. They have to talk matters over with their bailiffs, to indulge in the hospitalities which keep up their position in the county, and to practise in general those arts and amenities on which the social influence of a territorial magnate depends. The personal constitution of the House of Commons, affected by the Act of 1832, was still more seriously altered by the democratic measure of 1867. It is now to a much greater extent than it ever was before a middle-class assembly. But the properly aristocratic element in it, on both sides of the House, though weakened numerically, is still even in numbers very considerable. Its influence is, perhaps, increased rather than diminished by the change. A larger number of the wealthy middle class is brought under the range of those social attractions which have for the average Briton a charm not felt in their full extent by the inhabitant of any other country under the sun. Perhaps the phenomenon can scarcely be made perfectly intelligible to the people of any other nation. The ingenuous person who frankly confessed that he would rather be knocked down by a lord than picked up by any one else, gave expression scarcely exaggerated to the conditions under which our wealthy middle classes are willing to accept of intercourse with the aristocracy. The curious blending of sturdy independence and a disposition to resist to the uttermost if his purse is touched or his political rights are infringed, with a proneness to prostrate himself before a lord and to request as a favor to be trodden on, is one of those ethical paradoxes the examination of which would reward the analytical student of character as much as its contemplation refreshes and exhilarates the mere social observer.

The English aristocracy has always shown great mastery in the art of political yielding as a branch of the larger art, and a means to the end, of political retention. Its history has been a record of the degrees and occasions on which it has given way, in order to reassume, on new ground and under conditions slightly varied, the leadership that it seemed on the point of losing. To the art of political yielding it is becoming every day more and more essential to add that of social management. To this end the great institution of evening receptions and "At Homes" is being adapted. The Whig and Tory aristocracy dine with each other, and with a few recognized social entertainers to supply the wit and the anecdotes which keep the talk going. They still dance for their own amusement and that of their guests, not having yet taken the Turkish pasha's advice to keep somebody to do that for them ; but they rely upon a few men of letters and men about town, whose names may be seen at the tail-end of the list of guests at a fashionable dinner-party, to say witty and amusing things for them. Besides these ornaments of society there is generally a middle-class member of Parliament, or a political writer, who is thought to be flattered by the selection, and whose presence reminds his fellow-guests of the great principle of human equality, as the slave in the chariot or the skeleton at the feast served as a memorial of human vicissitudes and their inevitable end. Having dined together, as a class apart, the leaders of politics and society and their wives allow the outside world, summoned by widely-distributed cards of invitation, to tumble in upon them in numbers which are as the sand on the sea-shore. The Countess this, and the Marquis that, and Lady Rebecca Jane the other announce that they are "At Home" on a particular evening to some hundreds of more or less eligible persons. Thither these enraptured guests rush, inspired by a desire to be in the halls of the great, to get a look or a pressure of the hand, to read their names in the *Morning Post* the next day ; or, if all this is beyond their pretensions, to look on in admiration, and to whisper to each other, in awe-stricken delight, the names of the fine ladies and the great men with whom they found themselves, if not precisely in society, yet in almost physical contact. Lord Beaconsfield, with that keen perception and whimsical exaggeration which mark him, dates the decline of aristocratic influence in England from the shutting up of Ranelagh. There the British nobility, male and female, used to disport themselves, and the British commonalty went to look at them. Personal interest and sympathy were awakened. The mob of plebeian frequenters of Ranelagh did not know their lordly fellow-guests, but they knew them by sight. They did not know them to speak to, but they knew them to speak of, which was the next best thing. The "At Homes" of our great ladies are a sort of private and political Ranelagh.

The full swing of the London season has not yet begun. The theological and ecclesiastical traditions about Lent have still some force, and in many quarters it is deemed unsuitable for festivity. Pious hands have been held up in protest at the Queen's allowing the marriage of the Duke of Connaught to take place at a period sacred to fasting and mortification. Though members of both Houses come up to town when partridge-shooting is over and Parliament begins, the full influx of wealth and fashion from the country to London does not set in until after Easter. Our long-protracted winter has frozen the genial current of hospitality, and the continued depression of commerce and the abatement of rents have communicated to great landlords and iron-masters, among the latter of whom some of our chief social and political magnates are included, their share of the general pressure. The deficit which threatens the imperial exchequer is emptying many a private breeches-pocket. A declining revenue has to be met by a decreasing expenditure. London,

always somewhat gloomy, socially as well as meteorologically, in February and March, will probably lack something of its wonted cheerfulness and festivity after Easter.

The political and social centres of the Liberals in London—to speak only of them at present—are Lady Granville's, in Carlton House Terrace; Lady Waldegrave's, in the adjacent Carlton House Gardens, and the Marquis of Hartington's (there is no Marchioness *in esse* or Duchess of Devonshire *in posse*), at Devonshire House. Perhaps I ought now to add Lady Harcourt's, in Grafton Street, since she held her first reception this year. I do not know whether it is intruding unbecomingly into private and personal matters to say that the art which makes a French lady of breeding and cultivation a perfect mistress of a *salon* is not always possessed by feminine persons of quality in England. Perhaps a certain stiffness and coldness of temperament interferes with perfect mastery of the arts of society. Perhaps the French Revolution, adding the sentiment and manners of social equality to the delicate grace and refinement of the old school of courtly breeding, has given to our neighbors lessons in demeanor and deportment which we in England have lacked. Be this as it may, I am inclined to think that an American lady, acquainted with the society and with the courts of the chief capitals of Europe, and yet retaining that sense of social and personal equality which it is one of the merits of democratic societies such as that of the United States to make a part of the mental and moral life of its children, has been trained in the best schools, elementary and finishing, of good manners. In coarse minds a social democracy may no doubt tend to vulgar self-assertion and egotism. In minds really refined it gives a deeper tone and a finer touch to courtesy and politeness, which are simply a part of the honor due to all men. Besides this, there seems to be something in the American atmosphere, or climate generally, which has given a vivacity and flexibility and ethereality of temper to its women which Mr. Hawthorne rather coarsely denied to our countrywomen.

Sir William Harcourt is the man of most signal ability who has entered English political life during the past ten or twelve years, and is sure to hold a high place in the next Liberal cabinet. His beautiful house in Grafton Street, though not one of those over-grown mansions which seem built for everybody but their owner, seems to want none of the conditions which give a social charm to political life and minister to its successes. The fire which lately destroyed the upper part of Lord Granville's house in Carlton House Terrace has not only put a stop to the formal receptions on a huge scale which are the penalty and the privilege of political leadership, but to much more agreeable meetings on a smaller scale and of an informal character. It was whispered at the beginning of the session to certain friends in both Houses of Parliament, and to others connected with politics, that Lady Granville would be "At Home" on House-of-Lords nights—that is, on the few evenings of the week on which the House of Lords sits for an hour or so and affects to do business. Only those, of course, to whom the oral hint was given came. An agreeable blending of ex-cabinet ministers, Liberal peers, carefully selected members of the Lower House, and political writers, with now and then an infusion from the diplomatic body and the Conservative peerage, was the result. The grace and beauty of the hostess and the easy courtesy and charm of Lord Granville's talk and manners form a social atmosphere in which that informal talk which is often as valuable as a political debate is easy and natural. Lady Waldegrave's Sunday afternoons are to her more formal receptions what Lady Granville's House-of-Lords evenings are (or were) to her elaborate "At Homes" to all the world. Politics on the social side, the mere working of the machine, the product, not in its finished form but as it is being made, may be seen in glimpses. The winning social grace of the hostess, and the upright character, the gentle courtesy, and the keen political intelligence of her husband, Lord Carlingford, who was in succession Secretary for Ireland and President of the Board of Trade in Mr. Gladstone's government, are among the social possessions of London. The charm of a hostess is lacking at Devonshire House; but the frank and single-minded character of Lord Hartington, which, together with his political sagacity, has won for him the absolute confidence of his party, is socially winning, even under the drawback of celibacy.

I have spoken of the servility and the patronage which are the darker aspect of political life in England on its social side. But a man who is not servile releases himself from patronage. If he respects himself he will be respected. You can scarcely help treading upon or stumbling over a man who grovels on his belly at your feet. If he stands on his legs and looks straight at you, you are obliged to speak to him, face to face. Great ladies are notoriously a little capricious, and their whims may be observed with amusement, and forgotten like the moods of a child. I hope all this is not too trivial for the readers of the *Nation*. It gives a side of English political life which has an importance of its own. To depict it in detail would be an unwarrantable intrusion into privacy. To indicate its existence and character is, I hope, permissible.

RUBINSTEIN'S "FERAMORS."

BERLIN, March 15, 1879.

IT would not be easy to name another poem which has found so much favor with musicians as Moore's "Lalla Rookh." Schumann made it the groundwork of his cantata "Paradise and the Peri," while Spontini, Félicien David, and Rubinstein have in succession used it as material for an opera. That artists of such different temperaments should have been alike attracted by the delicious Oriental perfume which pervades Moore's poem is scarcely to be wondered at. But the repeated choice of this subject as foundation for an opera must be ascribed to that misguided æsthetic instinct which has so often transformed a stage performance into a "concert in costume." "Lalla Rookh" is not a dramatic poem, and it is therefore a mistake ever to put it on the stage, whether it be done by Spontini, David, or Rubinstein. It is to be regretted that Rubinstein, at least, did not feel impressed with the truth of this view sixteen years ago, when he engaged Julius Rodenberg, the present editor of the *Rundschau* and well known as poet and novelist, to work up Moore's tale into a sketch to which he himself might then add the musical coloring. The result of this combination was the opera "Feramors," which I believe was first performed in St. Petersburg, where it has already passed its fiftieth representation. In 1863 an attempt was made in Dresden to transfer it to German soil; but the reception was so cold that this exotic plant, though of northern growth, died after a third exhibition. Equally unfortunate was the attempt to introduce it to the Vienna public in 1872, and in consequence German managers came to the conclusion that the musical climate of their country did not agree with Rubinstein's work.

It so happened that a later work of the same composer, the "Maccabees," found a more favorable reception in several Continental cities, and in none more so than here in Berlin. Rubinstein, who is of Jewish descent, has a great many friends and admirers in this city, owing to whose efforts and the influence of the press, which is almost entirely under Hebrew control, the "Maccabees" has become established as a regular *Repertoir-Oper*—a fact for which all lovers of good music are grateful, for it is one of the few operatic works produced within the last two decades which will survive its author, and which has a brilliant future before it in spite of its dramatic shortcomings. The success of this opera appears to have induced the manager of the Royal Theatre to try his luck, too, with the unfortunate "Feramors." In so doing he was doubtless guided by the knowledge that the failure of an opera at one or two cities in many cases is not an absolute test of its vitality, because for such a test there is need sometimes of a peculiar combination of favorable circumstances not everywhere attainable. The result, however, has shown that this time he was mistaken, and that it would have been in every respect wiser had he chosen instead "Nero" or, perhaps better still, the new opera which Rubinstein has just finished. It is true the demand for tickets to "Feramors" was so great on the first night that the immense house could have been filled three times, and the audience was of the most select and refined quality, including the Emperor and his retinue and many literary celebrities. But disappointment was expressed at the end of each act, not only by the thin and artificial applause, but on most countenances; and this disappointment was next day re-echoed by the papers. The general verdict, which I share, seems to be that "Feramors," being a lyrical subject in dramatic form, is an anachronism. Fifty or even twenty-five years ago the incongruity of such a combination might have escaped notice, because at that time the dramatic nerve, as the Germans call it, had not been thoroughly developed and specialized in the opera. Nowadays the lack of the dramatic nerve in an opera is sufficient to relegate it to an inferior species of stage-organisms. One cannot but express regret, therefore, for the fine musical passages occurring in "Feramors," which will now probably be lost to posterity, while in the shape of a symphonic poem on "Lalla Rookh" they would have been a joy for ever in the concert hall. One of these passages, an Oriental call for prayer, taken up subsequently by the kneeling people in form of a chorus, is so remarkably grand and effective, owing in part to its brilliant exotic charms of color, that it may possibly suffice to save the whole opera from oblivion.

The extraordinary demand for tickets to the first performance of "Feramors" was not solely due to the popularity of the "Maccabees," but partly to the enthusiasm which Rubinstein had just created by two of his inimitable concerts, and partly also to an unpleasant occurrence, which assumed the dimensions of a first-rate theatre scandal. Rubinstein had intended to direct his work personally the first night. For this purpose he attended the final rehearsal, where he found to his mortification that, in spite of his expected co-operation, the powers that be had dared to cancel several passages. Still, he suppressed his displeasure until he came to an important passage for soprano, which, to his astonishment, was also omitted by Frau Mallinger. He stopped the orchestra and asked her why she did not sing her part. "Why," replied the prima donna, "has not the *chef* told you yet that I shall not sing that?" "Who else is going to sing it?" exclaimed the sensitive and irate artist; "then we may as well throw up the whole thing." Down went the bâton on the desk, and while putting on his overcoat Rubinstein sarcastically advised the orchestra to play after *their* fashion now. Then, in spite of the efforts at conciliation by some ladies present, he got his wife in the parquet, and left the house to return no more. Bravo! said I, when I first heard of this proceeding on the part of Rubinstein; and I hope the reader will share my sentiments. The Berliners lost the gratification of hearing "Feramors" under the composer's personal direction; but in return for this loss they learned two valuable lessons. Lesson the first is that there are other composers besides Wagner who have at last made up their mind not to endure any longer the mutilation of their works by unprincipled capellmeisters. Vandalism of this sort must cease before long. A theatrical manager has no more right to abridge and mutilate an opera or drama than the director of an art gallery is entitled to saw off a few inches of a picture if it happens to take up a little more space than he thinks it ought to occupy. Lesson the second is that composers are resolved no longer to tolerate the whimsicalities and eccentricities of prima donnas. They mean to have it understood that creative genius stands above the mimic talent, that the composer comes before the vocalist. Even the Italians are beginning to recognize this principle, for they did not hesitate recently to hiss the diva Patti and her satellite off the stage at Naples for arbitrarily omitting some favorite melodies of a well-known opera.

That the musical world sympathized with Rubinstein in this affair was evinced by the most cordial reception extended to him when, a few days subsequently, he gave his first concert. There is still a large number of musical people who consider the pianist Rubinstein greater than the composer. I am not one of those. The composer Rubinstein will be known for centuries after the pianist has been forgotten. He is not a musical giant, like Palestrina, Bach, Beethoven, and Wagner, destined to mark a new epoch of musical history; but he deserves to be ranked with Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Mozart, and in some respects even above two of these. For he can take advantage of the new harmonic and orchestral material which has been produced during the last decades, and make an occasional excursion into regions of the world of tone which before his day were not yet discovered. To his greatness as a composer he, of course, chiefly owes his superiority to his great rival pianist, Hans von Bülow. I will not bore you with the customary comparison between the two pianists. Only one thing I will say: Von Bülow's performance of a classical work is like a copy of a fine picture, made by another artist—a fine copy, it is true, but, after all, only a copy. Rubinstein, on the contrary, reproduces the original work in flesh and blood. Sometimes, indeed, his picture may not exactly correspond to the original conception of the composer, for he diffuses it with the color of his own mood. Yet this makes his performance none the less admirable, for he merely does what is done by the great painter who reproduces nature not as in herself she is, but as seen through his eyes. And do not composers themselves give varying interpretations of their own works according to their changing moods? Much of Rubinstein's greatness lies in this diversity and voluntary change of his moods. Like a chameleon, he in turn assumes the characteristic hue of Beethoven, Mozart, Schumann, Chopin, and Liszt, and in each case the unsophisticated observer would swear that that must be his own and only hue.

There is no danger that the comparative failure of "Feramors" will injure the growing popularity of Rubinstein as a composer. Everybody knows that it is a work of his early youth, and consequently does not count for much in an estimate of his powers. The attitude of certain persons towards Rubinstein shows that they even wish to set him up as a champion of the classical style against Wagner and his followers. Hitherto Brahms has occupied this dignified position, but some of his recent compositions betray such dangerous heretic tendencies that he is in some danger of being impeached by the committee on old-fogyism. Some of those who would now set Rubinstein against Wagner go so far as to maintain that a person who admires one of the two cannot possibly admire the other. I humbly confess, then, that I must belong to some lower sort of amphibious musicians who find not only life but intense pleasure in these two incompatible elements. If Rubinstein has not the dramatic tact nor the orchestral instinct of Wagner, he is yet a true artist, who seldom publishes a work which does not bear the stamp of genius.

Correspondence.

OPENING THE FEDERAL COURTS TO WOMEN.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: My attention is called to a paragraph in a recent issue of your journal wherein it is stated that the bill opening the bar of the Federal courts to women was carried merely by the advocacy of Senators McDonald, Hoar, and Sargent. This is incorrect. The passage of the Act was the fruit of five years' agitation, beginning with the refusal of the Court of Claims to admit Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood in 1874. During that time the House Judiciary Committee three times agreed to such a bill; but only in the last Congress were its friends able to bring it to a vote. The labor for its passage involved speeches and resolutions at many public meetings, numerous newspaper articles and despatches, etc., a canvass of the House and two such of the Senate, wherein Mrs. Lockwood herself, by advice of her friends, took a leading part, commanding the respect of every Senator to whom she appealed. The thoroughness of the work is well shown by the fact that the bill passed by a two-thirds vote in both Senate and House, not one speech being made against it. The speeches of the Senators to whom you refer, though timely and pointed, were rather in the nature of funeral orations over the opposition.

Respectfully, J. K. H. Willcox.

Washington, D. C., April 2, 1879.

[We said "*mainly* by the energetic advocacy," not "merely;" and our remarks had reference purely to the final proceedings on the bill in the Senate.—Ed. Nation.]

THE CASE OF THE *TRIBUNE*.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I am prone to complain; to become a growler, as some of my friends call the *Nation*.

This time it is about the New York *Tribune*, a journal which I have read twenty-five years, and to which, although opposed in politics, I have heretofore given credit for candor and honesty of purpose. But what can be said in favor of its course during the past year, and especially the last six months? During that time it has shamefully misrepresented almost everybody at all connected with the Democratic party, as well as the party itself. It has pursued Mr. Tilden as relentlessly as though he never gave his aid and influence to elect Mr. Greeley, and as if he were the greatest robber and criminal of modern times. It has made thousands of Republican readers—those who will henceforth be Republicans unless compelled to vote for Gen. Grant—sick of its ciphers, while the investigation urged on by it has greatly aided the Tilden wing of the party; and latterly it is playing the cross-roads demagogue.

"Nineteen [sometimes twenty] Confederate generals in the Senate, and only four Union generals." If this has any real meaning, it is that the *Tribune* seeks to increase the prejudice against the South because it chooses to be represented by its ablest men. Their disabilities have been removed, and if the South chooses to send its Lamars, its Gordons, its Stephenses to Congress it is its right, while it is the right of the Republicans to keep their Hawleys and their Bagleys at home—if they can afford it.

Dubbing Garfield one of our greatest men for a speech which was uncandid, and needed but a single question to demolish, adds nothing to its acumen. Copying a squib from a Mississippi paper that "thanked God that the Confederates had captured the Congress of the United States"; berating Tammany Hall for doing what itself has been doing for the last half-year—viz., aiding Mr. Tilden's candidacy; and printing such editorials as one in the daily issue of about April first, entitled

"Shall Votes Count?" (in which it grossly misrepresents its opponents and bears false witness against its neighbors), are methods that we expect only in fourth-class journals of all parties, and are sorry to be compelled to read in the "leading newspaper."

We hope the *Tribune* will reform, will cease acting the demagogue, and return to its former tone and manner, which, whatever it may have been, could never fairly be accused of that for which, we think, we justly arraign it, and needed not the apologies of its more intelligent readers. We know that we speak the sentiments of thousands of its readers who, with us, are reading on, hoping for a return to its older and better ways. Will you not, Mr. Editor, add a word and ask this old and valued friend of ours to "reverse itself and resume its judgment"?

Respectfully, T. McGARRAH.

MONROE, N. Y., April 4, 1879.

[No, we shall not "add a word." We are very willing to allow Mr. McGarrah to try his hand on the *Tribune*, but we ourselves consider the case hopeless. The Republican party needs this kind of support at present, and all the organs furnish it. The *Tribune* is by no means the only offender. "Rebel yells," "revolution," "outrages," being what the crisis is considered in the inner counsels of the party to call for, its newspapers naturally—we were going to say properly—meet the demand, and, what is more, the bulk of their readers like it. We would therefore advise Mr. McGarrah to seek some other field of reform. We will add, however, that we think that, as an "organ," the *Times* is far in advance of the *Tribune*. The "story" of the *Times*, to which we have referred elsewhere, that Christmas Day and election day at the South are "appropriated to the sole purpose of shooting 'peart niggers,'" far outdoes anything the *Tribune* has yet produced, and shows its conductors to be masters in their line. That one "story" is "worth the whole price of the subscription."—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

AN English translation of the Duc de Broglie's 'King's Secret' is now published in two handsome volumes by Cassell, Petter & Galpin. This interesting work has been so fully noticed in our Paris correspondence (*Nation*, Nos. 701, 703) that we need say nothing more of the nature of its contents.——The American News Co. will issue in parts 'General Grant's Travels around the World,' by John Russell Young. This may be called the first campaign-book of 1880.——Callaghan & Co., Chicago, announce their long-delayed translation of the second volume of Von Holst's 'Constitutional History of the United States.' ——'Every-day English,' a collection of Mr. Richard Grant White's *Galaxy* and *Atlantic* papers on his favorite theme, will be published by Houghton, Osgood & Co.——The (British) *Journal of Philology* will hereafter be edited by Wm. Aldis Wright and Henry Jackson, Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Ingram Bywater, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Macmillan & Co. will shortly issue the first number under the new management.——Ginn & Heath, Boston, have become the publishers of the Boston Society of Natural History's 'Guides for Science Teaching.' The fourth, just added, is 'A First Lesson in Natural History,' by Mrs. Agassiz, written twenty years ago, and now appropriately reprinted in a series with which it harmonizes well.——'The Annals of Saint Paul's Parish, Baltimore City and County, Maryland, from 1692,' from the original MS. of the Rev. Ethan Allen, D.D., it is proposed to print in a limited edition, finely printed and illustrated, at ten dollars a copy, if two hundred subscribers can be obtained. The publisher will be Wm. H. Corner, Baltimore.——We have received the ninth 'Catalogue of the Psi Upsilon Fraternity,' embracing 17 Chapters and 4,928 names, whereas the original Catalogue of 1842 contained but 5 Chapters and 243 names. The Fraternity was founded in 1833 at Union College, N. Y. As the members of the Fraternity have had their share of public distinction, the brief biographies annexed offer an acceptable addition to our knowledge of "men of the time." The work is sumptuously printed, and has involved very conscientious and laborious editing. Corrections and further information should be addressed to Mr. C. W. Smiley, Box 155, Madison, New Jersey.——The Concord (Mass.) Summer School of Philosophy and Literature will open at the Orchard House of Mr. A. Bronson Alcott on Tuesday, July 15, and will continue for five weeks under the conduct of five professors. Students desiring to register themselves before June should address, for particulars, Mr. Alcott at Concord, or Mr. F. B. Sanborn, Boston, Dean and Secretary of the Faculty respectively. ——The Sixth Annual Conference of Charities will assemble at the Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, on Tuesday, June 10, for a three days' session. The Governor of Illinois will deliver the opening address. Communications relating to the business of the Conference may be sent to the chairman, Mr. George S. Robinson, Sycamore, Ill., or to Mr. F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Ill.——Reckless meddlers with the Washington pedigree should take notice of a letter from the highest authority on the subject, in the *World* of March 29 Col. Joseph Lemuel Chester writes from London that he *believes* he has in his hands "the true history of the two brothers, John and Lawrence Washington, who emigrated to Virginia in 1658, from the former of whom the President descended." He also believes that he possesses the original deed, dated in 1657, signed by this John Washington and his first wife, hitherto unknown as to name or history. He refrains from publishing anything because he lacks an American autograph signature of John Washington confirming that of the deed. The will formerly preserved in Richmond is missing, but Col. Chester hopes the search being made for it will prove successful.——The *Rassegna Settimanale* (Rome) continues to maintain the high standard, political and literary, set for it by its projectors. Any student of the language who reads this admirable weekly will find his account in it. Some of the late numbers have contained interesting articles on "The Daughter of Bayard (the Chevalier)," "The Decay of Singing in Italy," "Valchiusa," "A New Narrative of the Challenge of Barletta" (an incident which served Massimo d'Azeglio to so good advantage), etc. Typographically the *Rassegna* is very comely.——The dramatic library of Mr. J. H. V. Arnold will be sold, at Clinton Hall, on April 16 and the following days. The catalogue, which is not very intelligently made, fills nearly four hundred pages and contains nearly thirty-five hundred numbers. Mr. Arnold's library is richer in dramatic matter than any which has been brought to the hammer in New York since the sale of Burton's; it is especially rich in enlarged and extra-illustrated theatrical memoirs and biographies; there are sometimes three or four copies of the same work, each containing perhaps a hundred or more inserted plates, autographs, drawings, etc. Next in importance to the dramatic books are the works relating to New York City, also abundantly illustrated. Chief among these is a copy of Dr. Francis's 'Old New York,' one volume 8vo extended to nine volumes imperial folio "by the insertion of 2,500 autographs, portraits, views, etc., and over that number of newspaper-cuttings, neatly inlaid when necessary."——Mr. J. Brander Matthews, the writer of the article on "Molière, the Life and the Legend," in *Lippincott's* for April, is engaged on a full biography of the great French dramatist.

—Some months ago we called attention to the offer made by the *Christian Advocate* of eternal salvation and a copy of the paper for one year to all persons paying two dollars and seventy cents. This was the best offer ever made by a newspaper, and we hope has been fruitful; indeed, the editor said afterwards that it had proved a great success. The same resource is of course open to every religious paper, and we are therefore pained to find the *Church Union* trying to "extend its usefulness," to use the publisher's language, by offering "to every new subscriber, on payment of three dollars, a genuine seven-shooter revolver, full nickel-plated, rosewood stock, steel barrel and cylinder, and finely rifled." The publisher thinks this offer is not inconsistent with "the spirit of his columns," and suggests that a pistol acquired in this way would only be used against "tramps and burglars." But seeing that the carrying and using of revolvers is one of the great evils of the day, and is the source of most of the offences against the person, and that the cases are rare indeed in which burglars and tramps suffer from it, and that to whole regions of the country—the South, for instance—it is a deadly curse, covering the land with blood and tears, we cannot help considering the *Church Union's* plan thoroughly scandalous. If it does not care to follow the example of the *Christian Advocate* it would be much more decorous for it, as a teacher of religion, to get subscribers by offering a tourniquet, a package of lint, and a roll of plaster, a bottle of Jamaica ginger, and a mustard plaster, in a neat box. Among the advertised contributors to the *Church Union*, whose attention as ministers of religion we call to this matter, are the Rev. Dr. Duryea, the Rev. Dr. Crosby, the Rev. Samuel Burchard, the Rev. Dr. Hyatt Smith, and the Rev. Dr. Ingersoll.

—The *International Review* for April contains a very clear statement, by Mr. Perry Belmont, of the practical objections to the taxation of municipal bonds. While the United States is able to borrow at 4 per

cent., cities and towns, however prosperous, seem seldom able to obtain money at less than 6. All such securities, no matter what they represent, whether mere debt, or debt incurred for improvements which are taxable in some other form, are taxable to the owner of the bond where he resides. As a matter of fact, in large cities like New York they are not reached by the collector; but they are everywhere *liable* legally to taxation. It is this liability which makes the difference, Mr. Belmont thinks, between 4 per cent. and 6, or a great part of it; and as the tax is practically non-productive, any city which makes its bonds non-taxable will save this difference in interest on its debt. In this city, for instance, the funded debt (*pace* John Kelly) is $113,000,000. Of this hardly any is actually assessed, so that the net tax only amounts to $25,000. If the repeal of the tax permitted funding at four per cent., there would be a saving of $2,000,000 a year in interest. Mr. Hayes's article on China is a very readable exposure of certain popular fallacies on the subject of our relations with that country, and contains quite a number of amusing stories. With regard to our consular and diplomatic service in the East he points out that, accustomed as Orientals are to attach great importance to appropriate and dignified surroundings, our underpaid and badly "turned out" consuls and ministers are the least impressive foreigners with whom they come into contact. Apropos of this he mentions the case of the late J. Ross Browne, who, arriving at the gates of Pekin full of high hopes (this was after the Burlingame embassy) as to the new relations established between the "youngest nation" and the "oldest," was denied admittance, and finally had to be passed in by a companion, who represented himself as minister, and Mr. Browne as his friend. Stories of the behavior of our consuls in foreign lands are always apt to be entertaining, and we do not remember before to have heard of the gentleman who, on arriving at the scene of his duties, issued a circular thanking the community for favors shown the consulate in times past and soliciting a continuance of patronage; nor of the consul from New York who took one look at the port to which he was accredited, and immediately sent his luggage back to the steamer in which he had come, and by which he at once returned, occupying himself on the way home in denouncing the deception that had been practised upon him; nor of the port at which a full consulate was established for the purpose of protecting one American citizen. Mr. Hayes describes our national policy in China as consisting in following the English and getting our share in any privileges they may acquire. He thinks it, therefore, pharisaic to the last degree for us to say that while England has forced trade upon the Chinese, and treated them badly, we have not done so. The idea that the Chinese Government likes or favors us more than other nations he declares to be "a complete and mischievous fallacy"; and as to foreigners in general, the result of a policy founded simply on a compliance with Chinese views and wishes would be their immediate dismissal from the country. He points out also, as to the reciprocity between the United States and China, that there is no protection for any foreigners in China except such as they provide for themselves. The Burlingame treaty, he says, was regarded in the East (where, we believe, Mr. Hayes was at the time) as "rather a joke," since "the only provisions not included in the more important treaty of Tientsin seemed to be that the Chinese must not kidnap Americans, and that if China wanted engineers from America to build railroads we would send them—the two things being about equally improbable."

—Mme. Patterson-Bonaparte's death in Baltimore on Friday, at the great age of 94, removes from sight a romantic figure, the connecting link between the fallen dynasty of France and the still young Republic of the West. She was married, December 24, 1803, by Archbishop Carroll, to Jerome Bonaparte, the youngest brother of the First Consul, then as a naval officer on a visit to this country; but, on the ground of his minority (he was only 19) and the lack of his mother's consent and of previous publication of his intention in the land of his nativity, the marriage was formally disallowed and treated as null. Jerome was ordered home by his brother, and his "mistress" forbidden to set foot in France or Holland. They sailed together for Lisbon, but on reaching it in April, 1805, Jerome obeyed the Emperor's decrees, and with small compunction abandoned his wife for ever. She proceeded to England, where she shortly gave birth to Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte. Two years later came the news of the marriage of the King of Westphalia to Catherine, daughter of the King of Würtemberg, and she returned to Baltimore, despairing of any recognition of her rights. In 1817 she went to live in Florence, where she passed seven years in the best society, much admired for her extreme beauty and her biting wit. Her efforts to secure recognition for her son were so far successful with Napoleon III. that in 1856 the young Jerome's title to the name of Bonaparte was conceded, but not his legitimacy. He had graduated at Harvard in 1826, and died in Baltimore in 1870. His eldest son, Jerome, graduated at West Point, and served under the French flag in the Crimea, in Italy, and during the Franco-Prussian war, accompanying the Empress to England after Sedan. His youngest son, Charles, graduated at Harvard in 1871, and is now a member of the Baltimore bar. Mme. Patterson-Bonaparte is said to have left very interesting memoirs behind her. Her fortune, partly derived from French pensions, was very considerable.

—Sardou's play, "Les Pattes de Mouches," as produced at Wallack's in Mr. Palgrave Simpson's version, makes a very charming comedy. The English play appears to be substantially identical with the French original, though Mr. Simpson has here and there left out passages thought unadapted to the typical Anglo-Saxon audience, which (to the lasting profit of adapters) still retains, at least in theory, its horror of anything improper. Mr. Simpson has preserved a surprising amount of the charm of Sardou's dialogue, although he has lost some of it at the same time, chiefly through a passion for words of Saxon origin, which jar upon the ear in dialogue translated from modern French. The best spoken French of to-day is so thoroughly Latin in character that a translator, to follow the original with neatness and good taste, must necessarily draw as much as possible upon the Latin half of the English dictionary. Mr. Simpson is a purist in his use of English, and as a purist naturally prefers Saxon words. This, however, is a trifling blemish. The acting of "A Scrap of Paper" by Mr. Wallack's company is remarkably good; so good, indeed, that it is difficult to say who contributes most to the success of the play. The principal parts are *Prosper Couramont* (Mr. Wallack) and *Mlle. Suzanne de Ruzeville* (Miss Coghlan), and it would be difficult to find in New York a better *Prosper* or a better *Suzanne*. Mr. John Gilbert's *Brisemouche* is very amusing, though Mr. Gilbert, to our mind, makes the part too quiet. The play itself is a curious proof how little probability of incident has necessarily to do with the success of a comedy. "A Scrap of Paper" is almost entirely a play of situation—*i. e.*, the interest and amusement are derived from the series of situations in which the dramatist makes the characters place themselves. There is no development of the play out of the characters themselves. Indeed, there are, with the exception possibly of *Prosper*, no characters properly speaking in the play. All the others are types which may be found under other names in a thousand plays. *Brisemouche* is the savant with whom French writers have been amusing themselves for a hundred years. The *Baron de la Glacière* is simply a jealous husband; *Anatole* is the typical *Anatole* of a youthful French love affair; *Louise* is the unhappily suspected wife, and *Suzanne* is the clever woman who gets her friend out of her scrape. These typical personages do not develop the intrigue of the play at all. That all centres about the adventures of a scrap of paper which *Suzanne* wishes to find and destroy, which *Prosper* for purposes of his own wishes to keep, and which, if it falls into the hands of the wrong person, may at any moment produce a most frightful catastrophe. The adventures of this scrap of paper are wildly improbable; for it passes through the hands of half the *dramatis personæ* without their knowing that it is a love-letter or anything but a scrap of paper; in one case is made use of by *Anatole* that he may write a love-letter of his own on the back of it, and finally, after adventures which baffle description, each one of which brings us to the verge of a crisis, is destroyed by *Prosper* without anybody's having discovered what it was. All this is improbable to the last degree, and as the plot of a story would be utterly out of the question. On the stage it all moves on to its conclusion in the most natural way in the world, and in the end the predominant impression produced by it is one of extreme naturalness. "A Scrap of Paper" promises to have a long run.

—The season of Italian opera was brought to a close on Saturday afternoon with the final appearance of Madame Gerster in "Sonnambula," the opera in which she shows herself perhaps at her best. It has certainly been superior in many respects to those of former years. Colonel Mapleson has aimed at higher effects than are attainable under the absurd "star" system, and has been partly successful. By inducing such good artists as Madame Lablache, Madame Sinico, Del Puente, Frapolli, and others to fill minor parts, and by placing the best orchestra that New York can produce under the management of so experienced a leader as Signor Arditi, artistic results of more than ordinary merit have been produced. Among the leading artists the highest praise is undoubtedly due to three—viz., Madame Gerster, Signor Campanini, and Signor Ga-

lassi. In lyric Italian opera, such as "Lucia," "Sonnambula," "Puritani," etc., Madame Gerster has gained brilliant and well-deserved success. Her beautiful organ, admirable school, infallible correctness, and perfect intonation showed themselves at their best in these parts. In characters requiring greater dramatic power—as in *Elsa* in "Lohengrin," for instance—Madame Gerster appeared to less advantage, neither her voice nor her manner being suited to this style. Signor Campanini proved himself in every part he took the conscientious and accomplished artist that we have known him to be for many years. His voice seemed as fresh and powerful as ever. Signor Galassi gave grace and dignity to every character he assumed. His rich, sympathetic voice, his fine dramatic taste, his noble and manly appearance secure for him a high rank among operatic singers. The weakest feature of Colonel Mapleson's performance was the chorus, which was never good, seldom fair, and often bad. The men's singing, particularly, was at times very coarse and offensive. We hope some better results in this respect will be obtained next year. We shall be glad to welcome Colonel Mapleson back in the fall, as he promises to bring again all the artists who have gained most public favor this winter.

—The concerts of the Philharmonic Society terminated on Saturday night. The programmes of the six concerts of this series have introduced many numbers of interest and artistic merit, and they have generally been performed with spirit and intelligence. The new conductor of these concerts, Mr. Neuendorff, has fought from the beginning of the season against a host of difficulties and prejudices. In our opinion he has made steady progress in gaining control over his orchestra, and we doubt not that in time his performances will rank with the best that have been given here. The first concert introduced Brahms's Second Symphony in D. This interesting work, though inferior in ideas and construction to the First Symphony by the same composer, first performed here by Mr. Thomas's orchestra two years ago, will more rapidly gain in public favor than its elaborate predecessor. Beethoven's overture to "Leonore," No. 3, and Liszt's "Hunnenschlacht" were the remaining orchestral numbers. Mr. Remenyi played in his peculiar manner Ernst's "Concert Pathétique" and some arrangements from Chopin. Signor Galassi sang in admirable style the "Abendstern" from "Tannhäuser" and an aria by Mercadante. The second concert opened with a fine performance of the "Eroica." A most interesting novelty by Tchaikoffsky—"Francesca da Rimini," a fantaisie for orchestra, after the fifth canto of Dante's "Inferno"—made a deep impression on a first hearing. Miss Minnie Hauk gained only a *succès d'estime* in Beethoven's "Ah! perfido," a work which is entirely out of her line. The pastoral of Berlioz's "Sinfonie fantastique" formed part of the selection. The feature of the third concert was Mr. Rummel's brilliant performance of Liszt's concerto in E♭; Schumann's Third Symphony, the "Rhenish," and an overture, "Prometheus," by Bargiel, were also performed at this concert. The fourth concert was singularly devoid of attraction: Mendelssohn's Symphony in A major is not of stirring interest in these days. Schumann's beautiful piano-forte concerto received a most commonplace rendering by Mrs. Groessler Heim, and a very ambitious but unduly long and tedious Symphony of Tchaikoffsky's was performed here for the first time. The fifth concert opened with Mozart's Symphony in C, the "Jupiter." The remaining numbers were a pretty serenade for string orchestra by Fuchs, and Liszt's "Tasso." Mr. Richard Hoffmann played a rather insignificant piano-forte concerto by Brüll in a most respectable manner. The sixth and last concert, which took place last Saturday, was altogether the best of the series: *finis coronat opus.* Beethoven's Symphony in A, Wotan's farewell from the "Walküre," and Berlioz's delightful overture, "Carnaval Romain," received a dashing and vigorous interpretation by Mr. Neuendorff. Mr. Wilhelmj was the soloist of the evening, and played Lipinski's "Concert Militaire" and a nocturne by Chopin in his own admirable style.

—We have just received the first two attempts at reproducing the great Finnish poet, Runeberg, in English. The first, a dainty little volume of 232 pages, is entitled 'Johan Ludvig Runeberg's Lyrical Songs, Idyls, and Epigrams,' translated by Eirikr Magnusson, Under-librarian of the University Library, Cambridge, and E. H. Palmer, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, and dedicated, by permission, to Oscar II. King of Sweden, by his Majesty's special permission (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.) A biographical sketch of the bard serves as an introduction. The translators have preserved the technical form of the original book as to rhythm, metre, and rhyme, rendering with hardly a single exception line for line, and, in general, word for word; the double or feminine rhymes have not been tampered with in a single instance. Magnusson's and Palmer's literary reputation is so well established by similar work that it is needless to say that they have performed their arduous task well. These lyrical songs, idyls, and epigrams are not the best things Runeberg has written, and his translators might have preferred to introduce him to their English readers in one of his most popular works, such as 'The Tales of Ensign Stal,' or that truly national epic, 'The Elk-hunters'; but it may be that they intend to translate all his works, and choose to take them in chronological order. At all events, we would caution our readers not to form their estimate of Runeberg's powers from this collection of poems. It would be as unjust as to determine Milton's place as poet by his "L'Allegro," "Comus," or "Il Penseroso." This criticism does not apply to the whole collection of lyrics here presented, for some of them appeared in 1843, when the poet was at the height of his glorious career, and have the full stamp of his genius.

—Marie A. Brown has acted more wisely in the selection of her material. She has translated "Nadeshda," a poem in nine cantos, which is one of Runeberg's four best productions. It is a Russian story in the form of a modern romantic tale told in blank-verse. Miss Brown has had considerable experience as a translator of Swedish prose and poetry, and while we could point out faults in her metres, and here and there a slight sacrifice of the spirit of the poem, we believe her book will do more towards a just appreciation of the merits of Runeberg than the volume of lyrics, etc., mentioned above. No one who reads the first canto will lay the book aside without finishing the remaining eight, and when once read the beautiful story will never be forgotten. Miss Brown is her own publisher, and deserves much credit for the handsome style in which her book is issued. Like Magnusson and Palmer, she has also prefaced her book with a brief biographical account of the Finnish poet. She forgets to state that Runeberg died on the 6th of May, 1877, and makes some orthographical errors, but aside from these and other unimportant blemishes her sketch is excellent and thoroughly appreciative. We can heartily commend her work.

THE LAW OF EXTRADITION.*

THE importance of extradition as an international question has grown rapidly in modern times by reason of the greatly increased facilities for transportation and intercommunication between different countries. The United States is now a party to no less than thirty treaties with foreign nations, containing more or less detailed stipulations for the surrender of fugitives from justice. The offences specified in these various treaties are upwards of twenty-five in number, and range from assassination and parricide on the one hand to larceny of the value of twenty-five dollars, fraudulent bankruptcy, and malicious injuries to telegraph lines on the other. These treaties are all of modern date. Even the single treaty with England of 1794 terminated in 1806, and from that time until 1842 no convention for extradition existed between the two countries.

In some cases which arose in this country prior to the era of treaties, certain general questions rife in Europe before the advent of the positive jurists were discussed, and, with one or two exceptions, they were decided on rational principles. Thus, Grotius and his school maintained with energy that every state is in duty bound to surrender persons accused of crimes affecting the general welfare, whenever demanded by the government within whose jurisdiction the crimes were committed. At the end of a long list of jurists, chiefly of the older school, who support this doctrine, such as Heineccius, Burlamaqui, and Vattel, we find Chancellor Kent, who, both from the bench and in his Commentaries, has vigorously maintained it. It has, however, never been accepted in England, and, with the single exception of an opinion of Attorney-General Lee in 1793, the doctrine of Kent has never met with any recognition in this country. It is, indeed, easy to refute it. So far as the duty asserted rests on any defined basis, a breach of the duty would constitute a valid *casus belli*. The rules of international law rest on the usages of civilized nations, and it is not true that nations have ever resorted to war by reason of a refusal to surrender fugitives except in cases of political offenders. But political offenders are by common consent never made the subject of extradition. There being, then, by common consent no sanction for a breach of this so-called duty, it must be remanded to the domain of those other laws of nature or moral duties, of the obligation of which each nation must judge for itself, and in regard to which Savigny has somewhere

* 'The Law of Extradition, International and Inter-State, etc. By Samuel T. Spear, D.D.' Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co. 1879.

remarked with irony that "it is only to be regretted that we have not been told where these laws of nature are to be found."

A corollary from this doctrine is that though certain states may habitually practice extradition from motives of comity and convenience, yet this practice must be confirmed by convention in order to give it the force of international law. From the admission that a sovereignty may, if it sees fit, practise extradition in the absence of convention, two questions of importance in this country have arisen: First, Has it been the settled policy and practice of this country to exercise that discretion? Secondly, Is the power to perform such an act of sovereignty reposed in any department of the Government under our political system? Both these important questions have been answered in the negative. From the case of the Chevalier de Longchamps, in 1784, and the demand of Citizen Genet upon Mr. Jefferson, in 1793, to the case of Carl Vogt, demanded by Belgium in 1873, it has been held, not only that it is not the policy of the United States to demand or to surrender fugitives in the absence of convention, but also that no officer nor department of the Government has any authority whatever to do so. The Attorneys-General Lee, Wirt, Taney, Legaré, and Cushing concur in the opinion that the executive department has no such power, and Judge Barbour, in the leading case of Dos Santos, repudiates any authority in the judiciary to aid in such process. In this he is supported by Judge Story from the bench and by Chief-Justice Tilghman, of Pennsylvania. With one notorious exception the practice of the Government has been in accordance with these well-established principles. That was the case of the surrender, in the absence of any treaty provision, of the infamous Cuban slave-trader, Arguelles, to the Spanish Government in 1864 by Secretary Seward. In answer to a resolution of enquiry from the Senate, the Secretary justified his action by saying that the surrender was "understood by this department to have been made in virtue of the law of nations and the Constitution of the United States." There is scarcely a shadow of precedent for this theory, and there is overwhelming authority against it. No doubt this surrender ought to be stigmatized as a most pernicious and detestable precedent in our public law, from the possible mischiefs of which we are alone secured by the present practice of making formal treaties on extradition with all nations having any relations whatever with the United States.

The powers of the Government in this regard are still further limited. The first legislation by Congress on extradition was had in 1848. Previously, under the treaty with Great Britain of 1842, and under that with France of 1843, the question arose whether under a treaty in the ordinary form—that is, in the form of an executory contract to do something *in futuro*, but without any provision as to the method of carrying it into effect—the executive or any department of the Government could act. There are conflicting authorities, but according to the best as well as the latest the requisite power does not anywhere exist. That was decided in Metzger's case under the French treaty in 1847. The next year Congress recognized the exigency arising from this want of power in any department to carry out the obligations incurred by an extradition treaty, and passed the first act for providing means for carrying such treaty stipulations into effect.

The importance of a clear understanding of the manner in which these preliminary questions have been decided, consists in the bearing which they have in the determination of questions of construction and of powers under the present system of express conventions by treaty and the pursuant legislation. The notion of any vague rights or duties existing by virtue of the law of nations as such, or of any reserved or prerogative powers in any department of the Government, the insistance on which occasioned the national reproach of Arguelles' case, is to be dismissed on the threshold. Under the present treaty system the questions which present themselves may, in general, be determined by a simple application of the rules for the construction of ordinary statutes and contracts. When a case arises the considerations for the executive are: 1. Is there a treaty, and what are its literal provisions? 2. Is there legislation providing for executing the treaty, and what is it?

As we have seen above, apart from convention, there is no right or duty of extradition. Hence, apart from convention, there is no international law of extradition. The literal provisions of a treaty are then to be interpreted according to the ordinary *usus loquendi*. Take the most important question that has come up under our extradition treaties, whether a fugitive surrendered on one charge can be retained and tried on another. If the treaty expressly forbids it, as some of our treaties do, that settles the question; but in some treaties, as in that of 1842 with England, the subject is not expressly mentioned. In such a case resort must be had to the writing as a whole to ascertain its sense. In that treaty, as well as in all our treaties, the crimes which shall be a ground for extradition are expressly enumerated. Treason, for example, is never included. This tacit exclusion of crimes not mentioned would be quite senseless if a person could be put on trial for one of them after being surrendered under the treaty on another charge. A man surrendered for malicious injuries to telegraph wires might thus be tried for treason. This, of course, settles the construction as to crimes not specified in the treaty. Again, the Treaty of 1842, in common with all our treaties, contains a stipulation that a surrender for a specified crime shall only be made "upon such evidence as, according to the laws of the place where the fugitive . . . so charged shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial if the crime or offence had there been committed." Under the Act of Congress, in every case of a fugitive demanded, this question is carefully determined by a competent court. This stipulation would in turn be perfectly futile and senseless if a person surrendered on one charge, with regard to the evidence of which the surrendering Government had satisfied itself under this provision, could be retained and tried for any other crime specified in the treaty, but to which the surrendering Government had had no opportunity to apply this test. In the case of an ordinary contract no respectable court would attribute such inanity to the parties. In the construction of a contract between two nations, why should not the parties be equally held to have intended to give rational effect to every part of their contract? Yet this was precisely Winslow's case, where the State Department, by Secretary Fish, maintained a long and learned controversy ostensibly on grounds of international law. Executory contracts more difficult than this come constantly before municipal justices for construction.

Since a treaty for the execution of which Congress has made provision, is a part of the law of the land, courts of justice are bound to take notice of it, and when a fugitive surrendered on one charge is arraigned before a court on another, precisely the same principles apply, and it is contrary to the treaty, and so contrary to the law of the land, for the court to take jurisdiction. The correct doctrine, as opposed to the cases of Caldwell and Lawrence in the Circuit Court before Judge Benedict and of Lagrave in the New York Court of Appeals, has lately been laid down by the Supreme Court of Kentucky in the case of Hawes. Under such a treaty as that of 1842 no court is authorized to take jurisdiction in such cases. These principles are satisfactorily developed in the first part of Dr. Spear's book, devoted to topics of international extradition.

In the matter of inter-State extradition, which comprises part second, it would seem to be still more important that the sources and limitations of the powers of executives should be sought in the positive provisions of the Constitution and the law of Congress, and their duties determined by a plain construction of those provisions. Inter-State extradition rests exclusively on the extradition clause in the Constitution and the Act of 1793. A proper and enlightened construction of these written provisions should serve to solve the difficulties of the subject. But we do not find the same equal treatment of the questions involved as in the first part. Some of the constructions insisted on are of a fanciful and impracticable literalness, such as the theory of the meaning of the words "fugitive" and "fleeing" in the Constitution and the Act, a theory from which the author deduces certain untenable conclusions as to the necessary evidence in cases of extradition, and, by consequence, the incomplete character of the Act of 1793. On the contrary, when we come to the doctrine of executive discretion, so-called, the discussion seems to bear little more relation to the Constitutional clause and the act of Congress under which the right is claimed than to the Declaration of Independence. We are bound to say that this seems a necessity of the case, since Dr. Spear defends that doctrine, and neither the Constitution nor the act of Congress contains anything which can be drawn into such a defence. In the previous part of his work the author exhibits a wholesome though discriminating regard for judicial precedent and opinion. Here, however, he holds as far aloof from the authorities as from the text of the Constitution and the Rendition Act; and it would seem with equally good reason. This subject has been pretty thoroughly discussed since the Kimpton case, and it is not worth while to enter upon it here. From the various articles in these columns, the article in the *American Law Review* for January, and that by Judge Cooley in the *Princeton Review* for the same month, it has abundantly appeared that against a score of judicial opinions denying the doctrine the single *dictum* of Judge Okey, of Ohio, stands alone. In the language of Judge Cooley, the view "commonly

held in legal circles," which he expressly states as his own, undoubtedly is, that "the duty imposed upon the governor is imperative and not discretionary." It would, indeed, be difficult to find greater real unanimity on a matter of apparent controversy among persons qualified to express an opinion, if we exclude those executive officers who, before the agitation of the question, had unadvisedly committed themselves to a practice based on the false theory.

An application of the commendable process of differentiation by which the author showed the utter absence of authority in the Federal executive to surrender Arguelles, should have excluded all argumentation based upon an unnecessary assumption of implied and reserved prerogative powers in State executives, and should have led direct to the Constitutional clause and the act of Congress by virtue of which alone State executives have any powers or duties in the premises. In the case of the national executive the author very properly calls for the exact provision in the law under which he presumed to act. In the case of the State executive, he not only makes no such demand, but he evolves from vague general premises a justification for an act diametrically opposed to the express mandate of the fundamental law, and of the act of Congress imperatively prescribing the duty. Most of the questions arising under foreign extradition are now settled upon rational principles. It is matter for regret that upon this most important point in inter-State extradition the opinion almost uniformly held both by the bench and the bar should be hindered, however slightly and temporarily, from coming to the understanding of the public at large, by the argument which the author has felt himself called upon to make in support of an untenable theory.

In a useful appendix Dr. Spear has printed the Extradition Treaties and Laws of the United States, the necessary portions of the English Extradition Act, 1870, and Forms for Extradition, both foreign and inter-State.

My Command in South Africa, 1874–1878. Comprising Experiences of Travel in the Colonies of Africa and in the Independent States. By General Sir Arthur Thurlow Cunynghame, G.C.B. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1879. 8vo, pp. xvii. 376.)—'Tours in South Africa' would have been a better title for this book than the one which Sir Arthur has chosen. The author reached Cape Town in November, 1873, to take command of the British troops in the colonies, and was superseded in his command in February, 1878. During this interval he travelled somewhat extensively; visiting in succession the eastern portion of the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, Kaffraria and Natal, Griqualand West (formerly No-Man's Land), the diamond fields, and the Transvaal. Three-fourths of the book are given to the narrator's experiences of travel, and to citations from the colonial journals and other miscellaneous sources of information, and have little to do with the affairs of the author's command. The remaining fourth describes "the sixth Kaffir war," of which the fight at Quintana, on the 6th of February, 1878, was the most important incident. But the interest of the book is not a military interest, except as preluding the graver events of January last; it is that of a narrative of travel. It must be added that it is written in a style that suggests the soldier only by its carelessness and lack of finish; and the unsoldierly quality of vanity is too often noticeable. The experiences, however, of any intelligent observer who has visited the country of the famous Cetewayo (pronounced *Ketchwyo*, Sir Arthur tells us) can scarcely fail of interest at the present time. The sale of arms to the natives, resulting "in the possession by the Kaffirs of upwards of 400,000 [?] muskets and rifles," is noted by our author as a presumption of the folly of the late Colonial Government (dismissed in February, 1878), and his censure of it would seem justified by the recent slaughter at Isandula, where the Kaffirs are reported to have killed sixty-two English officers and nine hundred and six English troops—a greater fatality, as a daily paper points out, than the sum of the English loss at the Alma, and the allies' loss at Inkermann (eight hundred and fifteen killed). The regiment, the Twenty-fourth, that was cut to pieces last January at Isandula, was the same one, by the way, that Sir Arthur had reorganized on assuming his command.

The first chapter is devoted to the subject of ostrich-farming, the data being mostly taken from the excellent work of Messrs. De Mosenthal and Harting (reviewed in the *Nation* for December 28, 1876). The hunting of large game is described, and Sir Arthur renews the often-made prediction of its speedy extermination. The manners and customs of the various peoples, aboriginal and European, are described with considerable detail and variety. Among the colonists, for instance, confirmation may be had for Mr. Francis Galton's caution, given in his 'Art of Travel,' against the incautious use of ablutions while *en route* in a wild country. A colonial gentleman said to our author: "General, be careful on your journeys very seldom to wash your face, for there is nothing which will cost you more annoyance and ultimate discomfort." He was told that a physician lost his credit by prescribing ablutions to an elderly Dutch lady. Her husband lectured the innovator as follows: "Young man, you are a stranger in this country, and recommend new customs which are contrary to the true rules for health. I have now been married to my 'vrow' for thirty-five years, during which time water has scarce touched her body. It is not, sir, by your persuasion that such inroads can be made into our manners." In the Transvaal an equal conservatism prevails in science. A schoolmaster, newly appointed, had been indiscreet enough to teach that the world turns on its axis. The children, on the strength of this knowledge, "went home and were impertinent to their parents." The schoolmaster was called to account by the elders of the village for these revolutionary views. He said:

"'I teach them nothing but the movements of the heavenly bodies.' The minister answered: 'Well, this may be true, no doubt, and what the earth does in Holland; but it would be more convenient if in the Zoutspanberg you would allow the sun still to go round the earth for a few years longer. We do not like sudden changes in such matters.' The schoolmaster took the hint, and for the present the sun is allowed, in the Zoutspanberg, to move as before."

Curious anecdotes of the aborigines are numerous. In Griqualand East we find a warrior who agreed with the author of 'Lothair' in censuring the use of time-keepers:

"A German presented Panda, the father of Cetewayo, with a watch. 'What is the use of it?' said he; 'to tell where the sun is? We can see it; when cloudy we remain in our huts; at night we sleep. Does it give milk?' 'No.' 'Does it give calves?' 'No.' 'Then take your watch away.'"

Another dialogue is "more Irish and less nice" in its reasoning:

"Two Tambookies running from the field of battle hid themselves in a hole, but the leg of one unfortunately protruding caught the eye of some wary Icalaka. They pulled him out and were preparing to slay him, when he cried, 'Spare me, and I will tell you something.' They paused, and he said: 'There is yet another man in that hole.' The second hidden warrior, hearing this, called out from his place of concealment, 'Don't believe him; kill him at once; he tells lies. There is no one in here.' But it availed him nothing, and, after the custom of Kaffirs, the two prisoners were forthwith assegaied."

Sir Arthur's visit to the diamond fields is one of the most interesting parts of the book. He tells us that the diamonds sent to Cape Town in 1876 (about three-fourths of the year's yield) weighed 773 pounds, and were valued at £1,414,590. This treasure was conveyed 700 miles to Cape Town in the mail-carts from day to day, "with a driver and no guard"; honesty, it seems, being in vogue among the Africanders, though the Copernican theory is looked upon as subversive. Sir Arthur's narrative breaks off with his retirement, in February, 1878, from command in South Africa, on account, as he was informed, of "a want of cordiality between me and the Colonial ministry." Those who care to find a sketch of subsequent events in the colonies down to the affair at Isandula, may be referred to the articles on the Zulu War in the current numbers of the *Fortnightly*, the *Nineteenth Century*, and *Blackwood's Magazine*.

Hours in a Library. Third series. By Leslie Stephen. Reprinted from the *Cornhill Magazine*. (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1879.)—This volume contains some of the most wholesome contemporary criticism, and is marked by the author's characteristic independence of thought and clearness in stating conclusions, which, if they are sometimes very heterodox, are always worth consideration. Even when he is hitting his hardest at an established reputation, like Landor's, for instance, and his vigor reaches the border-line of denunciation and his originality comes dangerously near mere smartness of phrase, intelligent readers will find themselves hard put to it to justify their admiration of the favorite author. This essay upon Landor, which is as bold a piece of destructive criticism as it is skilful, is an excellent illustration and gauge of Mr. Stephen's critical principles and his effective application of them. Landor holds one of the securest niches in literature, because he has won the praise of a small but fit audience which warns the ordinary critic to avoid attack: but in spite of Lamb, Emerson, Lowell, Swinburne, and Browning, whom Mr. Stephen mentions, he yet dares to define Landor as "precisely a glorified and sublime edition of the model sixth-form lad, only with an unusually strong infusion of school-boy perversion," and to

say that "the most superhuman of school-boys has really a shallow view of life." We cannot think this estimate just, but Landor is a man of a class to which Mr. Stephen is little attracted. What there is in him erratic, merely epicurean and wilfully narrow, all dislike, and he was undeniably lacking in nearly all the manly qualities which Mr. Stephen most prizes, and which he is thinking of when he says that of all the literary feasts, with fancies of which men of letters play, he would most prefer "a pipe and a bowl of punch with Fielding and Hogarth," for he thinks "there would be few places where one would hear more good mother-wit, shrewder judgments of men and things, or a sounder appreciation of those homely elements of which human life, in fact, is chiefly composed." Landor was as far removed from anything like this as a literary voluptuary could be.

In the other essays, too, we sometimes suspect that the strong infusion of common sense in Mr. Stephen, his tendency to observe disproportionately the moral side of literary work, and his constant longing for a logical system in the books he reviews, impair his fitness to be a universal critic. It is with something like contempt that he speaks of Massinger as "throughout a sentimentalist and a rhetorician," and one is struck with the frequency with which he calls attention to the lack of a consistent and articulate theory of the conduct of life in the works of imaginative writers, as in the essays upon Charlotte Brontë and Kingsley. Of the latter, to whom he is striving almost painfully to give the fullest credit, he says, with a give-and-take criticism which is fortunately rare in the book, "with all his shortcomings he succeeded in giving forcible utterance to truths of vital importance, though possibly requiring more embodiment, and brought vividly before our minds problems which most urgently press for a solution more satisfactory than he was able to reach." All that he says in this respect of Miss Brontë or Kingsley is true, but he insists upon it somewhat too emphatically; we read them for many things beside their moral advice to us or the value of their philosophy of life, although these are not to be ignored. But Mr. Stephen is at his best when he writes of the authors of the last century, partly because of his fuller knowledge, partly because he possesses a rare sympathetic understanding of them. The essay upon Fielding is very just, discriminating, and instructive, and that upon Cowper and Rousseau is full of that best sort of suggestion which results from bringing into comparison similar men who are usually far dissociated in the popular thought. We have before called attention to the essay upon the Edinburgh Reviewers, which is of especial value to young men both in the way of information and doctrine; and that upon Wordsworth's ethics is of a sort which Mr. Stephen is excellently fitted to give us (for his whole heart is in it), and which is especially needed. All the essays are valuable contributions to criticism, and will stir thought much more than most that appear even from the best sources. We will only take space to add our protest to that of the author against the abuse of the word Philistine by critics, which he says is "the name applied by prigs to the rest of their species. And I hold that the modern fashion of using it as a common term of abuse amounts to a literary nuisance. It enables intellectual coxcombs to brand men with an offensive epithet for being a degree more manly than themselves." It is, as he elsewhere says of some ebullitions of Landor's, "a mere form of swearing."

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 17, 1879.

The Week.

THE New York *Times* has taken the trouble to make enquiries through 170 correspondents, in every State in the Union, at 1,000 localities, of well-informed persons of various classes and conditions, as to the candidates most in favor for the next Presidency in the Republican and Democratic parties respectively. The enquiries at 130 "points" out of 157 show Grant to be the Republican favorite; at 98 "points" out of 157 Tilden is the Democratic favorite. The other competitors may be said, in racing parlance, to be "nowhere." This mode of ascertaining election prospects is, of course, simply an amplification of the process called "straws," which appears in the newspapers during the campaign, and in which anonymous letter-writers communicate the result of a vote taken on the railroad train, or on the ferryboat, or among the workmen in a sugar-refinery. Its value depends almost altogether on the character and capacity of the 170 correspondents and of the persons whom they sound. As long as their names are concealed their letters are simply a huge "straw." Nevertheless, as we have said elsewhere, the result will be found to tally with the experience of most people as to their own circle of acquaintance in this part of the country.

The *Times* confesses that Grant is by no means its own choice, and, indeed, deplores the prospect for obvious reasons, while accepting it with resignation. It does not point out, as it ought to have done, that old Dr. Dwight's saying with regard to the Democrats, "that while he did not maintain, by any means, that every Democrat was a horse-thief, he did maintain that every horse-thief was a Democrat," may, by a slight paraphrase, be applied very aptly to the supporters of the Grant movement. That is, while it is true that there is a large body of respectable Republicans amongst them, it is also true that there is no Republican whiskey-thief or corruptionist of any description, defrauder of the revenue, bribe-taker or bribe-giver, worthless or lazy custom-house or other officer, rascally blackmail editor, knavish contractor or ring-master; no jobber in offices or perquisites; no drunken loafer or gambler; no enemy of improvement in any branch of the government, who is not a hearty and vociferous "Grant man," and who is not now rubbing his hands over the chance of seeing "the old man" back in the White House. This is an undeniable fact, proofs of which could be readily collected at 200 "points" and by 200 correspondents at least, and it is worth pondering.

We hope the *Times* will now institute a similar enquiry as to the popular preferences for the second place on the ticket in each party. We have little doubt that if conducted by the same machinery it will show that at a great majority of the "points" Pelton and Babcock are the favorites for the Vice-Presidency. They are certainly the legitimate candidates. Each has stood high in the confidence of his chief, is familiar with his inner counsels and views, and with the precise process by which he would save American society, and should, therefore, occupy the position in which he would in case of accident to either of "the old men" succeed to the Presidency.

The debate over the Army Bill is raging in the Senate, Mr. Blaine having been the principal speaker during the week. He made very good use of figures in ridicule of the Democratic fear of oppression by the Army, showing that the whole United States force in the Southern States would furnish only one soldier for every 700 square miles of territory, and only 70 to every 1,000,000 inhabitants. There are none in Virginia, or Kentucky, or Tennessee, or Missouri, or Mississippi, and only 30 in North Carolina, 120 in South Carolina, 57 in Arkansas, 32 in Alabama, and 239 in Louisiana. Of course these are not sufficient reasons for allowing a law to remain on the statute book permitting military interference at elections, but they are a complete answer to the claim of urgency for the measure now before the Senate; they show that it was very foolish to have made an extra session necessary to pass it, and to have tacked it to the appropriation bill now. The case of Mr. Bell was decided on Thursday, agreeably to common sense and the Constitution; a result, of course, not brought about except by Democratic votes. Mr. Bell was admitted to a seat by 35 yeas to 28 nays, among the latter being Senators Conkling and Carpenter. On Monday, the Vice-President being called from Washington, Mr. Thurman was chosen President *pro tem.*

The House proceedings have not been lacking in variety. On Wednesday week the entire session was consumed in considering the report of the Committee on Rules. No objection was made to the revival of certain select committees, on the census, the yellow fever, the civil service, on the "state of the law respecting ascertainment and declaration of result of election of President and Vice-President," etc.; nor to increasing the membership of the most important standing committees, as the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures (to eleven), Ways and Means (to thirteen), Agriculture, Judiciary, Elections, Commerce, and Appropriations (to fifteen each). But an additional rule, requiring a three-fourths vote in order to suspend the rules and pass a general appropriation bill, was attacked with great vigor from both sides of the House. The tenor of the debate which arose showed clearly that the scandalous method of passing the River and Harbor Appropriation Bill was the evil aimed at by the new rule, and defended not only by Mr. Reagan, of Texas, but by Mr. Conger, who represents the Detroit River. The opposition prevailed, and, turning the tables, secured for the Committee on Commerce the same privilege to report river and harbor improvement bills that is accorded the Committee on Appropriations in reporting general appropriation bills. Next, the Committees on Ways and Means, Banking and Currency, and Coinage, Weights, and Measures, were given leave to report at any time, and a majority authorized to fix a day for the consideration of any bill thus reported, and to continue the consideration from day to day until disposed of. These rules make log-rolling easy, and invite the wildest financial legislation. They are all the more mischievous because Speaker Randall has not counteracted them by the composition of his committees. Of one-half of these (26 out of 52) the chairmanships are assigned to Southerners, including those on Banking and Currency and on Coinage, which as now constituted are in the best possible shape for promoting inflation and the fulfilment of the silver curse. Mr. Hewitt's Labor Committee has been humorously handed over to Hendrick B. Wright, the Pennsylvania Communist. The Railroad Committee is doubtfully adverse to the Texas and Pacific Railroad subsidy. The Ways and Means Committee is likely to avoid extreme views on the tariff question. General Bragg has been very properly placed at the head of the Committee on War Claims. The Appropriations Committee has been judiciously selected, and considerably strengthened intellectually as well as numerically.

On Monday the Republicans successfully filibustered away the morning hour, over a point of order neither raised in good faith nor capable of being sustained, and so prevented the introduction of sundry bills by the Greenback party and Mr. Stephens's select company of silver maniacs. All these measures, however, found a side entrance under the guise of petitions, and were *ipso facto* referred to their appropriate committees; but a declarative vote taken on the same day against meddling with the tariff or the currency at

the present session showed that their chances of being passed, if reported, are very slight. The main business with the House has been the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill. On Thursday the inflationists incautiously furnished the President with a new and substantial excuse for vetoing it, by inserting a provision that $10,000,000 to meet the arrears of pensions should be taken from the greenback reserve, held for the redemption of the fractional currency. On Tuesday, General Bragg sought to insert a clause repealing the law creating the Southern Claims Commission; but while this touches too many interests and feelings, North and South, to be likely to succeed, it promises, as we go to press, to ensure the adoption of the plan proposed at the last session by Mr. Potter, in accordance with which all pending and future claims must first be passed upon by the Court of Claims, and can only come before Congress for action with the endorsement of that tribunal.

The negro movement towards Kansas has somewhat fallen out of sight during the week, but it appears to be uninterrupted. Its political significance is now little insisted on. An apparently well-informed writer in the *Herald* of Monday, a Southern clergyman, recalls the very considerable migration to Texas from Tennessee and Kentucky begun as early as 1870, and still stimulated by land agents, whose plan is to send off only small bodies from each locality, in order to avoid alarming the whites. Kansas began to be attractive, within this writer's experience, even in 1875. He considers the prime cause of the unrest of the blacks to be the huge disappointment in their ideal of "freedom." They expected it to do more for them, to make a greater change in their mode of life, and to furnish them with an independent outfit in the shape of land and mules. Hence the notion readily sprang up that freedom could be realized only in a Free State. But more important than such considerations is the undoubted fact that the landlord and the storekeeper have, from the want of capital on the negro's part, ruined him with liens upon his crops and his land and implements, advancing him money at extortionate rates, and charging him enormously for all goods obtained on credit. In fact, in some parts of the South, though by no means in all, his condition closely approaches that of the unfortunate ryots of British India, the amelioration of whose condition is one of the most difficult as well as urgent problems in the government of that country; they are virtually the slaves of the usurers, and seem incapable by their own unaided efforts of throwing off the crushing weight of debt which rests upon them and their posterity. At the South, the dependence on the storekeeper affords a simple means of exerting political control which is not neglected.

Dr. Cooke, the President of the Claflin (colored) University in South Carolina, who was accused by the *Tribune* of having voted for Hampton in 1878 because he had been assaulted in a railroad train in 1876, but wickedly denied it, has been writing a letter to a convention of Northern residents at the South recently held in Charlotte, N. C. The wretched man, who is originally from Massachusetts, reports "that in no State at the North do the colored people enjoy superior rights to those enjoyed by them at present" in South Carolina. He, moreover, has the audacity to assert, after eight years' residence in the West, "that the South presents greater inducements to settlers of small capital than any portion of the country with which he is acquainted." This malicious assertion was doubtless suggested to him by the story of the *Tribune* correspondent who exposed him last winter, that he (the correspondent) had ridden eight miles from the town of Kingstree along a road lined with negro farms. Cooke's persistence in his stories of Southern peaceableness is a shocking spectacle, but is doubtless the result of recent corporal chastisement, and is a "Tilden move." The Convention received letters from a large number of Northern settlers in various parts of the South, many of them old Union soldiers, testifying in the most brazen manner to the peace and prosperity they enjoyed, and trying to show that there ought not to be any ill-feeling between North and South, well knowing that ill-feeling is at this juncture of the highest political importance.

We are informed that the first news of the death of Judge Robinson, of the Court of Common Pleas, reached Governor Robinson in the shape of thirteen applications for the vacant place from members of the bar in this city. Since then the number has risen to over fifty, and is steadily rising. This is very gratifying in one way, as it shows the existence among us of a greater amount of judicial talent than most people suspected. On the other hand, it raises the question whether we have enough judges "to meet the wants of trade," as the inflationists say. Upon the principle held by so many financiers in this country at present, that we cannot have too much of a good thing, it would seem as if our supply of judges was deplorably short. We get our justice from our judges, and the more judges we have, therefore, the more abundant will our supply of justice be. Therefore, we say that the bench ought to be elongated until every member of the bar who wants to be a judge has a place on it. The increase might be "based," as in Mr. W. D. Kelley's plan, on the issue of 3.65 bonds; that is, whenever a judge got tired of the bench or thought himself superfluous he might draw bonds enough from the State treasury to keep him comfortably until his services were again wanted, and then pass in his bonds and begin adjudicating again. Whether this be a good plan or not, it is certain that the bar will not submit much longer to the present miserable smallness of the bench, and any politician who tries to stem the tide of their discontent will find he has made an enormous mistake.

By the death of General Richard Taylor this week in this city one of the most striking and characteristic relics of the "ante-bellum" period at the South has passed away. He was in more ways than one the typical representative of an extinct society, and for this reason alone was an interesting person. But he was besides this a man of many gifts and graces. He started in life with peculiar advantages, and had a wide experience of the world while still young. He was in his early days a great sugar-planter, when sugar-planters were a baronial class; was an excellent politician in the time when politics were managed by a few wealthy men; showed himself a good brigadier under Jackson in Virginia, and was probably a good strategist, though his afterwards defeating Banks in Louisiana did not prove it. He came out of the war ruined, but never lost his cheerfulness and vivacity, and remained to the last a gay, brilliant, but thoroughly "unrepentant rebel," with a hatred of the new régime and a belief in gentlemanly government which carried one so far back as to have the air of a joke, which he himself enjoyed. He won the esteem of a good many men to whom his politics were simply a curiosity, and was followed to the grave by the regrets of a great variety of mourners. The appearance of the present and late Secretary of State, Mr. Evarts and Mr. Fish, among his pall-bearers, in a Northern city, was a curious illustration of the distance which separates us from the war, and of the hollowness of all attempts to revive its passions.

The Massachusetts Legislature has by majorities of two to one in both houses passed a bill securing what is called "school suffrage" for women. That is to say, every woman who is a citizen of the Commonwealth, twenty-one years of age, and possessed of the other qualifications of male voters, may participate in the election of school-committees. The same privilege has lately been accorded in New Hampshire, and still earlier in Kansas. The admission of women to the Boston school-committees had paved the way for the larger liberty in Massachusetts; but both the one and the other are a natural outgrowth of the enormous part allotted in our educational system to female teachers, as in no other country in the world. In the public schools of the United States, according to the last census, they outnumbered the male teachers by nearly fifty per cent.; but when abstraction is made of the South, where in only four instances (Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Louisiana) the male teachers

are exceeded by the female, and generally exceed them from twenty-five to three hundred per cent., the proportion is vastly more favorable to the latter. Thus, in 1870 there were 2,600 female teachers in New Hampshire to 510 male; while in Massachusetts there were 5,387 female to 753 male. Nothing was more natural than that women should be thought qualified to examine and inspect as well as to teach, or that they should desire to have a share in the choice and in the work of committees; and the only wonder is that they were not enabled to do so long ago. The recent extension of the higher education to women, particularly in Massachusetts, is the best assurance that the new privilege will be usefully employed.

The Massachusetts House, on the same day, rejected without a count a bill granting women the right to vote and be voted for in municipal affairs. The *Woman's Journal* might console itself with the reflection that women are eligible to clerkships in our State and National administrations, and that whatever promotes the business view of the civil service, as opposed to the political view, will improve the chances of woman's entering it, though, to take a single instance, perhaps there are more postmistresses now by appointment than there would be, in the beginning, as the result of popular election. More comfort is to be found in the rational belief that "school suffrage" is an entering-wedge for "manhood suffrage." The analogy both of right and of expediency goes so far that, with the unthinking at least, it may be expected to prevail in the long run. When once the sight of women being registered and voting, no matter for what public purpose, becomes familiar, a great obstacle will have been removed from the common mind.

Of the $40,000,000 of U. S. 4 per cent. bonds which the Bank of Commerce subscribed for last week, to furnish all the money needed to redeem the entire outstanding remainder of 5.20 6 per cent. bonds, the sum of $10,000,000 was relinquished to the London syndicate, and what threatened to be a serious dispute was thereby avoided. The Secretary of the Treasury has not yet named a price at which he will sell any more of the 4 per cents, but it is expected that he will soon do so; and it is known that the terms of sale will be less favorable than they have been. In anticipation of the sales of the new $10 certificates of deposit, which are payable only through conversion into the 4 per cent. bonds, the Treasury early in the week called in for redemption ninety days hence $10,000,000 of 10.40 5 per cents. This is the first step in refunding 5 per cent. with 4 per cent. bonds, and is taken because the option to redeem any of the remaining 6 per cents does not mature until the year 1881. In the financial markets there was a further reduction of the discount rate in London to 2 per cent. by the Bank of England, and to 1⅛ per cent. in the London open market. British consols there advanced to 98⅛—the highest price for more than twenty years. Here the money market became easier, and it was demonstrated that the large bond settlements at the Treasury can be made without disturbing it. The New York banks raised their reserve about $4,000,000 last week, and the closing rates for money were 5 to 6 per cent. Silver in London again fell from 50*d.* per oz. to 49⅝*d.* per oz.; and the bullion value of the 412½-grain dollar here fell to $0.8353—a circumstance which is important in view of the strenuous efforts in Congress so to increase the coinage of 412½-grain dollars as to force their circulation in the market at their bullion value.

Another peculiarly bold attempt on the Czar's life, following close on the attempt to shoot the Chief of the Gendarmerie in the open street in broad daylight, shows that the war between the Nihilists and the official class is becoming more and more desperate. What is singular about it is that the poorer classes, who fill the ranks of the army of discontent in other countries, take no part in it. It is a conflict between the educated or half-educated nobles and traders and the bureaucracy, in which quarter is neither asked nor given. The root of it seems to be in the fact that the Nihilists have received too much intellectual training for their political surroundings, and not enough moral and social training to enable them to seek redress and expansion by peaceable means. Their ideas, in other words, are those of advanced communities, their weapons those of the infuriated Muzhik or Tartar. At a great dinner given to Turgeneff in St. Petersburg the other day, at which he was received with unbounded enthusiasm, he warned the Government in thinly-veiled terms that the only remedy for the crisis was the establishment at any cost of free political institutions; in other words, the educated classes must get a share in the Government.

The scheme of joint occupation in Eastern Rumelia seems to have been abandoned at the last moment, partly owing to the difficulty of arranging the details, and partly to the reluctance of the Porte to submit formally one of its provinces to this sort of tutelage. It doubtless feared that the plan might be tried by-and-bye in other parts of the empire. So the last news is that it has proposed to Russia that the present status should be prolonged for another year—that is, that the Russian occupation should continue—in the belief that by the end of that time the Rumelians will be more reasonable and willing to welcome back the Turks. All observers on the spot, however, seem to be of opinion that the Turks will never have as good a chance of occupying their Balkan frontier as they have now, and that the Rumelian hostility to them will grow with time, and that the means of resisting them will grow with it, and that a year's postponement will make the Beaconsfield part of the Treaty of Berlin impossible of execution. In fact, it is more and more doubtful if Lord Beaconsfield would any longer defend his plan. The idea that the occupation of the Balkan Passes would add to Turkish strength, when the troops would have a savagely hostile population in their rear, is fast becoming ridiculous.

The Khedive's last performance, by which he has rid himself of Mr. Rivers Wilson and M. de Blignières, as well as Nubar Pasha, whom he detests, is greatly puzzling the French and English Governments. They do not well know how to deal with him, and each is afraid to let the other act alone, which is doubtless exactly what he anticipated. They do not like to use force against him, for of course he would be overthrown at once, and then what would they set up in his place? France proposes the Sultan should be got to punish him by dethroning him—for he is the Sultan's vassal—and the Sultan is said to have expressed willingness to deal with him in this way, and has called on him to show cause. But England is evidently doubtful about resorting to this expedient, and the London *Times* is calling loudly for patience and deliberation. The Beaconsfield Ministry probably dread adding another foreign complication to their already formidable list. In the meantime the unfortunate fellaheen are dying of famine, and the taxes are being collected in the old way with the whip.

The budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, submitted to the House of Commons a fortnight ago, and the details of which have just come out, show that his last year's estimate of receipts has been justified within $500,000, but this has been more than due to the hurried passage through the custom-house of a large quantity of tea in anticipation of a rise in the duties, so that he has to a certain extent anticipated next year's revenue. With this exception, however, his estimates have proved fairly correct. But there has been a serious falling off in the excise and stamp duties, showing the decline in trade, which, however, has been more than made up by an increase in the returns from the land-tax and house-duty, and the income-tax and the post-office. He proposes to put off paying the expenses of the preparations to fight Russia, and the expenses of the Zulu war until next year—that is, probably, until after the next general election—and the expenses of the Afghan war he apparently means to impose on "the mild Hindoo."

THE REHABILITATION OF GRANT.

AS a mode of forestalling or manufacturing public sentiment, much could easily be said against the *Times's* anonymous reports last week from all quarters of the country regarding the favorite candidates for the next Presidency. There is, on the face of them, nothing to show that they were not concocted by the same correspondents who are used at other seasons to estimate the yield of the crops in their respective neighborhoods. If even in such estimates the personal equation has to be allowed for, of how much greater importance is it in the case of political calculations, especially at a time when general uncertainty and distrust prevail, and when the weak-kneed class who do not leave the fence till assured on which banner victory is to rest, are temporarily most numerous. In fact, there is no comparison between the weight to be attached to the *Times's* reports and that which as many authentic "interviews" would have, or categorical answers to a circular of enquiry, confirmed by the name of the author of the opinion, his occupation, residence, and standing in the community. It is partly owing to the obscurity of the reporter that his representations cannot be disproved; but that Grant and Tilden are, as he says, the unmistakable preference of their respective parties for the campaign of 1880 is inherently probable (since a state of doubt as to what is best or desirable is not inconsistent with substantial agreement as to a *pis-aller*), and appears to be conceded by the press.

Mr. Tilden's sentimental claim to the Presidency, to mention no other, is strong enough to account for the favor with which his candidacy is viewed by Democratic constituencies. Nor is there anything mysterious about Grant's popularity with the common run of Republican voters as well as with a certain stripe of politicians. The question which, in our experience, is most perplexing is this, and it is frequently raised: How is it that one encounters men who abhor "Grantism," and are fully sensible of the disgrace which Grant's two administrations inflicted upon the country, and earnestly desire the purification of the civil service, and who yet keep him in reserve as a tolerable instrument in case of necessity? How is it that men who in 1876 could not be reconciled to the thought of his re-election (without reference to the third-term objection), and whose opposition did in fact make his nomination impossible, now regard it with something like tranquil assurance? What do they want and expect of him that he is now become acceptable? We believe but one answer can be given: The men we speak of are not concerned about the fortunes of the Republican party as a party. They do not look upon Grant merely as the most available Republican leader. They have no high esteem, many of them have no respect whatever, for his civil capacity. Their reliance on him, whether they confess it or not, is a *military* reliance, and their condition of mind, if plainly stated, would be that they think the war between North and South not yet over, or that it is about to recommence.

This is a serious conclusion to come to, because in the first place it argues a degree of nervous timidity which men of principle ought to be slow to acknowledge, and which quite demoralizes the reformer. Still, if this want of courage—call it dread of the immediate future, if you please—really exists, we ought to look it in the face; and it cannot be denied that the bare preamble of the resolution creating the Potter Committee set a large number of reformers to fumbling around after General Grant, as they would after a revolver if they heard burglars in the next room. Those who recovered from this panic, along with some of the stronger-minded who perhaps never succumbed to it, now see no guaranty except Grant against the "revolutionary" designs of the Forty-sixth Congress. They have, after all, so little faith in the stability of the Republic that the abuse of their powers by a parliamentary majority appears to them to involve an appeal to force; so little confidence in the provisions of the Constitution and the temper of the people that they are not easy unless a military President is at hand, ready to exercise the arbitrary powers of a commander-in-chief in the midst of hostilities. The Mexicanization of our politics has been often alluded to, but, as we have more than once urged in these columns, the process attacks the mind before it manifests itself in deeds. This apprehension that the government is in danger if the other party wins or has its way, is truly Mexican; and so is the reserve thought of a military dictator as the only possible saviour of society.

We say a military dictator, because on an instant's reflection it must appear that if General Grant were at this moment back in the White House he would have no resources against revolution that Mr. Hayes has not. He could resist and veto, no doubt; in doggedness of character he may be Mr. Hayes's superior. But he would have no control over the army, or power over the militia, that is not to be found in the Constitution by all Presidents in time of grave public peril. He would have much less than when he resigned the reins to Mr. Hayes, for we are now more than two years—we are half a century removed from the semi-military régime under which Grant kept alive the last of the carpet-bag governments. There remains only a *coup d'état*, in which the Confederate brigadiers should be driven from the Capitol and a rump Congress installed. There is no one, we are sure, who contemplates such folly as this, and, in fact, the whole discussion of what Grant might do seems rather silly, and would be utterly so but for the respectability of the men who cherish irrational expectations concerning him, and undoubtedly do get a good deal of comfort out of them.

All such, and we wish there were not so many of them, will be benefited by a little historical retrospect. There were plenty of ante-bellum crises in Congress and at the polls, and only one ended in violence, and the aggressive party was completely humbled. There have been half-a-dozen crises since the war, including an impeachment of the President, the union of Southern and Northern Democrats on the candidacy of Horace Greeley, and the late disputed election, decided by an extra-Constitutional makeshift; and peace has remained unbroken. The hasty and arbitrary legislation of the war and of the period of reconstruction has been partially undone, and in getting rid of the remainder something may be taken away which we shall be loth to part with, albeit not irrecoverable. But we ought to be glad to see the old scars effaced, and to reach at last a stage in which all the issues raised in Congress will be upon their merits, and all party differences will have a purely civil complexion. The best way to arrive at this is to refuse to "see blood" so long as there is any other view to take of the situation, or to think first of the military way out when a difficulty arises, or to discredit the ability of the people to execute judgment on the party that puts our institutions in jeopardy. As for those who in 1872 and again in 1876 resisted, for reasons that were abundantly justified, the continuance of Grant at the head of the Government, it is clearly a duty to remain steadfast on the only ground that promises a happy return to peaceful national development; to lend no countenance to the pretence that we need now in a President any qualities that were not essential then, or can dispense with any which were then demanded; to advocate now as then a return to Constitutional and regular modes of legislation and administration, the reform of the civil service, reform in the collection of the revenue, actual as well as nominal redemption; to judge of fitness for the Presidency according to the candidate's perception of the nature and scope of these measures, his earnestness in behalf of them, his resoluteness, experience, and training; finally, to take no counsel of fear or despondency, but

> "—through the heat of conflict keep the law
> In calmness made, and see what they foresaw."

LEGISLATIVE COURTS.

THE Municipal Society of this city, through a committee of which Mr. Simon Sterne is chairman, has introduced a bill at Albany which deserves the careful consideration of the Legislature and of the public. It relates nominally to a subject which, at the first blush, seems of no general interest—that of "applications to the Legislature"—but it embodies a principle which, if once incorpo-

rated into American law, and still better, as we hope some day to see it, into American constitutional law, will do much to redeem our legislation from the discredit into which it has of late years fallen. In order to make the provisions of the bill clear it is necessary first to glance at the law as it stands, and the evils which have grown out of it.

The existing provisions of law in this State on the subject of applications to the Legislature are extremely brief. They require all persons applying for leave to have the bounds of any county, city, or village divided or altered, a new county created, a new city or village incorporated, a court-house removed, a road made or improved, or any other county purpose effected involving a general or special county tax, to give notice by newspaper publication of the intended application. Corporations applying for legislation are required to give a similar notice, and these notices must specify the nature and objects of the application. There are like provisions with regard to applications for the release of escheated lands, and for the right to construct dams.

These provisions, meagre as they are, grow out of a recognition of the fact (on which all the recent constitutional amendments prohibiting special legislation are based) that private, local bills, having for their object a local grant or modification of corporate rights and privileges, a taking of private property for public use, or, in fact, any change in law or grant or withdrawal of privileges, which is to be confined in its effects to particular persons or collections of persons, or localities, are really not *laws* at all, but grants, or modifications of grants, made, indeed, by the Legislature, but involving, first, a judicial examination of the facts, and, second, a semi-judicial, semi-administrative determination as to what should be done in the case. The reason why the applicant is required to give public notice of his petition is that all those interested may be informed, as in any regular judicial proceeding they are as a matter of strict right entitled to be informed; may appear before the Legislature, may oppose the application if they see fit, and obtain a fair hearing for the purpose of bringing before the mind of the branch of the government which grants or refuses the application the merits of the case in all its bearings.

With this formal notice, however, it will be observed that the judicial character of the machinery provided comes to an end. None of the details of the procedure in these applications after they have actually reached the Legislature are provided for by law in any way. Beyond a few provisions relating to the attendance of witnesses before committees, which are chiefly declaratory of powers which the Legislature has independent of statutes, the proceedings with regard to private and local bills appear to be absolutely in the discretion of the committees to which they are of course, and necessarily, always referred. Of rules for the time of holding meetings, for the hearing of parties in person or by counsel, for the separations of questions of fact and law, even for the proper introduction of proof, there is no trace. It is, indeed, the theory of legislative assemblies, and is so stated in the treatises which discuss the matter, that committees are governed by the ordinary rules applicable to courts of justice; but the difference is that a court of justice is not itself the judge of the conformity of its proceedings to law. The suitor who considers himself aggrieved has always the remedy of appeal from the decision by which he considers himself aggrieved, and the right to appeal and have proceedings reviewed is the thing which makes the rules of law fixed and ascertainable; but from a committee's action there is no appeal of any kind. To talk of the Legislature itself reviewing the work of committees in matters of private legislation is mere trifling. The reason for the existence of committees is that the Legislature cannot afford the time to enquire into such matters. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the committee decides absolutely and finally what is to be done with any private bill. Not only, however, is its decision final, but its method of arriving at that decision rests in its own arbitrary discretion. It may hear witnesses or not hear them; it may listen to arguments or not listen to them; it may confine the right to appear before it to recognized counsel, or let the parties appear, or allow persons who have no recognized status of any kind to appear. It may reach a conclusion, or decline to reach any conclusion whatever, and there is absolutely no redress. It is a singular instance in our system of government of a body having judicial functions, and charged by the Legislature with a judicial duty, which has broken loose from all American judicial traditions, and enquires into and decides the cases brought before it by any method it chooses to select—precisely, in fact, as a Turkish cadi might.

The object of Mr. Sterne's bill is the assimilation of all the proceedings of legislative committees in private and local bills to those of courts of justice. For this purpose the faint suggestion of a similarity afforded by the present requirements as to notice by publication in the newspapers has been taken as a groundwork, and upon this has been constructed a complete scheme of law governing proceedings before legislative committees. By the proposed act all private, special, and local bills are to be filed on the first day of the session, and in case the bill involves the taking of private property for public use notice is to be served upon all persons affected. By another section the governor is to appoint three examiners, holding office for four years, whose duty it shall be to see that these preliminaries have been complied with, whether any objections to the bill have been filed in the office of the Secretary of State (for which purpose twenty days are allowed) and to report the facts; and in case these prerequisites are found by them not to exist to make an endorsement to that effect upon the bill; in which case the Legislature is prohibited from passing any bill on the subject. If the law has been complied with and it appears that there is opposition to the passage of the bill, it is to be placed, on reference to a committee, upon a calendar like that of a court, which is to be published from time to time so as to give due notice of the intention to proceed with the bill. On the hearing the committee is to hear all competent and relevant testimony, to hear counsel under appropriate rules and regulations, and proceed in general "as though such committee or committees were courts of justice." By a two-thirds vote the committee is empowered to impose a fine of not more than $500 on anybody maliciously opposing a bill, and by a like vote, in case of a demand in a bill for "excessive powers," by which individuals or corporations are unreasonably compelled to resist its passage, to fine the applicants in a like sum (this, of course, being intended to meet the common case of blackmailing opposition or application).

There are three acknowledged evils of great magnitude existing in the legislation of every American State and in that of Congress which are more or less directly traceable to the arbitrary and irresponsible procedure which we have attempted to describe above, and which the adoption of Mr. Sterne's bill would in a great degree bring to an end: *first*, the *volume* of special legislation; *second*, its *incoherence* and *obscurity*; *third*, the existence of the Lobby—an institution absolutely unknown in any other parliamentary country. The restrictions upon the power of the Legislature to pass special laws incorporated into the constitution of New York and other States have undoubtedly lessened the first evil to a great extent, as any one may see by comparing the 510 pages of laws passed at Albany in 1878 with the 2,199 pages passed in 1872; it will be still further reduced if the constitutional amendment now pending, limiting the Legislature to biennial sessions, is passed. But the provisions against special legislation have not destroyed special legislation. The general effect of these provisions is to take away from the Legislature the power to pass special laws where general laws are applicable. But there are many cases in which general laws are inapplicable, and there must be some provision for these. We find on examination of the New York Statute-book of 1878 that, even under the present constitutional limitations, out of the first hundred laws there are only thirty-four which can be called general in their nature. Assuming this proportion as a fair test, and we see no reason why it should not be, *two-thirds* of all the business done every year at Albany is still of a private nature, and does not partake of the character of legislation at all. So far, therefore, as the amount of special legislation is concerned, it is still very great. As

to its incoherence and obscurity, the power which the Legislature exercises to amend charters by private bills, even when it cannot grant new charters, is not likely to diminish this fault. To take a single instance, the legislation every year proposed with regard to this city is so related to and inextricably complicated with old provisions as to be absolutely unintelligible to almost every private person in the city, and is really understood only by a few office-holders whose tenure of office may be affected by the proposed alterations, and by them only so far as it affects their places.

The connection between the lobby and the existing method of legislation is very direct. The lobby, as an organized institution (as it exists nowhere but in the United States), is simply a collection of unlicensed attorneys, responsible to no one for what they do, who ply their trade as they best may. Between a court, such as a legislative committee really is, and the suitors whose interests are adjudicated upon by it, there must obviously be a body of agents who are familiar with the procedure of the court, and are capable of managing cases in it. If the procedure and the right to practise in the court are regulated by fixed rules, and the agents recognized as public officers who are responsible to their clients and to the court for any breach of duty, you have at once, as agents, lawyers forming a regular bar. If there is no procedure and the action of the court rests altogether in its own discretion, you have as agents lobbyists. The lobby necessarily drives out respectable lawyers, for respectable lawyers are restrained by their training and their sense of duty from resorting to the devices to which lobbyists are obliged to resort; consequently, before such a court, a lobbyist is a better agent than a respectable lawyer, and therefore drives the respectable lawyer out of the market.

We have merely given above an outline of the proposed plan. There are many details which we have been compelled to omit, and which deserve careful consideration. This outline, however, shows sufficiently the principle to be introduced, or rather enforced (since as a *principle* it is acknowledged to exist already). It cannot be said to be a novel one, for it is taken from the English parliamentary practice, where it has been on trial for a generation, and where its good effects are seen in the high character of the Parliamentary Bar, which corresponds to our lobby, and the absence of complaints on the subject of special legislation which are heard so continually here. The only fault that we have to find with the scheme is that it is not brought forward as a constitutional amendment, for only in that way can the legislature be permanently compelled to adhere to the proposed method; and we trust that its incorporation into legislative practice is merely a first step to this end.

FITZ-JOHN PORTER'S CASE.

IT is safe to say that the report of the Advisory Board which has been reviewing the proceedings of the court-martial which in 1862 cashiered General Fitz-John Porter, for misconduct in the face of the enemy, makes the case the most remarkable in military annals. It is remarkable, in the first place, that, considering the gravity of the offence of which he was convicted and the excited state of the public mind at the time of his conviction, he was not sentenced to death and executed, or to imprisonment for life. It is remarkable, in the second place, that he should not have succeeded in procuring a review of the proceedings for sixteen years, considering that at any time since the peace it was possible to obtain the evidence which has enabled a board of officers, composed of such men as Generals Schofield and Terry and Colonel Getty, to pronounce him not only innocent but deserving of the highest praise.

General Porter's individual misfortune in having lain so long under the burden of such an error is, of course, a cruel one; but this is something the foundation of which he may be said to have in some measure laid by his singularly indiscreet, and we may add mischievous, criticisms on General Pope, his commanding officer, addressed to General Burnside. This undoubtedly prepared the mind of General Pope and his friends for treachery or half-hearted support, and won for Pope the public sympathy when he subsequently sought to make Porter responsible for the failure of his campaign. Moreover, coming so soon after McClellan's Harrison's Landing letter, and containing, as they did, an appeal to McClellan for deliverance from Pope, they helped to strengthen and spread the popular belief that there was a clique of West Point officers, of whom McClellan was the head, who were in secret sympathy with the secessionists, and never fully believed either in the right or the ability of the Government at Washington to drive them to the wall. General McClellan's telegram from Washington, dated September 1, 1862, addressed to General Porter, asking him and "all his [my] friends for his [McClellan's] sake, and that of the country, to lend the fullest and most cordial co-operation to General Pope in the operations then [now] going on," was certainly not calculated to dissipate this impression. A more unfortunate message, or one better calculated to be injurious to General Porter at that juncture, could hardly have been devised. The position of an officer in high command in the field who needs, or seems to need, the exhortations of an outsider to obey with zeal, for the outsider's sake, the lawful orders of his superior, is not an enviable one. General Porter, however, got into it, and mainly through his own errors. There was only one excuse for his criticisms and complaints, if there can be any excuse for them, and that was Pope's general order issued in July on taking the command, in which he spoke contemptuously of "lines of retreat" and "bases of supplies," and called on the army to "discard such ideas," and occupy themselves with "the enemy's lines of retreat and leave our own to take care of themselves." His examination eight days previously before the Committee of the House on the Conduct of the War, in which he announced that his plan of campaign was to "lay off on the enemy's flanks," and "attack him day and night in unexpected places," and finally force him "to follow him (Pope) out into the mountains," was not more reassuring. In fact, both these expositions emanating from an educated soldier were very alarming, and foreshadowed the disasters which followed; but instead of lightening the responsibility of his subordinates they increased it. They made it more incumbent than ever on General Porter, and all others like him, to see that whatever Pope's folly might be, and however great the disasters it might bring on the army, the confidence of the country in more sober-minded and competent officers should not be shaken. It certainly ought not to have suggested to General Porter an appeal "to be got away," or an expression of a wish "to be away."

The great difference between the spirit with which the Advisory Board has examined the case from that in which the court-martial tried it lies, it seems to us, in the Board's freedom from the prepossession against Porter and his set in the army, created by McClellan's position towards the Government and Porter's avowed sympathy with them. It was this, too, which prevented the public from seeing how ridiculous Pope's general order was, and how much cause for anxiety there was to be found in it. The first charge against Porter, that of intentional and traitorous dilatoriness in the march to Bristow Station on the night of the 27th of August, could not, in all probability, have been sustained at all but for this prepossession. Pope's order showed that he wanted Porter at Bristow in the early morning for the purpose of pursuit. To use his own words in the order, "the enemy had been driven back, but was retiring along the railroad," and "we must drive him from Manassas and clear the country between that place and Gainesville." Porter, instead of starting at one o'clock, however, did not start till three, and did not arrive at Bristow Station until after ten. His excuse for the delay was, that his men were very tired; that the night was very dark, and the road much blocked with wagons; that, therefore, if he had started at one o'clock, he would have made little or no progress, as the time he took on the march in broad daylight showed, and he would have brought his troops into Bristow Station utterly unfit for hot pursuit of a retiring enemy. His divisional commanders agreed with him. In the mouth of an experienced officer, whose zeal was not suspected, this would have been a complete defence; and it was supported by abundant testimony. The Board, looking at the matter without the prepossession, have accepted it as such. They probably did so the more readily in view of the fact that Pope, in his evidence before the court-martial held four months later, gave a different account of his reasons for calling Porter up from that which he gave in his order. He then swore that he wanted Porter not to pursue the enemy, but because he feared an attack in the early morning from the combined forces of Jackson and A. P. Hill. It is difficult, in the light of the facts as we now know them, to escape the conclusion that Pope was either guilty of boasting untruly in the first order, or was ignorant of the real facts of the situation, and got up a story for the court-martial to meet Porter's defence that his men, after a night's march under the order, would be unfit for the work of pursuit.

The way the prepossession continued to work against Porter was

further curiously illustrated in the evidence before the court-martial of Lieutenant-Colonel T. C. H. Smith, a volunteer officer on Pope's staff. He had a short interview with Porter on the 28th, the day of the march from Bristow Station, about some ammunition which Porter had requisitioned. He had never seen Porter before, and said that while his manner was "gentlemanly and courteous throughout," it was so "sneering" and "indifferent" that he felt justified in going back to General Pope and reporting that Porter was "going to fail him" and was a "traitor," and that he (Smith) was so certain of this that he "would shoot him that night, as far as any crime before God was concerned, if the law would allow him to do it." On cross-examination he was unable to explain or describe Porter's manner any more minutely than this, and acknowledged that, never having seen him until this occasion, and then only for a few minutes, he could not tell whether the manner he witnessed was Porter's ordinary manner or not. When Mr. Holt, the Judge-Advocate, came to review the proceedings of the court-martial for the President in the following January, he dealt with this evidence of Smith's in the following fashion, to match which we should have to turn to some of the earlier State Trials and then to the dime novel of our own day. That such stuff should have found its way into legal documents we are bound in charity to consider an illustration rather of the heated condition of the public mind at the time than of the Judge-Advocate's quality of mind :

"It was physically impossible for the witness to reproduce the manner, the tone of voice, and the expression of the eye and the play of the features, which may have so much influenced his judgment ; yet these often afford a language more to be relied on than that of the lips. He could not hold up before the court, for its inspection and appreciation, the sneer of which he spoke ; and yet we know that a sneer is as palpable to the mental as a smile is to the natural vision. It is a life-long experience that souls read each other, and that there are intercommunings of spirits through instrumentalities which, while defying all human analysis, nevertheless completely command the homage of human faith. Great crimes, too, like great virtues, often reveal themselves to close observers of character and conduct as unmistakably as a flower-garden announces its presence by the odors it breathes upon the air. The witness may have misconceived this 'look,' but from the calamities likely to follow such an act of treachery, if indeed it was then contemplated, it must be admitted as altogether probable that the shadow of such a crime, struggling into being, would have made itself manifest."

On the 28th Pope had failed to "bag" Jackson, as he had expected. The forces with which he supposed he had cut him off from Thoroughfare Gap had retired, and Jackson was standing at bay expecting Lee and Longstreet, who were hastening to his assistance. Pope therefore, on the 29th, ordered Porter, by a joint order addressed to him and General McDowell, to advance towards Gainesville to establish communication with Heintzelman, Sigel, and Reno, who were moving on the Warrenton turnpike, and this done, to halt. Porter obeyed, and at a certain point on the road met General McDowell, and came in front of the enemy, but failed to establish communication with the other generals, between whom and him there remained throughout the day a gap of from two to four miles, which in point of fact made of his corps a separate force. McDowell withdrew from him early in the day, and went along the Sudley Spring road towards the right of the army with the view of filling up or helping to fill up this gap, an operation which he did not succeed in carrying out before six P.M. Porter now being left alone, Pope, in ignorance of his position, and, it now appears, in total ignorance of the force in his front, sent him an order, dated 4.30 P.M., telling him he was on the flank of Jackson's force, and directing him to go into action at once. This order, in the first trial, it was maintained, was delivered by five o'clock. Porter, on the other hand, averred he did not receive it until half-past six. The evidence by which the delivery at five was proved before the court-martial broke down before the late Board. It was shown that the officer who carried it was mistaken about the hour at which he started, and about the road by which he travelled ; and the orderly who accompanied him admitted having told lies about the matter on a previous occasion, and neither of them carried a watch. Moreover, it appeared that the date of the order—4.30 P.M.—was the hour at which the writing of it was begun, and not the hour at which it was despatched. Porter had up to the receipt of this order been exercising the lawful discretion of a corps commander in refusing to engage what he believed on abundant information, which has now been shown to be correct, a greatly superior force, for Longstreet was in his front, and could have crushed him before the rest of the army had heard of his fate, and, having crushed him, would have rolled up McDowell's wearied troops, who filled the roads behind him, in wild rout. On receipt of the order he made his dispositions to attack, but it was already dark. The revelations made at the late enquiry, both by the Confederate testimony and the production of fresh maps of the field of operations, show Pope's ignorance of the situation to have been something very serious when one thinks of the interests which were staked on his capacity to command his army.

General McDowell's evidence in the matter places him in a very peculiar position. He gave a positive opinion at the court-martial in 1862—and, as he had been on the ground with Porter, it was an opinion which undoubtedly had great weight with the court—that if between five and six o'clock on the evening of the 29th Porter had, as directed in the 4.30 order, thrown himself on the right wing of the enemy "the result would have been decisive in our favor." He had, however, left Porter at noon, taking with him part of Porter's force—King's division—and he expected, he said, Porter to have attacked in an hour after his departure. He gave no sign on the first trial that he had any reason to believe that Porter had not received the 4.30 order. He testified that he "had received messages from Porter during the day," but said they simply asked "how the battle was going on, and what was the condition of things with us, as far as I can recollect"; but he did not produce or offer to produce the messages. He has now testified in the late enquiry that when he left General Porter he left him "as a corps commander" (that is, with full discretion in the absence of a superior officer),

"that how quickly he was to get into an engagement, whether in an hour or an hour and a half, and how he would do it, whether in one way or another, he did not indicate, nor did he take it into his mind ; it was simply that he was to operate on his left, and necessarily when he got over there the nature of his operations would be determined by the condition of things he would find. What those conditions would be he could not at that time tell."

He has produced the three messages, which are all important The first warns him that the firing on Porter's right had so far retired as to alarm him, and that he had been unable to communicate with McDowell or King. The second again complains of inability to communicate through the woods, and gives notice that the enemy is in strong force in front of him, and asks McDowell's "designs for the night." The third, dated 6 P.M., showed that at that hour he had not received the 4.30 order, and informed McDowell that he had tried to put Morell's division in communication with him and failed, and had been opened on with artillery while withdrawing it ; that his scouts had found the enemy in the same direction, and some had been captured ; that infantry also were in front ; that he had not succeeded in bringing up a battery, and from the dust and scouts thought the enemy were massing on his right ; and that he had no cavalry or scouts. He again asks for McDowell's "designs." All these threw a flood of light on what was passing in Porter's mind, and on the reasons for his conduct. General McDowell, however, when testifying against Porter on a capital charge, not only did not produce them, but spoke of them slightingly, and kept them for sixteen years without properly searching for them. They were all the time among his papers. He acknowledges, too, that he knew that Jackson was being heavily reinforced during the day of the 28th, owing to Thoroughfare Gap having been left open.

This is not all, however. Porter's delay in the march to Bristow Station was used at the trial, and has been used ever since, to support the charge of treachery against him on the 29th, and his conduct on the 29th to support the explanation given of the delay in the march on the 28th. If he had fought on the 29th he probably would not have been accused of treason on the 28th, and if he had marched through the night of the 27th he would not have been suspected of shirking on the 29th. Each charge bolstered the other up, and his motive was alleged to be a desire for Pope's failure. On the 30th, when directly ordered to attack, he did attack Jackson with extraordinary vigor, and was only prevented from overthrowing him by the (to use Jackson's words) "timely and gallant advance of General Longstreet," and was only repulsed after his corps had been nearly cut to pieces. This exploit of Porter's on the 30th would, of course, have had an important bearing on the question of Porter's motives on the 28th and 29th, and he sought to bring it before the court-martial in 1862, but was not allowed to do so. Now, about 1870, when Porter was again applying for a rehearing, General Pope prepared and printed a statement protesting against it, and furnishing additional evidence of his guilt. It contained a great many statements which have been disproved by the recent investigation ; but it contained also extracts from the Confederate military reports, which General

McDowell now acknowledges that he furnished. These extracts were intended to show what it was important to show for Porter's conviction, but which the Board deny—that what Pope called "a terrific battle" was raging all along the line on the 29th, in which Porter treasonably refused to participate. For this purpose General McDowell produced and published the following from Stonewall Jackson's report, as that officer's account of the operations of the 29th :

"After some desultory skirmishing and heavy cannonading during the day, the Federal infantry, about four o'clock in the evening, moved from under cover of the wood and advanced in several lines, first engaging the right, but soon extending its attack to the centre and left. In a few moments our entire line was engaged in a fierce and sanguinary struggle with the enemy. As one line was repulsed another took its place and pressed forward, as if determined, by force of numbers and fury of assault, to drive us from our position. *So impetuous and well-sustained were these onsets as to induce me to send to the commanding general for reinforcements, but the timely and gallant advance of General Longstreet, on the right, relieved my troops from the pressure of overwhelming numbers*, and gave to those brave men the chances of a more equal conflict. As Longstreet pressed upon the right, the Federal advance was checked, and soon a general advance of my whole line was ordered. Eagerly and fiercely did each brigade press forward, exhibiting in parts of the field scenes of close encounter and murderous strife not witnessed often in the turmoil of battle."

Pope followed this with the comment, "It seems, then, that Jackson was so hard driven by that army which Porter considered defeated that he could not hold his ground, and sent to General R. E. Lee for reinforcements." General McDowell was shown Jackson's report on the late investigation, in which the sentence preceding the above extract explains that he is describing the events of the 30th ; in other words, the "fierce and sanguinary struggle" was that of Porter's corps, and was directed by Porter. On looking at it, General McDowell acknowledged "that it was a mistake that he had made." He acknowledged, too, that his attention was called to this "some time ago," it might be four years ago, and that he did nothing to enquire into it or correct it, "because he did not think it his province to do so." Nevertheless, he had circulated the statement among his friends.

General Pope declined to appear at the late investigation as a witness or submit himself to cross-examination, doubtless fearing that the petitioner's counsel would "lay off on his flanks," and "force him to follow them out into the mountains."

SCOTTISH POLITICS AND LAW.

EDINBURGH, March 17, 1879.

IT seems as if the so-called "Imperial" policy of the Government had given the Liberal party once more a rallying point; at least, the signs of a reaction are becoming daily more frequent. Foremost among these in Scotland is Mr. Gladstone's proposed candidature of Midlothian, or the County of Edinburgh. The constituency is probably the most important country one in Scotland, and is, even more than rural constituencies generally are, overshadowed by territorial influence. Those, therefore, who can appreciate the strength of that influence here will at once admit that, even for Mr. Gladstone, the task of beating "the bold Buccleuch" on his own ground will be no light one. And when it is remembered that failure with such a candidate would be political ruin, it may well be imagined that the Liberal committee of the constituency acted with due caution when they requested Mr. Gladstone to stand. And indeed when they did so they could promise him, after careful inspection of the register of voters, and ample allowance for all doubtful votes, a clear majority of about three hundred. The Tories have not been idle, however. When the register closed, on the 30th of January last, they had already enrolled about one hundred and fifty Conservative voters ; and if a dissolution of Parliament is postponed long enough they are said to have as many more ready.

The nature of these so-called "faggot" votes was partly explained by Mr. Trevelyan in the recent debate in Parliament on the assimilation of the burgh and county franchise, but a more detailed explanation of the name may not be without interest. A "faggot" means a nominal or fictitious vote, in popular language ; but the modern is essentially different from the old "faggot." Formerly, when the right to vote depended, as it did before the Reform Act of 1832, on the *legal* as distinguished from the *actual* possession of land, it was the practice for owners of land to split their holdings into two or more parts, and so create as many new votes by a curious use of legal fictions.

By the feudal system on which our system of land rights is based, all the land of the country belongs to the sovereign as superior, but the actual property belongs to those who hold as vassals of the crown, for a small, or maybe altogether illusory, annual return. The latter have in their turn vassals possessing under them who are themselves superiors of others, down to the actual possessor or occupier of the land itself. In the time to which we refer, only crown vassals were voters—that is, only those who held land of the required value directly of the crown. But when one of these crown vassals was possessed of more than the required amount of land he resorted to the ingenious device of splitting up the superiority, in right of which he voted, into as many parts as its value would admit of, by (to that extent) divesting himself of the superiority, while retaining the property which he held as vassal of the new voters. Thus, if he held a superiority capable of carrying say six votes, he divested himself of it by a complicated legal machinery to the extent of five-sixths (the *property* of which, however, he still retained as vassal of the "faggot"), and voted himself in right of the remaining one-sixth. It will be seen at once that these latter had no real interest in the land, for the faggot-maker took care that the return he was to make for his own land as vassal to each of the new superiors should be entirely illusory. They were mere men of straw, or rather of parchment, for their right to vote existed simply in the deeds on which their names occurred. From the circumstance that these nominal votes were manufactured out of one original one, they received the name of "faggots"; and the Tories allege that it was largely by means of them that the first Reform bill was passed. If so, it is some justification of them, but they deprived themselves of all importance by that very act. The franchise is now based upon the actual possession of land or houses of a certain fixed value, and no longer upon a mere nominal right of ownership or "superiority." "Faggots" must now be paid for in hard cash, and to that extent are no longer fictitious ; but of course any zealous politician is still willing enough to invest in a sufficient amount of real property to qualify him as a voter, as long as he can have a reasonable return for his money. No sooner, therefore, was Mr. Gladstone's resolution to allow himself, in the event of an election, to be nominated for Midlothian made known, than a letter was industriously but privately circulated by a Conservative agent, offering suitable investments in land and houses in the county for sums of about £120 and £150, the sale to be concluded before the end of January, when the register for the year is closed. Through some mistake one of these was addressed to a stanch Liberal, who at once made it public. The register was examined, lists were published, and the "Tory faggots" became a public scandal.

Of course, the objection to such votes, which was formerly met by the old oath of possession that they were not merely nominal, is unavailing against the new style of "faggot." The faggot has paid for his property, and is entitled to a vote in respect of it. But if not contrary to the letter, the practice is clearly opposed to the spirit, at least, of the election laws. Men can now vote in Midlothian, *e. g.*, who have no interest whatever in the welfare of the county, whose sole object in purchasing property there was to have the vote, and who may, by swamping the real constituency of the district, defeat the aim of the legislature to provide for a fair Parliamentary representation of the legitimate opinion of the country in all its districts. The error lies in making property itself a *qualification*, instead of what it was always intended to be, merely a *test* of qualification. It is men and opinions, not money, that Parliament should represent, and only the practical difficulty of finding any other standard led to fixing possession of a certain amount of property as the necessary qualification for exercising the franchise. But should the new system spread, something must be devised to counteract it ; otherwise any constituency may be bought even more easily and effectually than in the old days of "bribery and corruption," and the wealthiest will become always the ruling party.

I have said the foreign policy of the Government will be the turning-point of the next election, and the present Conservative tactics confirm this view. At the recent election for the Haddington Burghs, the Solicitor-General, the Tory candidate, tried to put the electors off the scent of the real question by drawing, as the *Scotsman* put it, "the red herring of Disestablishment across the trail," and the Edinburgh Conservative Workingmen's Association were treated last night to an elaborate and sophistical defence of the Established Church by a clever young Tory barrister. No doubt, as Lord Hartington mentioned in his speech here a year ago, that is, in Scotland at least, one of the near questions of the future ; but it cannot yet awhile become a good party war-cry, and it dwindles into insignificance in comparison with the present low state of trade and general commercial depression in the country, for which undoubtedly the extravagant and bombastic policy of the Government is

much to blame. There are also signs of Liberal activity in many other constituencies, among which I may mention the proposed formation—which, by the time this reaches you, will in all probability have become a fact—of a general Liberal Association of the electors of the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen. Want of thorough organization has always been the weakness of the Liberal party, and they lost the last election more because their candidate was too much of a local man to secure unity of action between the electors of both universities than on account of the actual superiority of the Lord Advocate, the Tory nominee and present member.

In legal matters we are chiefly interested at present in the question whether the House of Lords will reverse the decision of our Supreme Court here, holding trustees of deceased shareholders in the City of Glasgow Bank personally liable as contributories to its assets. If it does so, the loss to the present shareholders is estimated at between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000, so that the question is one of vital importance to all concerned. Our Court of Session went upon a decision arising out of the failure of the Western Bank in Glasgow twenty years ago. This decision, holding that the liability of trustees who were shareholders in a joint stock company was not limited to the value of the estate they held in trust, was much commented upon at the time, but it has been the law of the land ever since, and as the trustees in the present case could make out no essential difference in their position, the judges here were obliged to follow the decision of the higher court. The House of Lords, however, would seem to have full power to review its former opinion, and I hear that a very strong bench will be formed to hear the case which has been selected as a test to rule a host of similar ones. Instead of the usual five, a number of judges will sit, of whom Lords Selborne and Coleridge will be two, and it is said that the Lord Justice Clerk, president of the second division of our court here, who has a seat in the House of Lords as Baron Moncreiff of Tullibole, will also give his assistance. Besides the legal grounds that a trust estate is, by the law of Scotland, unlike that of England, a distinct entity in law, capable of entering into separate contracts and incurring separate obligations from the trustees in whom it is vested, and the fact that the trustees here never pledged or intended to pledge their individual liability in becoming shareholders of the bank, much may be said from an equitable point of view for the hardship of the position in which they are placed. The consequences of holding them personally liable will require to be obviated for the future by legislative enactment, for no man will accept out of mere friendship a gratuitous office involving such tremendous responsibilities. But, on the other hand, trustees have long known, or ought to have known, their legal position, and probably the greatest difficulty of the court in the present instance will be to get over the almost universal legal maxim, *ignorantia legis neminem excusat*, for every man is presumed to know the law. Indeed, some doubt has been expressed as to the power of the House of Lords itself to alter the law once laid down by it, and in a book just published by two English counsel, upon the procedure and practice of the House in appeal cases, the authors arrive at the clear conclusion that the Lords are bound by their former decisions on points of law, and that there is no instance in recent times in which they have directly reversed a previous judgment or set aside a rule of law which they themselves have laid down. True, Lord Kingsdown and Lord Brougham both declined to adopt this view, and, in common with other high authorities, laid down "that the House of Lords, like every other court of justice, possesses an inherent power to correct an error into which it may have fallen"; but the opinion repeatedly and forcibly expressed by Lord Campbell has received the assent of a still greater number of authorities, that

"The rule which the House of Lords lays down as the ground of its judgment, sitting judicially as the last and supreme court of appeal for this empire, must be taken for law till altered by an act of Parliament, agreed to by the Commons and the crown, as well as by your lordships. The law laid down as your *ratio decidendi* being clearly binding on all inferior tribunals, and on all the rest of the Queen's subjects, if it be not considered as equally binding upon your lordships, this House would be arrogating to itself the right of altering the law and legislating by its own separate authority."

To you who are accustomed to submit the question of the legality or illegality of a law itself to the judgment of your Supreme Court this may not seem a very dire result, but it would be with us utterly opposed to all constitutional principle. At the same time the admitted conflict between the highest authorities, irrespective of the momentous nature of the interests involved, causes the case to be watched both by lawyers and the general public with the keenest interest.

MUNICIPAL INSTRUCTION IN PARIS.

PARIS, March 24, 1879.

THE great colleges of Paris are not dependent on the Municipal Council; they are governed by the University of France. These colleges are now called lyceums, a name which they received at the time of the First Empire; they are the remnants of the old colleges of the University of Paris, and most of them are situated in the old "Latin Quarter"—Louis-le-Grand, St.-Louis, etc. There is only one University college on the right bank of the river, which used to be called Bourbon, and is now called Fontanes. The expenses of these great colleges, as well as of the Faculties of Law, Medicine, Letters, Science, are state expenses.

I will only deal here with the municipal establishments. The city of Paris supports a few high-schools and a large number of primary schools. Paris has a college similar to the University colleges, called Collége Rollin. This municipal college nearly meets all its expenses. It will cost this year $150,280, and its receipts will amount to $148,600; it may, therefore, be considered a self-supporting establishment. It is under the government of the Prefect of the Seine and its expenses are controlled by the Municipal Council.

The expenses for primary instruction and a few high-schools amount in the budget of 1879 to $2,272,240. Here is the special budget of the high-schools: 1st, Collége Chaptal, $225,940, against which must be placed $243,420 of receipts. This college is similar to the University colleges, but, besides the ordinary classes, it has special commercial and industrial classes. 2d, The Turgot School, which costs $33,920, against $4,000 only, paid monthly by the pupils. 3d, The Colbert School, whose expenses are $26,600 and receipts $19,800. 4th, Lavoisier School, expenses $26,380 and receipts $17,180. 5th, Say School, expenses $33,720, and receipts $27,720. I come now to the primary schools. In 1867, out of a population of 296,400 children from two to fourteen years old, there were 139,615 on the rolls of the primary schools of Paris, and 16,085 were received in the establishments which are called children's asylums (*salles d'asile*). Paris had, at that time, 414 boys' schools (111 public schools and 303 free schools). There were 957 girls' schools (848 free and 109 public). The statistics of 1877 give the number of 322,954 children, of which there were 113,190 between the ages of two and six. Out of this number there were 26,718 in the asylums; and out of 209,764 children who were between six and fourteen years, 168,729 were on the rolls of the schools, whether public or free. In that year, 1877, the number of schools for boys was 391 (141 public and 250 free). These numbers show an increase of the public element (30 schools more) and a diminution of the free element (53 schools less). The schools for girls numbered 867, in which there were 144 public schools (increase of 35) and 723 free schools (diminution of 125). In 1877 the asylums were increased to the number of 146. In a period of ten years, from 1867 to 1877, the number of children admitted to these various establishments had increased by 39,795. But the infantine population had meanwhile increased from 296,000 to 323,000—that is to say, by 27,000. You will see also a marked tendency towards a diminution of the free schools, as the public schools have increased in ten years by 65 and the free schools have diminished by 178. This result is owing chiefly to a better management of the public schools. Better houses have been provided for the new public establishments, with larger courts and more healthy rooms.

Whatever may be the defects of our Municipal Council, and they are numerous, it must be confessed that it is animated by a strong desire to promote primary education. "Let us teach our masters to read," said Robert Lowe, when the parliamentary reform was discussed in England. Our Councillors, who are the nominees of universal suffrage, are very anxious to teach universal suffrage to read. But they show themselves very adverse to clerical education. Not only do they desire to keep the clerical masters out of the municipal schools; they would like to abolish even the most simple religious education, such as prayers, the reading of the New and Old Testament, the Catechism. They even go so far in their materialistic zeal as to try to suppress the old and revered religious emblems in the schools. The cross, which is generally the only ornament of the bare walls of the schools, is an object of aversion with many of them. So far, our Councillors have not succeeded in closing all our municipal schools against the congregations. The workingmen of Belleville and Montmartre, though imbued with communistic and materialistic ideas, prefer in their hearts to have their young children confided during the whole day to the priests, in the schools for boys, and to the Sisters in the schools for girls. There is very near my house a municipal school kept by Sisters, and from my windows I can see the children during their

recreation. I hear their singing, for music is taught them, and I see at times the girls occupied in washing clothes, in keeping the rooms in order. I have been for years witnessing at a distance the working of this school. I often meet the children in their promenade. They are clean and seem very happy under the mild rule of the admirable women who devote their whole life to what is in their eyes a religious object. Every day almost some carriage stops before the door of the school; there is a committee of ladies of the quarter who go by turns to inspect the school. Altogether, the whole system seems to be conceived in a true Christian spirit.

It is a great pity that such schools as this, and they form the majority still of the municipal schools, should be persecuted by our councillors. Each year they pass a resolution closing the schools against the clerical element; each year this resolution is rejected by the Prefect of the Seine, as the congregations for the teaching of youth are authorized by the state. Hitherto the quarrels of the Municipal Council with the church have had no effect, as the general Government, the Executive, and the Chambers has shown no intention of beginning a *Kulturkampf*. The situation, however, is rapidly changing. The present Minister of Public Instruction, M. Jules Ferry, is not only a theoretical free-thinker, he is aggressive; he has just brought before the Chambers a bill which is aimed at the exclusion of the Church from the higher education. I will not go now into the details of this bill, but clearly if the anti-clerical and, in my opinion, anti-liberal view of a monopoly of state education prevails in the Chamber, the members of the educational congregations will soon be shut out of the primary schools in Paris. Such a step would not only have the character of a religious persecution, it would, at least for a number of years, throw immense difficulties in the way of the education of the people. The lay element is not numerous enough at present for *all* the schools of Paris and of the country. The expenses of a lay school are larger than the expenses of a clerical school, as the members of the educational congregations are satisfied with a minimum of wages which is absolutely insufficient for men and women who live an ordinary life. If a revolutionary law could be voted to-morrow forbidding clerical education all over the country, it may safely be affirmed that two-thirds of the children of France would have to renounce education till new lay teachers in very large numbers could be procured.

The last census of Paris shows that the population is composed of 1,754,000 Catholics, 32,000 Lutherans and Calvinists, and 23,500 Jews. The mayors of the arrondissements of Paris, who are the nominees of the central Government (there are seventeen mayors), are the connecting link between the church and the state. These mayors hold half municipal and half imperial functions; it is so all over France, and the dualism of their character has always been the reason why their election could not be left entirely to the universal suffrage of the inhabitants. We have had many laws on the election of the mayors; sometimes they have been appointed by the Government quite arbitrarily; sometimes the Government chose them only from the list of the municipal councillors, who are elected directly by the people; sometimes the law has been different for the great towns and for the villages. The mayor represents directly, not the electors but the central Government, in a thousand instances. He supervises the lists made of all the men who come of age and who enter the army; he is a sanitary officer, with large executive powers; he controls the registration of deaths, births, etc. The mayors of Paris have two and sometimes three *adjoints*, who are also appointed by the Home Minister. The mayor is, by right, a member of the vestry of the churches. These vestries were instituted in 1810. They consist of a delegation of the churchmen, and superintend all the expenses of the church, except the salary of the priests, the ministers, and the rabbis, who are paid directly by the state. The vestries see to all the reconstructions and repairs of the churches and presbyteries. The gifts of the churchmen are one of their resources, but they draw their main receipts from the interments, from what is called in France the *pompes funèbres*. The municipal tax on interments is marked in the budget of 1879 for $76,000.

Since the law of April 9, 1811, the municipalities are the proprietors of all the churches. They are in consequence bound to repair them, but the law applies first to these repairs the whole revenue of the vestry, and it is only when this revenue is insufficient that the municipality is bound to pay for the difference. The city of Paris has to keep in repair 113 religious edifices; it has, therefore, a religious budget. There are, however, some churches which are classed among the historical monuments—the finest and largest of them, of course, such as Notre Dame and Saint-Germain-des-Près. These religious monuments are considered as a part of the national treasury, and are kept up at the expense of the state. On an average the city of Paris pays about $46,000 for repairs, and it has to give besides annually $36,400 for the lodgment of priests or ministers. $80,400 is a very trifling sum for a city like Paris, but our radical Councillors are incessantly at war with these items. There is also a constant war between the Municipal Council and the administration of the "pompes funèbres." The legislation on interments goes as far back as Prairial 23, year XII. Article 22 of the law of that date says: "The vestries of the churches and consistories shall *alone* have the right to furnish the carriages, hangings, ornaments, and generally what is used in interments for their pomp and decency." The article adds that the vestries shall have the right to exercise this privilege themselves or to farm it to a company, which will act under the control of the municipal authority. The vestries, therefore, give all the care of interments either to one of their own officers or to a company which pays them a rent. It is said by the Municipal Councillors that the profits of the great company which has the farming of the interments are scandalously large. I doubt it; and certainly the expenses of interment are not as large in Paris as they are in London. The Municipal Council has, of course, many quarrels with the "pompes funèbres" on account of the civil interments. The company treats with the vestries of the churches; its rates include, in consequence, a journey to and from the church; it cannot well alter them when the visit to the church is declined. You see at once that each civil interment becomes the source of a conflict.

I will not dilate on the technical services of Paris—the streets, the sewers, the water-works, etc.—though the subject is very interesting, but I will in my next letter give you an idea of the finances of the city.

Correspondence.

"COMPARISONS ARE ODIOUS."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Mr. Bartlett, in the seventh edition of his 'Familiar Quotations,' besides giving the quotation "Comparisons are odorous," from Shakspere—"Much Ado about Nothing," Act iii. Sc. 5—refers at page 666, under the head of "Proverbial Expressions which are of Common Origin," to the following authors for the other form of Dogberry's maxim—"Comparisons are odious": Burton, 'Anat. of Mel.,' Pt. iii. Sec. 3; Heywood, 'A Woman killed with Kindness,' i. 1; Donne, El. 8; Herbert, 'Jacula Prudentum.' He also (p. 150) cites Granger, 'Golden Aphroditis.' All of these authors (except perhaps the last) were so nearly contemporaneous that this phrase was apparently a popular proverb in their time. Burton lived 1576-1640; Herbert, 1593-1632; Donne, 1573-1631; Heywood wrote as early as 1596, and died in 1649. I am unable to ascertain Granger's date by any sources accessible to me, including Allibone. "Much Ado about Nothing" was entered in Stationers' Register, August 4/23, 1600. It is possible, though not probable, that three of the authors named used the expression as early as Shakspere did. And Dogberry's comical blunder seems to show that Shakspere meant, as a little touch of nature, to have him stumble over a saying that was in everybody's mouth. But Mr. Bartlett has overlooked the source whence Shakspere may have derived it, or at least a source greatly antedating Shakspere. In 'De Laudibus Legum Angliæ,' by Sir John Fortescue (*circa* 1394–1484), the Chancellor says to the Prince, in discussing the comparative merits of the common law and the civil law: "I remember a saying of yours, my Prince, that *comparisons are odious*, and therefore I am not very fond of making them" (chap. xix.) The 'De Laudibus' was written by the Chancellor while in exile in Holland from 1463 to 1471, as a book of instruction for his royal pupil, Prince Edward. From the mode of expression adopted in the sentence quoted we may, perhaps, infer that even this "saying" was a proverb. C. E. Shepard.

Fond du Lac, Wis., March 31, 1879.

YELLOW-FEVER ON BOARD THE "PLYMOUTH."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The return of the U. S. S. *Plymouth* to Portsmouth, N. H., with yellow fever on board presents a phase in the yellow-fever discussion which deserves and will receive investigation. While the *Plymouth* was lying at Santa Cruz, W. I., last autumn, several cases of yellow fever occurred. There had been but little intercourse with the shore, and one

of the cases was that of a marine who had not been out of the ship since its arrival in the tropics. The ship returned at once to the United States, and remained during the past winter at the Navy-yard, Boston. For more than a month of that time the ship was in dry-dock, with no fires on board, and became thoroughly chilled. The officers and men were transferred from the ship, and the stores landed on the wharves and exposed in the open air to the cold weather, or placed in warehouses not heated. The temperature in the ship at times was as low as zero (Fahrenheit), and water froze in all parts of the ship. Large quantities of sulphur were also burned in the ship, the hatches and air-ports being carefully closed. Considerable repairs were made in the woodwork of the ship, a quantity of rotten wood being removed, the ship having been continuously in service since October, 1874.

On the 15th of March the ship sailed for a cruise in the West Indies, and on the 23d turned back on account of yellow fever again appearing on board. The ship had only reached lat. 27° 40′ N., not having come within the limits of the tropics. The maximum temperature of the air on deck was 77° ; but the temperature of the berth or sleeping deck had risen on the 19th for a short time to 88°, when the hatches had been battened down on account of a gale of wind.

The most probable reason for the germs of the fever remaining on board seems to be the presence of a considerable quantity of rotten wood which, not weakening the ship, was allowed to remain. From the porous nature of rotten timber it would naturally be very difficult to eradicate the infectious element either by freezing or fumigating. The report of the medical board detailed by the Navy Department to examine the matter is looked for with great interest. The question of a national refrigerating ship may receive some light from the proposed investigation.

NAVY.

U. S. S. "PLYMOUTH," April 9.

SOURCES OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HISTORY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : The seventy-second report of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, although somewhat in the mutual-admiration style, is still of much scientific interest. There are, for instance, two papers on Yucatan which ought by no means to be overlooked. One of them is written by Dr. Augustus Le Plongeon, the other by his devoted wife. The doctor is a courageous, hard-working, enthusiastic field-archæologist, who deserves not only full credit for his achievements, but, above all, material support for a continuation of his work in Yucatan. We overlook all his failings in the shape of hypotheses and theories (some of which even surpass the worst extravagances of the late lamented Abbé Brasseur), and cheerfully affirm that he ought to be encouraged and assisted. His excavations and collections, his photographs and drawings, should be secured in time for some American institution, and we do not doubt that a man of his activity and honest zeal would increase the number of such objects in a comparatively short time. Of course Dr. Le Plongeon would have to submit to seeing his treasures differently rated by others, and perhaps even examined critically in the light of documentary evidence somewhat different from that to which he mainly appeals.

And here permit us to suggest to Dr. Le Plongeon, as well as to Mr. Stephen Salisbury, jr., that besides the so-called field-work there is, in the shape of collections, still another branch to cultivate of a very high value. Yucatan, like any other part of Spanish America, yet contains precious remains of MSS. relations, official documents, ecclesiastical writings, all more or less of an early date. There may not be many left, although there once were many ; but these few should be obtained, and archives (public or private) and private libraries should be ransacked for such a purpose. It must not be forgotten that without the help of such accessories all conclusions based upon monuments are necessarily in the highest degree suspicious. Now, if there is one Spanish-American State which has been as yet imperfectly canvassed in that line it is Yucatan. Instead of following M. Brasseur in his wildest fancies, the Worcester antiquarian would far better strive to imitate him in what made him one of the greatest lights of American archæological science—namely, his *collection and faithful publication of original documents.*

Mr. Edward Everett Hale's "Report of the Council" to some extent illustrates the urgency of cultivating the study of the older sources. The report is interesting and deserves careful reading ; but it is surprising to notice that in the lengthy discussion about sources relating to the older history of New Mexico Mr. Hale omits all the most important documents of the sixteenth and of the seventeenth centuries. About Vasquez de Coronado, for instance, he completely ignores the fullest report on hand—that of Castañeda y Nagera, a soldier of the expedition. The great chronicler of the Indies, Oviedo y Valdés, and his still greater successor, Herrera, are, the one completely omitted, the other barely mentioned. No wonder Mr. Hale complains about deficiency in sources ! There are many others yet on hand, and, since he refers to the documentary treasures on that subject hidden in the city of Mexico, we might suggest that the second volume of Señor Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta's 'Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México' contains valuable indirect information, whereas the 'Historia de Nueva-Galicia' (of Mota-Padilla), edited by the same distinguished gentleman, is of great direct value. We allude to this because Mr. Hale's report assumes for the history of the former Mexican territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and California a number of known sources far less than that really existing and known to historians. Nevertheless, his appeal for further researches deserves to be cordially sustained. He asks only for this western country what we beg for Yucatan. Let us hope that *he*, at least, will be listened to in this case.

But the Society need not for such a purpose go much outside of the circle of its own members. Mr. Lenox, of this city, has purchased and still owns that invaluable lot of "Americana" which formed the stock of the late Mr. Ternaux-Compans's collection. How many are there of these manuscripts which have never been published ? Why not, for instance, print at least Fray Pedro Simon's "Noticias historiales" in full ? Mr. Lenox has in MS. the second and third volumes of this great work (the first volume alone, and a few fragments of the others, were published). A Spanish impression of Camargo's 'Historia de Tlaxcala' would also be very desirable. Therefore let the American Antiquarian Society, if it really is in earnest about work on Spanish America, not forget, over the hidden archæological treasures of Yucatan, the not less important ones lying at its own door, and which need no exhumation.

A. D.

A LAST WORD ABOUT SCHOLARSHIPS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : The discussions on the Harvard scholarships in late numbers of the *Nation* have called attention to a subject of great interest to every one concerned in college management, and as all experience is valuable, and ours is in some respects peculiar, I offer a few words on the plan we have adopted in the College of the City of New York.

It must be noted in the beginning that the difference between our college and others in regard to the plan of helping students through financial difficulties is only one of many differences. As all our pupils are from this city, attendance here involves no separation of the student from his family, no travelling, no apprehensions of unforeseen expenses which may be encountered far from home. To enter here is a much less serious venture than to travel away to Harvard, Yale, or Cornell. Moreover, all the preparation required for admission to our Introductory Class can be obtained in the grammar-schools of the city. The outlay required after admission is also very small, inasmuch as not only tuition but books and stationery are free. It naturally happens, therefore, that while we draw upon all classes of the community, we reach out much more widely among the poorer classes than any other college in the country, and hundreds of boys enter here who have no intention of graduating, who only mean to stay a year or two, and expect then to begin to earn their own living. Among these, however, are some enterprising ones who soon come to appreciate the value of the course of training on which they have entered, and resolve to stay to the end. These generally contrive, here as elsewhere, to support themselves, wholly or in part ; and so it comes about that on the same benches with the sons of some of the wealthiest men in the city there are often students who have distributed newspapers before they came to college in the morning, or who spend their afternoon in giving private lessons, or their evening in bookkeeping. To some of these, however, as well as to others who were in good enough circumstances when they entered, there comes a time when even the little expense that parents have had to bear is too much, or when employment fails, and they must leave unless they can be helped in some way. To these, when their scholarship and character are good, an association of our Alumni *loan*, from a fund subscribed some twenty years ago, such sums as are needed. The money is loaned without interest, and with only the promise of the borrower to repay it as soon as he is able. The names of the borrowers are known to none but the trustees of the fund and the auditors of their accounts. The sums loaned to any

one student are generally small, never exceeding $150 in any one year, the case being generally that some temporary difficulty compels the student to apply for help.

It will be observed that by this plan the two functions of stimulating the industry of the student and of helping him in financial straits are quite separated. The latter alone is the business of our Students' Aid Fund; indeed, the other meets with no great favor among us, most of us, I think, inclining to the belief that all prizes which none but the best men can hope to win stimulate only those who need no driving, and that if prizes are given at all, they ought to be arranged on a sort of handicap system, so as to draw out the second and third-rate men.

Without underrating other systems, we are disposed to look with considerable favor on our own. It gives help just where it is needed; it saves the self-respect of the student, making him, indeed, his own helper after all; it enables many a one to graduate who would not be able to do so without it; and it does its work at a surprisingly small cost. The entire fund is small, yet, as it is continually coming back and being used again, we are able to make it do a good deal of work. For instance, there have been eight students using the fund in one year, while hardly more than one or two respectable scholarships could be provided for out of the interest of the gross sum. Nor have we any difficulty in getting back the moneys loaned. Even the largest debtors have paid pretty promptly, and always with grateful acknowledgments. In the few cases in which there has been any considerable delay, actual misfortunes have interfered, and even in these the trustees look for repayment as soon as the condition of the borrowers' affairs improves a little.

The work of higher education is developing in the present day in so many different directions, and the idea which our college represents in this State is taking root so firmly in other parts of the Union, that I suppose it is fair to assume that every detail as to the difficulties encountered and the methods of meeting them is of importance. A. G. C.

College of the City of New York, New York, March 26, 1879.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the discussion on scholarships in your columns no mention has been made of the important differences to be taken into account in pressing any analogy between scholarships at the English universities and scholarships at Harvard. The college scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge cannot be explained without reference to the scholarships at Winchester, Eton, Harrow, and elsewhere on the one hand, and the university scholarships and college fellowships on the other. These various foundations have all of them become parts of a scheme which aims at encouraging independent study more thorough and extended than that required for a university degree, even with the highest honors. No college scholarship is awarded except by a special examination far more exacting than any matriculation examination. For this competition the studies pursued by a scholar at Winchester, Eton, or Harrow are the suitable preparation. For instance, Greek and Latin verses are required of those who hold scholarships at the public schools and at all the colleges, while at Oxford they may be dispensed with for a university degree. College scholarships given for knowledge of history, theology, or natural science require also study not necessary for a degree in honors.

The holder of a college scholarship is expected by the authorities of his college—and in many cases required—to go on with his special studies while he is reading for his degree, and to present himself for university scholarships such as the Hertford, the Ireland, and the Craven scholarships. If unsuccessful in this competition his special study still bears its fruit in fitting him to compete for a college fellowship. To successful competitors for the Hertford, Ireland, and Craven scholarships, the Derby scholarship is open *without examination*. The Derby and the Eldon law scholarships are the only university scholarships at Oxford which are to be obtained without special examination on special study.

At Harvard, on the other hand, no special matriculation examination is passed by candidates for scholarships, no special examinations are held at any time during the college course for scholarships, and no work beyond that necessary for a creditable degree is required of scholars. Stated yearly examinations are held which *must* be passed by all candidates for a degree. According to the result of these examinations scholarships are awarded to those who qualify as candidates by showing that they need the money. Remove this qualification, and the Harvard scholarships will be open in a sense very different from that in which college scholarships in England are open. Among the sons of rich men the number of those who have such an interest in their work that they will make every effort for a creditable degree, is larger than the number of those who would find time and inclination to pursue a continuous course of independent study before and after entering college. Hence the special examinations held for scholarships in England are a safeguard, and not more than ten out of every hundred scholarships fall to those who have not been spurred to independent study by the need of money. There is therefore good reason to fear that, by opening the Harvard scholarships to all alike, the authorities of that college would find a disproportionate number of its scholarships passing into the hands of students who neither needed nor worked for the money, but might take it as a pleasant accompaniment of interesting work done for a degree. To this there is no parallel in the administration of English scholarships.

Very respectfully, A University Scholar (Oxford).

Cambridge, Mass., April 6, 1879.

Notes.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. have in press 'A Guide to the Popular Terms in Science and Art,' by C. Bankes Brookes; 'The Climate of America,' its influence in health and disease, by Dr. William Pepper; 'Tales of Old-Thule,' collected and copiously illustrated by J. Moyr Smith; Camoens's 'Lusiad,' translated into English verse in the Spenserian stanza by Robert Ffrench Duff; a rhythmic prose translation of Virgil's 'Æneid,' by Henry Hubbard Pierce, U.S.A.; and 'Rabelais,' by Walter Besant, in "Foreign Classics for English Readers" series.——The last volume of "Ancient Classics for English Readers," upon Pindar, by the Rev. F. D. Morice, M.A., published by the above-named house, contains as good an account as we have seen of a poet who is well known only to a few among scholars even. Its chapters afford a clear knowledge of the place of the Greek games in Greek life, and show the working of a poetic mind upon them as illustrations of human powers: and the very brief account of the philosophy and morals of Pindar indicates the principles to be noticed in studying his poems. The translations are from the anonymously published work of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, and are spirited and musical.——A. D. F. Randolph & Co. will shortly bring out, under the title of 'A Life Worth Living,' a biography of Mrs. Emily Bliss Gould, of Rome, by the Rev. L. W. Bacon.——D. Appleton & Co. will be the American publishers of the school series of "Classical and English Writers," to be edited by Mr. J. R. Green.——G. P. Putnam's Sons announce for early publication 'Talks on Art,' a translation of the late Thomas Couture's 'Entretiens d'Atelier'; 'Sketches and Studies in Paris,' by Edmondo de Amicis; 'Thoughts on the Religious Life,' by Joseph Alden, D.D.; 'The Round Trip,' by way of Panama to the States and Territories of the Pacific Coast, by John Codman; and 'Railroad Accidents: their Causes and Prevention,' by Charles Francis Adams, jr.——Apropos of 'The King's Secret,' D. Lothrop & Co., Boston, issue a new edition, at a reduced price, of the "Bungener Historical Series," namely, 'Bourdaloue and Louis XIV.,' 'Louis XV. and his Times,' 'Rabaut and Bridaine,' 'The Tower of Constancy.'——Those who wish to understand thoroughly the grounds of the decision of the Board of Enquiry in the case of Gen. Fitz-John Porter will be materially aided by a colored map printed in last week's *Army and Navy Journal* in connection with the report itself, which is republished in full.——We have received from Portland, Oregon, the second Catalogue of the Library Association of that city. It is a neatly-printed octavo of 174 pp. in double columns, and in its arrangement it principally follows the Catalogue of the Mercantile Library of San Francisco—a safe guide. For the catchwords of the Catalogue a rather fatiguing type has unfortunately been chosen.——From the Pacific Coast we have also received a sheet of photographs of Chinese lepers in the San Francisco pest-house, "dedicated by the *California Demokrat*, Fredk. Hess & Co., publishers, to the Friends of Chinese Immigration throughout the United States." The friends of Chinese immigration are perhaps not so numerous as the foes of demagogic and faithless legislation; and, as a contribution to the recent discussion which ended in the President's veto, this pathological broadside has about as much force and pertinency as a similar exhibit of European syphilitic patients would have on the question of admitting foreigners to the Treaty ports of China.——Mr. F. W. Christern sends us the third series of Alexandre Dumas, jr.'s, 'Entr' Actes.' The new volume, still preserving a sort of chronological order, opens with a preface to Quatrelles's 'Le Chevalier Beautemps.' This is succeeded by the author's famous 'Homme-femme' (June, 1872), which solves the interesting question, "Faut-il tuer

la femme adultère ? Faut-il lui pardonner ?" with the final word addressed to his imaginary son, "Tue-la." A long preface on Goethe's 'Faust' (July, 1873) is the most valuable part of the contents. About the still fresh prefaces to 'Manon Lescaut' and 'Daphnis et Chloé' we have lately had our say; the latter concludes the volume, and, curiously enough, is made to follow directly the address in which Dumas awarded the Montyon *prix de vertu*. We should also mention the author's *discours de réception* at the French Academy, an eulogium on Lebrun. ——*Polybiblion* informs us that the Boston Public Library is about to publish a catalogue of its rich collection of Spanish books, and "has entrusted the task to Mr. Ticknor, well known for his labors on Spanish literature."——In the course of its ninth volume, *O Novo Mundo*, the Brazilian illustrated monthly, published in this city, has reached its one hundredth number, and the editor, Mr. J. C. Rodrigues, who was its founder and is also its publisher, celebrates the occasion in a novel and interesting manner. The entire number is occupied, for the text, with notable articles reproduced from the past volumes, and, for the plates, with the cream of the full-page illustrations covering the same period. In a brief and modest preface Mr. Rodrigues relates the remarkable success of a "journal published 5,000 miles from the country in which it circulates, and in a country where, out of forty million inhabitants, perhaps not more than a hundred use the idiom in which it is printed." *O Novo Mundo*, in fact, is one of the most widely circulated journals in Brazil, and justly also one of the most esteemed. It has well fulfilled its aim of making the United States known both in its moral and material aspects to the people of the great southern empire.

—The Quincy (Mass.) Public Library has issued its first supplement, including the additions since September, 1875. There are a few short explanatory notes, but the long "notes by the trustees," which made the main work one of the best of our American catalogues, have been omitted, not because they had proved not to be useful, but because "the trustees" (a pseudopolynym under which was concealed, our readers may remember, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr.) have not had time to prepare them. Nevertheless the supplement has the general appearance of having been prepared under the care of one who steadily kept in mind the purpose of a catalogue in a town library, to furnish as much assistance and stimulus as possible to untrained readers. One good feature has been retained and extended. Under Fiction the titles of novels are almost always followed by a few explanatory words, as "Woman-Hater [English life. Education of women]," "York, A, and Lancaster Rose [Girl life in England at the present day]," "Vineta [Eastern Germany. Polish insurrection of 1863]." Any one who remembers how seldom the titles of novels are anything but a puzzle and a delusion will appreciate the aid given by this simple device to readers who flatter themselves that they can improve their minds by novel-reading, and try to exercise some little judgment in the selection of their amusement. "Fiction, Juvenile," is divided into classes suited to "Boys 11 to 14," "Boys 12 to 16," "Boys from 12 upwards," with similar rubrics for children and for girls. There is one new and entirely original feature—a collection of titles of "Short Stories, which have appeared in periodicals, and have not been republished. They can usually be read at one sitting, and are intended to form a selection for the use of those who wish for light reading, and do not care to begin a long book." Surely the force of condescension can no further go. At the Conference of Librarians in Philadelphia it was considered doubtful whether public libraries ought to have any fiction at all, and for years we have been listening to denunciation of the mental weakness that will not read philosophy and science and history, and persists in calling for 75 per cent. of works of the imagination; and yet here is provision made for the babes, for whose intellectual digestion even a novel is too heavy. Is there any lower depth ?

—We have received the prospectus of a "Society for the purpose of furthering and directing archæological and artistic investigation and research." Its projectors anticipate from it great services "not only to the science of archæology, but to classical and Biblical studies, and to the fine arts, by quickening interest in antiquity and by increasing the resources of our universities and museums." The fund created by annual assessments is to be used for the equipment and support of expeditions of research. When a membership of one hundred is assured, a meeting will be called for the purpose of organization. The circular is signed by President Eliot, of Harvard, by several professors, and by well-known citizens of Boston. Persons desirous of joining such a society are requested to send their names to Prof. C. E. Norton, Cambridge, before April 21.

—Mr. W. J. Stillman, whose success in photography has been marked, proposes to issue one hundred sets of a series of photographs illustrative of Tuscan Gothic, and Renaissance architecture, provided a sufficient number of subscribers is obtained. They will be taken by the Woodburytype or autotype process, according to the fitness of the negative for one or the other method. There will be twenty-five views with a folio, the prints being cut to 7x5 and mounted on cardboard 10x14, at a cost of $20 per set. Mr. Stillman's thorough acquaintance with art will ensure a good choice of subjects, and he will avoid those which are commonly to be found. The series cannot fail to be valuable to students of architecture.

—*L'Art* for the 23d of March, 1879, contains a long article in answer to Mr. Vedder and to the numerous allusions to the way in which he was treated last autumn. The editors must have felt it an important matter, that they should give it a page and a half, in fine print, of their awkwardly large *format*. Mr. Vedder's letter is given in English, and a translation into French of a part of it, and then the reply takes the following shape: First, it is said that if Mr. Vedder objects to the engraving of *two* pictures when he had consented to only *one*, the editor apologizes for that "*malentendu*" (of course Mr. Vedder cared nothing about that!); secondly, the editor declines to admit that he is bound to praise the picture he reproduces; third, it is stated that this is not the first time that *L'Art* has criticised pretty sharply works which it has reproduced, and that artists could be named, worth certainly as much as Mr. Vedder, who have preferred criticism to silence, and have offered their work again after unfavorable criticism on previous occasions; and, finally, it is reasoned at considerable length that criticism must be free, and that M. Tardieu was discharging a duty in saying what he thought. It is true that a journal is not bound to praise unreservedly the works of art which it reproduces by permission of their authors; it is true that criticism ought to be free and uninfluenced even by good-nature. Probably no person not immediately interested as an advocate of Mr. Vedder's work would have objected to criticism of anything like an usual character; but to visit with unmeasured blame the pictures which you have asked permission to copy is not the thing. It must be observed that not one good quality was admitted in Mr. Vedder's work; it was abused heartily, and the drawings made from the pictures were praised at the pictures' expense. Now, that is not criticism at all, unless the pictures were of the very worst and lowest order, and, if they were as bad as that, why were they engraved at all ? Mr. Vedder certainly had a right to resent the treatment he received; and *L'Art* has got itself into this scrape merely by entrusting to a writer who is not sufficiently critical, and not light-handed enough, the difficult task of criticising works from a new country and not quite submitted to old canons.

—A very fully annotated bibliography of Tennyson's works, with the addition of some interesting biographical and critical matter, has been lately published under the title of 'Tennysoniana' (London: Pickering & Co. 1879). It contains an account of all the poems which Tennyson wrote, or is supposed to have written, some of which, from their rarity, are almost unknown, and a description of all the editions, with reprints of many variations in the readings. Tennyson has been so given to working over his poems after they have been printed that, with such a guide as this book, one can easily study the poet's art and see his taste and judgment at work, selecting, refining, rejecting, until the more perfect form emerges before our eyes. No one could study the alterations in "The Princess," for example, through five editions without gaining a useful knowledge of artistic workmanship in poetry. The volume contains also an interesting comparison of passages from the "In Memoriam" with some from Shakspere's sonnets, a long list of Scriptural references in the poems, some striking classical parallelisms (though we notice with surprise an entire omission of all Tennyson's obligations to Theocritus), a description of the poet's portraits, a complete bibliography of English editions, and a list of more than a hundred critical notices in magazines. The glimpse we get of the poet's college life with Arthur Hallam, Kemble, Dean Alford, and Lord Houghton is very pleasant, and the account of the unfavorable reviews of his early works (in one of which Christopher North calls Arthur Hallam a "crazy charlatan") is amusing. An excellent index closes the volume.

—Among recent English announcements we note the following: 'Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes,' from the lively pen of R. Louis Stevenson; 'A Nook in the Apennines: a Summer beneath the Chestnuts,' by L. Scott; a selection from Wordsworth's poems, by Matthew Arnold, for Macmillan & Co.'s "Golden Treasury Series"; a new volume

of 'Public Addresses,' by John Bright, edited by Prof. Thorold Rogers, and consisting of extra-Parliamentary speeches only; a volume of 'Essays on Art and Archæology,' by C. T. Newton, a collection of lectures, memoirs, and articles representing a period of nearly thirty years; a new edition of Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities'; 'The History of the Administration of John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland,' by James Geddes; and a systematic exhibit of George Combe's contributions to education, edited by William Joly, one of H. M.'s Inspectors of Schools.

—The sixth and last concert of the Chickering Hall series, under Mr. Carlberg, took place on Saturday night. It opened with a vigorous rendering of Beethoven's overture to "Coriolanus." Mr. Wilhelmj, whose presence sufficed to attract a numerous and appreciative audience, played for the first time in this country a concerto by Rubinstein. This delightful composition, which is entirely different in form and style from other violin concertos, afforded the artist an opportunity of displaying all the breadth and fulness of his tone. The first movement is a beautiful andante. There are no break-neck bravura passages in it; nothing but an uninterrupted flow of a lovely melody for the solo instrument, of that dreamy Eastern character which distinguishes Rubinstein's best efforts. The second movement is brilliant and more in the virtuoso style, but all technical difficulties seem to vanish before Mr. Wilhelmj's marvellous execution. He played later a Réverie by Vieuxtemps, one of those tiresome, commonplace melodies which might well have been omitted. Miss Beebe sang an aria by Mozart, "Non temer, amato bene." Though a great favorite with lovers of English glees and ballads, she lacks voice, training, and taste for a work of this kind. She was encouraged by the applause of her numerous friends to give as an encore a song by Mr. Bartlett. A very insignificant orchestral composition, "Love Scene," from an opera by Hamerik, hardly calls for more than a passing mention. Schubert's great Symphony in C—great in every sense of the word—was very finely rendered by Mr. Carlberg's orchestra.

—In reviewing this series of concerts we must confess that if Mr. Carlberg has not always been successful in offering interesting programmes he has paid a judicious regard to the forces at his disposal. His orchestra at the beginning of the season was composed of heterogeneous elements, and he was a stranger to them, as they were to him. Considering all this, Mr. Carlberg has done good and honest work, for which he deserves credit. One great fault in the programmes has been that they were invariably too long. The very first concert comprised two symphonies, the D minor by Schumann, and the A major, No. 7, by Beethoven, besides Spohr's "Concerto dramatique," played by Mr. Remenyi, and followed, as encores, by mazurkas, nocturnes, etc., by Chopin and Mendelssohn. The second concert opened with Bargiel's overture to "Medea." Mr. S. B. Mills played Beethoven's G major concerto, No. 4; and a romanza from Suite No. 1 by Nicholl, and Mendelssohn's Scotch Symphony in A minor, were the remaining orchestral numbers. The third concert opened with Mendelssohn's overture to "Ruy Blas" ("by special request," as the programme alleged). Beethoven's fourth Symphony in B, an orchestral scene from Wagner's "Siegfried," and a gavotte by Martini, arranged for string instruments by Mr. Dulcken, were also performed at this concert. Mr. Hoffman played Brüll's Piano-forte Concerto, which he later in the season repeated at one of the concerts of the Philharmonic Society. The fourth concert was far more interesting than any of its predecessors, and was, all things considered, the best of the series. Raff's poetical symphony, "Im Walde," received a very fair rendering. Mr. Rummel was the soloist of the evening, and played with unusual brilliancy and fire Schumann's Piano-forte Concerto in A minor, Liszt's Hungarian Fantaisie, and, as an encore, the finale of Weber's "Concertstück." A very fine rendering of Wagner's "Eine Faust Ouverture" was the principal feature of the fifth concert. The rest of the programme contained nothing of stirring interest. The soloists were two young ladies, Miss Josephine Bates, who played Beethoven's Concerto in C minor, and Miss Gertrude Franklin, who sang an air from Handel's "Acis and Galatea," neither of whom succeeded in making any impression by their efforts. In fact, in all these concerts not one of the lady solo singers was above the average.

—The mediæval drama has recently received two important historical contributions. The first, by Professor Alessandro D'Ancona, 'Origini del Teatro in Italia: Studi sulle Sacre Rappresentazioni, seguiti da un appendice sulle rappresentazioni del contado toscano' (Florence, 1877), is an introduction to the same author's 'Sacre Rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV., XV., XVI.' (Florence, 1872, 3 vols.) The latter work contained a selection of the religious plays peculiar to Tuscany, and the collector promised in the preface to publish soon a volume on the history, sources, and form of these plays. After an interval of five years appear two volumes instead of one; and, although mainly devoted to Italy, their range is wider than might be expected from the title. The first eighty pages are devoted to a general history of the mediæval drama outside of Italy. Following in the footsteps of the late Édélestand Du Méril, the author traces the two main sources of the modern drama, the classical drama and the liturgy, and then passes to a consideration of the religious drama in Italy. He first proves that the plays mentioned in various parts of the country during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were probably dumb shows and pageants. The real source of the sacred drama in Italy is to be found in the religious exercises of the Flagellants of Umbria in the latter half of the thirteenth century. The simplest form was the *lauda*, a popular hymn, based on the liturgy, which afterwards became dramatic in its character, but was only sung, not acted. The second stage was the *devozione*, which was acted in the churches, and from which sprung the two forms of the Italian sacred drama, the *sacre rappresentazioni* and the popular *maggi*. The *devozione* spread from Umbria and appeared in the fifteenth century in Florence as the *sacra rappresentazione*. Henceforth Tuscany is the home of the new drama and sets the fashion for the rest of Italy. D'Ancona then traces very fully the history of the *sacre rappresentazioni* through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the remainder of the work being given to a consideration of their external and internal forms. The appendix contains an interesting account of the popular dramas, the *maggi*, still performed by the peasants in various parts of Tuscany. The most interesting result of D'Ancona's studies is the proof that the Italians possessed all the elements of a national drama, which the Renaissance destroyed by substituting for the already flourishing popular drama developed from the liturgy the artificial and scholarly drama imitated from the Latin theatre.

—The other work alluded to concerns more particularly the French drama, and is entitled 'Le Drame chrétien au Moyen-Âge,' by Marius Sepet (Paris, 1878). It is a collection of articles which have already appeared in various French periodicals, and is divided into six parts. The first, *La Tragédie française et le Drame national*, contains a brief account of the liturgical origin of the drama and the profound change effected by the Renaissance, which, as in Italy, destroyed the national drama. The writer sees the necessity of a return to the popular traditions interrupted in the sixteenth century by the Renaissance if France wishes to create a national theatre. The next two articles are intended to acquaint the reader with the French mediæval drama, the author selecting for examination the cycles of Christmas and Easter, in each exhibiting the progress from the liturgical to the semi-liturgical drama, and then to the perfected *mystère*. The fourth article, *Les Vies de Saints*, gives an idea of the miracle play, the subject of the one in question being a miracle of St. Nicholas. The following article describes in a very vivid manner the mode of performance of a *mystère* at the end of the fifteenth century, and the final article gives an account of a Christian drama in the sixteenth century ("The Murder of Cain," by a Norman priest, Thomas le Coq). M. Sepet's book, which is intended to be popular in the best sense, will be found very readable, and will doubtless attract attention to a subject too long neglected and by which modern literature may well profit. More technical as well as more recent is the same author's 'Les Prophètes du Christ: Étude sur les origines du Théâtre au Moyen-Âge' (Paris, 1878), of which the object is to show that the mediæval drama sprung from the religion of the Middle Ages, just as the classic drama did from the ancient religion. To prove this M. Sepet traces a religious drama from a sermon of St. Augustine on the Nativity, afterwards one of the Christmas lessons, then a liturgical *mystère*, then semi-liturgical, and finally an integral part of the great dramatic cycle of the fifteenth century.

BLANC'S FINE ARTS AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION.*

IT is impossible to deny that there is among contemporary schools of criticism, as of art, a distinguished superiority in that of France, taken as a whole; a high average of right perception of what art is, and a general good sense in comparative judgment; and that this is almost as distinct a national characteristic as the artistic attainment, which, if no marked genius should arise in it, would still be the first, in point of learning and style, of the epoch. Every one who has studied art in Paris will

* 'Les Beaux-Arts à l'Exposition Universelle de 1878. Par M. Charles Blanc.' Paris: Librairie Renouard; New York: F. W. Christern.

have felt the influence of that artistic atmosphere which finally and imperceptibly imbues the minds of all who live in it, to a greater or less extent, with certain views of art and of its relations to nature which elsewhere come slowly and exceptionally. It is a phenomenon not easily explained, but in part probably it is due to a certain *solidarité* of all the arts, and a general recognition, if not cultivation, of them as Art—a kind of large generalization (a faculty more generally developed with Frenchmen than other nations) of all that makes Art, which serves as a basis for comparative technology, just as the knowledge of original word-roots gives facility in comparative philology.

The general mass of French art criticism in the journals of the day has for this reason a collective force, and perhaps an influence, which the literature of no other nation even suggests. If we compare the average newspaper critic of Paris with his *confrère* in London, there is a contrast as marked as there is in the general tone of society, and in this case wholly to the advantage of the Parisian. He shows not only that he knows the *salon* and has had personal acquaintance with the artists, but that that knowledge and acquaintance have done more for him than beget the familiarity which breeds contempt ; they have given him an amount of education, even in the plastic elements of art, which scarcely an English critic possesses, for Hamerton is in his education as much French as English. A serious student of art can, therefore, hardly read a current French criticism without finding something in it suggestive and valuable, while one might read the Royal Academy *critiques* in all the papers of London, from the *Times* to the *Saturday Review*, without finding more than individual preferences and views, which, where they have authority even, rarely carry a suggestion of general applicability.

The collection of *feuilletons* which M. Charles Blanc has thrown into book-form have not been sufficiently digested to give them a tone above that of the newspaper ; but even in their disjointed and feuilletonic shape they do not fail to show the serious and wide manner of looking at art which is characteristic of French criticism in general, nor often miss true grounds of preference or depreciation ; while, on the other hand, they never attain great profundity or striking originality of view, or even poetic insight. Perhaps no better instance could have been given of that respectable and dignified breadth of judgment we have indicated as the characteristic of the school to which M. Blanc belongs. Eminent authority the book does not merit, critical genius of a distinguishing type it certainly does not show, and a certain weakness which the author betrays in the ostentation of the traces of authority indicates that in his own mind there was not that confidence in the solidity of his opinions which a clear and original judgment generally imparts. He constantly invokes evidences of the distinguished consideration in which he *has been* held, to show that his opinion is still weighty. Such passages as the following prove a vanity which is itself an impediment to sound judgment or want of faith in one's own opinions : "When we were invited by the President of the Republic to do the honors of the Salon of 1872 for him, he was surprised by this figure, . . . and did not shrink from the proposition to send the Cross of Honor to Mercié. . . . In this we also, we have pushed back (*reculé*) the limits of the public administration," etc., etc. "In advising the artist to raise . . . . we gave him counsel which he hastened to follow." "If the Direction of the Fine Arts were yet confided to us we should point out to the Minister," etc. "I remember, *apropos*, that one evening, travelling on the Nile, we saw on the bank . . . *Gérôme had time* to jump ashore," etc. These passages are so many indications of a desire to give his opinions a buttress from the outside.

Nor is this the only constitutional weakness in the author's criticism. He shows a want of that power of abstraction which gets hold of the idea of the work and does not need to be helped out by accidents of material—a want which we accept in the public, where it is inevitable, but which is a disability in the connoisseur, which, *au fond*, the critic must be. "Supposing that the 'David' of Mercié were cut from a block of Carrara, what a difference between the impression which this figure would produce in marble, and the effect which it produces in the sombre material in which it has been cast. Independently of the magnificent ease which the bronze permits to the conqueror of Goliath, do we not feel *that this greenish metal, brilliant in places, has a sort of moral affinity with the action represented* and the savage hero who acts it ?" It is hardly necessary to point out how utterly this confounds the expression of an ideal with the trickeries and accidents of execution, a tendency to which is indicative of nascent barbarism in art, and which appeal to the lowest and most *banal* elements of art appreciation. This is the feeling that leads to putting marble heads into porphyry or variegated stone busts to imitate the contrasts between flesh and drapery, to tinting statues, and, still further on, to gumming hair on a portrait in place of representing it by legitimate painting. The "moral affinity" which M. Blanc finds between the green of the bronze and the slaughter of Goliath and the *farouche* character of the "David," is something so far from all the affinities of art that we do not know where even to place it. One would be glad to suppose it a careless thought overlooked in the feuilleton, but it recurs in various phases. "The nobility of bronze is a beautiful patina, and often the idea of propriety attaches itself to the tint of the metal." Then, as the metal in time changes tint, the idea it conveys undergoes change ! Again : "The head of Eugénie Doche has been modelled by M. Delaplanche with a touch caressing and, as it were, buttery, which flowing on the flesh has expressed its sweetness, has told the delicacy of the features, and has passed in silence all that was not grace." We have translated the above literally, and no better example could be found in the book of the utterly ignoble and popular idea of representation—one which has too far invaded the minor *ateliers* of Paris with its slang and claptrap, fit to amuse the devotees of *chic*, but not to be introduced into serious criticism. The passage succeeding the above, however, shows still more completely the author's naïveté in expressing this *banal* standard of quality in execution : "It is in the same sentiment that M. Tony Noël has sculptured the bust in marble of Leonidas Leblanc, with this addition (*à cela près*), that he has employed variety in the working, and by that means opposition of color, which awaking all round the optical interest of the portrait make of it a work full of *esprit*." If the uneducated exhibition-goers are caught by these tricks of the tool, as by the curious and detestable veiled heads in marble which our countrymen abroad sometimes mistake for art, and if an artist of real talent sometimes amuses himself in this way, there is no excuse for a grave critic gravely eulogizing them, except that he considers them legitimate art; in which case we know at once where to place *him*.

M. Blanc's definition of style is one which touches more nearly the general interests of art nomenclature, and if he is right some of his contemporary fellow-critics must remodel their "style" :

"But these pictures of Gérôme and Meissonier contain only accidental truths, examples of nature caught in the act, portraits in action—these are *genre* pictures. The talent of imitating these figures, putting in relief these truths, is not the last word of art, because the artist has found his model in life, and he has not overstepped the limits of an intelligent imitation. In contemplating those phases of life and of nature which offer only fleeting events, perishable examples, the artist has the privilege of raising himself up to the idea of a type which has no exact counterpart in nature, to the conception of the species which does not perish. This permanent side of human character, this typical truth of forms—that is style [*voilà ce qui est le style*]. . . . Woe to the schools of painting which no longer aim at style—that is to say, beauty of form, generic and untrammelled by conditions [*la beauté inconditionelle et générique des formes*], which is its poetry—to attach themselves only to *genre*, which is only its accidental interest and its prose ! Wishing to find a medium between these two extremes, style and *genre*, an artist of eminence and rare sagacity, Paul Delaroche, conceived the historical *genre*, otherwise the modernization of history."

Well might one say, *en passant*, "Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona !" Where were the Dutchmen who only modernized history ? And there was a certain Benjamin West who, with all his demerits, modernized history before the great Frenchman was born ! But let that pass. We only want Delaroche to show us exactly what Blanc means by "style." As we read him, we cannot find wherein is the difference between his "style" and the generally accepted "ideal." David, according to this definition, had style, and Delacroix had not. Delaroche himself in the centre of his "Hemicycle" had style, and in the wings had not, because in the former he has completely idealized and in the latter simply painted such portraits as he could find of all the old masters, most of them realistic enough, and owing their principal value to their resemblance. The work of Titian at his best is generally accepted as the highest attainment of style in the art of painting, and the best examples of it are precisely in the most sincere and faithful portraiture—as, for instance, in the portraits of his daughter at Dresden, and the "Bella" of the Pitti Palace. In these works realization and individuality are pushed to the last degree consistent with freedom of execution ; reduce them in size to the measure of a Teniers, and they will be found more elaborate than it.

But why should style in painting and sculpture differ so radically from style in all other branches of art ? Elsewhere it has not relation to the subject matter, but to the manner of treatment. One of the leading artists of the past decade said to us one day, "When a painter is a little man, and works in a way peculiar to himself, we call it *manner ;* when he is a great man, and does the same, we call it *style*." In spite of the eminence of

the late Director of Fine Arts, we venture to opine that he has simply confounded *style* with the usual acceptation of *ideal*, mistaking the exalted theme, the proper mode of expression of which is a style of corresponding dignity, for the mode itself. By any standard of measurement or in any branch of art style refers to manner, not matter; yet wherever M. Blanc attempts to define it, it takes the shape of an ideal.

But not to dwell exclusively on the shortcomings of the book, which is, after all, only and evidently a sample of bookmaking, feuilletons of haste bound up at leisure, M. Blanc does say some things worthy to be remembered, the more as they are the well-put expressions of the French art tendencies, which the prevailing realistic fashion tends to obliterate. His definition of art is welcome:

"Art being an interpretation of nature by the human intelligence, or, as Bacon puts it, '*homo additus naturæ*,' it is evident that pure imitation is not art, if at least the imitator does not allow to appear in his copy something which renders it superior to inert nature [in which case it is no longer imitation], the soul; and that which nature does not possess, thought. It is impossible to imitate a pretty woman better than her looking-glass imitates her when she looks into it, and yet the looking-glass is not accepted as an artist; and even if its image were fixed, as it is in the lens of the photographer, the image would never be taken for a work of art. Why? Because the human element is insignificant compared to that of the machine. The intervention of the human soul is, then, absolutely necessary in any work in order that the presence of art should be recognized in it. Consequently, the greater the extent of imitation the more trivial is the art."

There is nothing new in this, but it cannot be too variously and authoritatively kept in view in a country where art is not yet well formed, and where education of the entire thinking classes will have much to do in forming it. Of all the essays which compose the book those which relate to sculpture have the greatest value. In the technique of painting the author seems quite afloat; his estimates of the comparative value of works are generally sound, the reasons for them frequently curiously astray.

GRANT DUFF'S MISCELLANIES.*

THE writer of these papers is an exceptional man even in the British Parliament; he would be still more so if viewed in the light of our western civilization. Though still in the meridian of life (he was born in 1829), he has been for a good many years an authority in England on subjects relating to foreign politics. A volume of his collected 'Studies in European Politics' was reprinted in Edinburgh in 1866, the original articles, which relate to Spain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, the Germanic Diet, Holland, and Belgium, having been published in the *North British Review*, the *National Review*, and *Fraser's Magazine*. The Elgin District of Burghs, which Mr. Grant Duff has represented in Parliament for more than twenty years, and of one of which (Banffshire) he is a native, is on the northwest coast of Scotland, having a population of less than thirty thousand, and a constituency of electors of only thirty-six hundred. To this small and remote constituency he has for some years past delivered a series of addresses on home and foreign politics which have not been equalled in the breadth and variety of their learning by the speeches of any other English statesman. A volume of these addresses, entitled 'Elgin Speeches,' was published in Edinburgh in 1871. Mr. Grant Duff has also been a prolific writer in the *Fortnightly* and *Contemporary Reviews* and in the *Nineteenth Century*, besides publishing a variety of addresses and pamphlets on literary subjects and political questions. He was for several years during Mr. Gladstone's administration Under-Secretary of State for India, and subsequent to that time made an extended tour through the British Indian Empire, the results of which were published in several articles in the *Contemporary Review*. One of his most instructive papers on Indian affairs was published, if we remember rightly, in the *Fortnightly*, under the title "Is India worth retaining?" As the question was regarded by him from the standpoint of an advanced Liberal and was answered in the affirmative, it is worthy of perusal at the present time, when India is getting to be considered as an expensive and troublesome ornament of the Imperial Crown.

The peculiar field, however, of Mr. Grant Duff's studies has been that of Continental politics. His estimate of the value of such studies is well expressed in one of his latest essays:

"The truth is," he says, "that no European politician who aspires to be really a statesman can afford nowadays not to know pretty intimately France, Germany, England, and, we may add, Italy. If he does not take the trouble to do this he is quite sure to nourish prejudices from which a wider survey of men and things would have saved him."

Since the death of Mr. Sumner is there any American statesman who considers European politics a necessary part of his education? For the future guidance of our public affairs where shall we find "the men who have already been trained, or may be trained, into having that wide knowledge and balanced judgment which are the first requisites of statesmanship"? The Monroe doctrine, which proclaimed the determination of the United States not to permit the European powers to extend their systems of government to any portion of this hemisphere, certainly does not require that we should so shut ourselves up in that hemisphere as to be ignorant of what is passing in other countries of the civilized world. Civilizations and governments have but one end—the conservation of society and the improvement of the human race. Social and political progress is confined to no one country and to no one people. On the contrary, it is running, in parallel lines and with nearly equal rapidity, in many countries and in many races. Those countries which fail to recognize this and to note carefully what other countries are doing in the work of reform will speedily fall behind in the race of national competition.

The new volume of Mr. Grant Duff's 'Miscellanies' contains nine papers, which are entitled respectively, "Address at the Opening of the Section of Economic Science of the British Association at the Dundee Meeting in 1867"; "A Lecture of Egypt"; "Must We, then, Believe Cassandra?"; "Opening Address as President of the Department of Economy and Trade of the Social Science Association in 1875"; "1847 and 1876, an Address delivered at Clifton College"; "Balthasar Gracian," from the *Fortnightly Review* of April, 1877; "A Plea for a Rational Education"; "Emilio Castelar," two essays from the *Fortnightly* of June and July, 1878; and "A Speech on the Political Situation," delivered at Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, September, 1878. The papers are of unequal merit, and some of them—as, for example, that on Egypt—seem to us hardly important enough to go into permanent literature. But, taken as a whole, the volume is one of considerable value.

The tone of it is eminently healthy and invigorating. The writer is always heartily in earnest, and with all his scholarship speaks from the forum and not from the closet. His advice to young men purposing to enter public life is excellent: "Be English first of all and last of all; but be European—not to say cosmopolitan—into the bargain." He is no pessimist, and in the paper entitled "Must We, then, Believe Cassandra?" he combats with great spirit the gloomy assertions and vaticinations of Mr. Greg, in his "Rocks Ahead." The three national dangers to which Cassandra attaches most importance are: 1. The political supremacy of the lower classes. 2. The approaching industrial decline of England. 3. The divorce of the intelligence of the country from its religion. The influence of the Reform Bill of 1867 on the political future of England is still debatable ground. Mr. Grant Duff does not deny that the enlargement of the borough franchise which that bill introduced "will no doubt cause the majorities in favor of this or that party to fluctuate more than they have done." He also says, in the article on Castelar, that Great Britain, under the action of that bill, is "governed by a far more excitable public than heretofore," and that demagogues are to have more influence in future than in past politics; but he has an abiding faith in the intelligence and in the honesty of the classes which have heretofore governed, and which still govern, the British Empire. If any one doubts the correctness of this conclusion, let him turn over the pages of Dod's 'Parliamentary Companion,' and see how unchanged the character of the House of Commons is from that of twenty years ago. The titled and educated classes, the learned professions, and the two services—the army and the navy—still make up nearly the whole body of members of the lower House. Especially is this the case in the Liberal party—the party of progress and reform. The very small number who have purchased a parliamentary seat by wealth acquired in trade have allied themselves to the Tory party, with the unerring instinct which leads them also to join the national church.

On the score of religious faith the author asserts that the world, and especially the English world, is steadily advancing. He freely admits that the strength of ecclesiasticism and of creeds is declining, but holds that while many of the outworks of Christianity have been abandoned as untenable, the fortress of Christian faith is stronger than ever.

"*L'Église a été dépassée, et s'est dépassée elle-même. Le Christ n'a pas été dépassé.*" "Observe," he says, "how entirely the mocking Mephistophelian view has died out in those who are most strongly opposed to existing beliefs—how reverent is the tone of the very men who are prayed for and preached about in the churches.

* 'Miscellanies, Political and Literary. By Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, Member for the Elgin District of Burghs.' London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1878. 8vo, pp. 315.

"At no previous period in the history of the world has Christianity, as represented in the Gospels, or in the lives and works of the best of its followers, exercised so powerful an influence on public affairs as in the last thirty years. . . . The settlement of the *Alabama* controversy on the part of England was, as has been well said, at once one of the best pieces of statecraft and one of the most Christian acts recorded in history."

The article on Emilio Castelar is valuable as presenting in an epitomized form the life, labors, and opinions of that statesman. He is already better known to American readers than most of his European peers and contemporaries, from the appreciative articles of Col. Hay and from his own elaborate contributions to the history of the Republican movement in Europe, also published in one of our periodicals. Though presumably the most conspicuous representative of democracy now to be found in Europe, he is not to be classed among the subverters of existing institutions, otherwise than by the slow action of progressive reforms. In a speech which he delivered at a great banquet given in his honor at Rome, under the management of Mancini, Depretis, Crispi, and others, we find the following remarkable passage :

"You have made Italy one ; you have made Italy free ; you have made Italy independent. All this you, who are without doubt the most favored of the generations, have attained by having reunited to the efforts of previous generations, and to their martyrdoms, the vital idea *par excellence*, the powerful idea *par excellence*, the idea of liberty. But it is not enough to have succeeded. It is necessary, at all costs, to keep what you have got. A long experience teaches us how much easier it is to found than to consolidate public liberties. For the first, one great but common and rudimentary virtue is sufficient, the virtue of courage. For the second are required wisdom and prudence. You, who are by nature inclined to synthesis, do not fall into the error of errors—the error of looking only to liberty, and caring nothing for authority ; the error of looking only to progress, and caring nothing for stability ; the error of looking only to the right of the individual, and having no care for the force of the community ; the error of looking only at the future, when every moment has in it the past, the future, and the present."

Notes by a Naturalist on the "Challenger"; being an Account of various Observations made during the Voyage of H.M.S. *Challenger* round the World in the years 1872-1876. By H. N. Moseley, M.A., F.R.S. With a map, two colored plates, and numerous woodcuts. (London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1879.)—Mr. Moseley, a member of the scientific staff of the *Challenger*, has given in this journal a very full account of all that could be observed by one zealous man at the numerous points visited by the *Challenger* expedition on its voyage around the world. This expedition touched incidentally at the islands of the Atlantic and Southern Indian Oceans, cruised in the Antarctic ice-fields, and visited many points—some of them practically unvisited heretofore—in Polynesia and the archipelagoes of the Western Pacific. The cream of discovery in most of these regions has long ago gone to make up the fame of earlier explorers, and not much that is strikingly new could be expected to result from these brief visits. The value of this book lies chiefly in the fact that it is the record of the consecutive, rapid observations of a trained naturalist on nearly all the representative insular faunas and floras of the three great oceans. It is essentially the narrative of a naturalist whose first thoughts and steps on land and sea were turned to botanical and zoölogical work ; but the author has a very happy style of narration, and succeeds through his own enthusiasm in interesting even the general reader in the habits of the animals, as well as in his adventures in searching for them.

Mr. Moseley gives also a great deal of interesting and important information concerning the customs and expression of the emotions among the different races visited by the *Challenger*. He is an ardent disciple of Darwin, and in reading this account of a voyage revisiting, after a lapse of nearly half a century, the scenes of many of the memorable observations made by the naturalist of the *Beagle*, one is forcibly reminded of the profound impression Darwin has produced upon modern scientific thought in every direction. This truism is nowhere better illustrated than in Mr. Moseley's observations on the pile dwellings in the Philippine Islands, and his derivation of the Swiss chalet by evolution from the lake dwellings of Switzerland. As civilization extends protection to the pile-dwelling communities in the Philippines, they leave the water and build on land, but the structures are still in every sense pile dwellings. The first step in the evolution (all stages of which are observable in the Philippines) is the enclosure of the open space under the house by a fence of palm-leaves to form a pen for pigs ; next, this gives place to matting walls with a door, to form a store-room ; and other houses have this space boarded in, making a permanent lower story. A further progress is shown in the substitution of pillars of masonry for wooden piles, and wooden houses are seen standing high on open arches supported by such stone piles. In the last stage the arches are abandoned, and continuous walls of masonry support the house. *In all these cases the upper story is built first and the lower one afterwards.* The true pile dwelling has a platform at the entrance and a smaller one for canoes behind ; and both these recur in the "pile dwelling gone on shore," where the rear platform reappears as a veranda. From the remarkable resemblance of these Malay houses to Swiss chalets —the latter having the lower story enclosed with a stone wall and used for cattle-stalls, and having also access to the living-floor by outside stairs opening on to the front veranda, and frequently a veranda in the rear—Mr. Moseley is inclined to derive the typical domestic architecture of the modern Swiss from the ancestral lake dwelling.

There are several interesting, and one or two very important, geological observations recorded, especially that of the massive eruption on Camiguin Island of a dome 450 feet high of a trachytic rock, still red and glowing in cracks, and emitting smoke, but having no crater, and closely resembling the smaller domes of the Auvergne. Nor should we omit to mention the author's observations on the structure of the ice of the antarctic icebergs, which are illustrated by some excellent colored sketches. Almost the only reference to the special work of the *Challenger* —its methods and results—is confined to a part of the last thirty pages. But this has been so fully treated by Sir C. Wyville Thomson that it is not missed here. Aside from this, the chapter in question contains what is of more general interest—a review of the life of the deep sea and its surface, and of the varied conditions amid which it exists. A valuable feature of the book is a long list of all the books and papers that have grown out of the *Challenger* expedition.

The Political Destiny of Canada. By Goldwin Smith. (Toronto : Willing & Williamson. 1878.)—The points of contact between Canada and her more powerful neighbor are so numerous that some explanation is required for the almost universal indifference in "the States" to the problem discussed by Mr. Goldwin Smith and Sir Francis Hincks in the volume before us. That even an intelligent American does not care to bestow a second thought on the political destiny of Canada arises, first, from a conviction that neither an indefinite prolongation of the colonial condition nor the achievement of a perfect nationality has any perils for the United States. Next comes the equally strong feeling that what Mr. Smith calls "the great forces" can work in only one direction—that is, away from the tutelage of the mother country and towards assimilation to the ruling polity of this continent and hemisphere. Americans, having lost with slavery their thirst for more territory, are content to let gravitation take its time. Nine out of ten would say they believe Canada will ultimately form a part of the Federal Union ; not one in a thousand would lift a finger to hasten the event.

All this might seem a reason why this little book should have no interest for readers on the hither side of the border. But, in the first place, we ought not to disregard an experiment in self-government parallel to our own as well as adjacent, with points of difference which may prove instructive ; and we might well be curious to know why a people with institutions so similar should on every occasion protest its opposition to the very thought of absorption in the United States, and its want of sympathy and respect for our national traits. Nor while Jingoism is flattering Canada with Imperial attentions, and while a scheme of Imperial Federation, magnificent in its conception, is being gravely discussed as if necessary and practicable, need we deny ourselves the profitable study of so remarkable a phase of politics with which we are after all intimately connected and ever shall be. Finally, we must acknowledge that in the endosmosis which is always taking place between two adjoining countries separated chiefly by imaginary boundaries, we receive much greater accessions to our population than Canada does. For various reasons New England attracts more immigrants than any other section, and in such numbers and so concentrated that they have done much to change for the worse the character of the communities in which they find employment. Those States, at least, have the same sort of interest in the political and social progress of Canada that the United States have had in the government of Ireland, or that the Northern States have in the improvement of the blacks at the South.

The polemic between Mr. Goldwin Smith (writing in the *Fortnightly Review* of April 1, 1878) and Sir Francis Hincks replying to him and being criticised in turn in these pages, unfortunately assumes a personal complexion, with which, however, we need not concern ourselves. Whether Sir Francis is a renegade Nationalist or Mr. Smith a renegade Free-trader, is of no consequence for the matter in hand. Mr. Smith's thesis is that

the connection of Canada with the mother country must sooner or later be severed as completely as that of the United States ; that Canada must cast in its lot with this continent ; and that wise statesmanship would shape all its measures of public policy or public improvement with reference to this forecast. He also holds that the National idea is dead beyond resuscitation, and that "the ultimate union of Canada with the United States appears now to be morally certain." Confederation, not being spontaneous but brought about by external pressure, will develop principles of antagonism in at least equal degree with those of union. All the evils of parliamentary government in a dependency are aggravated "by superadding federal to provincial government." As a dependency has no foreign relations, the management of which is "the proper province of a federal government," the chief duty of such a government in Canada is "to keep itself in existence by the ordinary agencies of party—a duty which it discharges with a vengeance." Mr. Smith then enumerates the "great forces which make for the separation of the New from the Old World," and the more numerous but less weighty forces which make in favor of the present connection. Of these last the strongest appears to us, as to Mr. Smith, to be "the special attachment naturally felt by the politicians, as a body, to the system with reference to which their parties have been formed, and with which the personal ambition of most of them is bound up." He admits that "the connectionist sentiment is now dominant, especially in Ontario ; that in Ontario it almost exclusively finds expression on the platform and in the press ; and that the existence of any other opinions can only be inferred from reticence, or discovered by private intercourse." For the rest, "Canada, though adorned with the paraphernalia of eight constitutional monarchies (one central and seven provincial), is a democracy of the most pronounced kind ; the Governor-General was not wrong in saying that she is more democratic than the United States." "At present the bane of Canada is party government without any question on which parties can be rationally or morally based."

Sir Francis Hincks is "not presumptuous enough to declare that the subsisting connection must be perpetual," but is decidedly of opinion, "in common with the leaders of both political parties," that if for any reason the chain that binds Canada to the mother country is broken, the result will be not independence, but annexation to the United States. He further agrees with Mr. Smith in regarding the projects of a Pan-Britannic Empire as utterly visionary. He believes, however, in acting as if the connection were to be perpetual, and he devotes himself to refuting Mr. Smith's theory of forces, and to sundry corrections of fact and of reasoning into which we cannot follow him. His strictures lead Mr. Smith in his rejoinder to modify some unguarded expressions and abandon some illustrations ; but, after all, the issue relates mainly to the *time* in which a possible if not probable consummation will be reached. Sir Francis declines to dwell on his opponent's fourth great force—the economic impulsion to a union with the United States ; passing it by with the remark that, "if it were practicable, the abolition of custom-houses would be beneficial to both countries." But the present protectionist movement was not needed to show that Canada fares worst from want of reciprocity ; and the failure of protection either to restore prosperity to Canada or to force the United States to sue for reciprocity would seem calculated to foster a party feeling for the one measure that would ensure both prosperity and reciprocity—namely, annexation. If this be so, a decade might be ample verge for a peaceful revolution. It is to be regretted, therefore, that Sir Francis Hincks did not face this contingency boldly, and prove, if he could, that there was no ground of apprehension in regard to it. As commercial oppression led to the American Revolution, so commercial inconvenience and depression growing out of a state of dependence may well be expected to overcome the Canadian sentiment of "loyalty," in whatever sense we may understand that word. Whether this sentiment will give way all at once or successively in the provinces on which the inconvenience most presses—that is, whether the Dominion will abdicate by a sort of plébiscite, or whether, say, the maritime provinces will withdraw their allegiance and so begin the *débâcle ;* and whether the tariff would be an adequate cause for the break-up of the Confederacy—are questions on which we need not speculate.

The New Puritan: New England Two Hundred Years Ago. Some account of the life of Robert Pike, the Puritan who defended the Quakers, resisted clerical domination, and opposed the witchcraft prosecution. By James S. Pike. (New York : Harper & Bros. 1879. 8vo., pp. 237.)—This is a most prolific time in historical studies. Scarcely a month passes without the appearance of a genealogy or a monograph. The modern antiquarian does not rest satisfied with mere learning, as did his brother of a generation ago ; he must preserve his knowledge in a treatise. Scattered details must be gathered into a complete structure ; and the permanent research replaces the perishing memories, sometimes with brilliant success. Of this the biography before us is a striking example. Before its appearance absolutely nothing was known of its subject beyond the mention of his name in Savage's 'Genealogical Dictionary,' and the scant indexes of Colonial Records. No private papers, no personal recollections were preserved by his descendants. Tradition and history had utterly forgotten him. Yet here he is in these pages, the real man ; intense but never narrow ; grim and stiff-necked and high-handed, but bold and strong, and free and true. He became the leading man of his settlement, and filled the highest offices in its gift for half a century, not because of his superior culture—he hadn't it ; not because he had popular manners—he did not hesitate to brave not only his neighbors, but the General Court, and even his minister ; but because his mental power commanded in that age the respect that was its due. His townsmen continually called him from his farm to the field and the bench and the forum because they found him such "a useful instrument."

Born in 1616, Robert Pike was amongst the first to settle empty-handed on the fields allotted along the Salisbury marshes. He left England too young for much education, but by the time he was twenty-eight he was made a magistrate "to end small causes" in Salisbury, and four years later he was sent to the General Court. From the beginning of his public career he showed an indomitable love of free-thinking and plain-speaking. When in 1652 the General Court passed a law forbidding the Baptists Peasley and Macy to exhort the people on the Sabbath, he did not hesitate to say out boldly to his friends that the law-makers did break their oaths in passing a law so against the liberty of the country. Such audacity was intolerable. The General Court sent for him "with speed," and, upon hearing his defence, indignantly punished him not only by a fine and bonds for good behavior, but by forbidding him to vote or hold office. Great was the excitement in Salisbury and the adjoining towns, and the townsmen soon ventured the bold step of a brief, mildly-drawn petition for the revocation of the sentence on their "loving brother." The General Court stood for a moment aghast at the insolence. Then it repealed the objectionable law against free preaching, but turned in hot resentment on those who had dared to question its wisdom, and sent out at once a commission to summon the signers of the petition, and find out what they meant by it. Some apologized or evaded, but some stood firmly on the broad right of petition; and the Government was forced at last to pass the matter over, and virtually to concede the fundamental right which was claimed.

Lieutenant Pike himself was of too sturdy a fibre to retract or apologize for the truth, and it was two years before his disability was removed; but it was no sooner done than his sympathizing townsmen elected him a member of the body which had sought to crush him, and thus ended one of the first of the struggles for freedom. For all his "usefulness," it is to be feared that Lieutenant Pike was too often a thorn in the side of those in authority, not from quarrelsomeness, but from his intolerant independence. Before long, his minister, the reverend but excitable John Wheelwright, thought meet to rebuke him for the "abominable crime" of reviling his pastor and not attending divine service, and speedily found himself summoned before the doughty reviler, and bound over in high bail to the next court. Mr. Wheelwright in return excommunicated him ; and one must bear in mind the intensity with which this people poured their whole energy into their religion to appreciate the excitement that ensued. A special act of the General Court had to be passed to still the storm. We cannot here follow Lieutenant (afterwards Major) Pike through the obscure details of the Indian war. Like most of his countrymen, he held the musket as firmly as the plough. But we must mention the brave and, alas ! the only protest made against the mad witchcraft fever at its height—a long argument addressed to one of the magistrates admitting the possibility of sorcery, but showing the inadequacy of the evidence, and suggesting that the simplest explanation was the direct action of the evil one upon the victims. It was not long before it came very near home to him when it struck the mother of his daughter-in-law, the venerated Mrs. Bradbury.

The few details of Pike's life show its simplicity. Owning several farms, filling for half a century the highest positions his countrymen could bestow, he lived just as his neighbors did, and we peep with interest into the little house with its one great fireplace, its one table and

three chairs, its cupboard and two chests. Besides his wearing clothes he had a best broadcloth coat; his one bedstead and his fireplace were well equipped, and he had half-a-dozen godly books, and plenty of pewter for his table. If he had no carpet or window-curtain, no picture or clock, no glass, or silver, or crockery, or forks, or handkerchiefs, he did not miss them. He had no pipe, for he scorned sinful indulgence. Life was severe, but he did not know it, for it was never empty, and he was too keen-witted not to find a certain racy humor in its hardest passages. With one Sabbath experience of his we must close. Urgent business called him to Boston, and the ill-made roads were growing "rotten" in the spring thaw. As soon as the Sabbath sun should tell by its fall the end of the day he had to start, if he would be in time. He attended both services and closed the day with prayer at his daughter's house, and soon after the sun disappeared he started on horseback for the Merrimack. Unluckily, however, as he passed the house of one Winsley, who had a grudge against him, the deceptive clouds broke away, and a gleam of level sunlight from the horizon showed his error. He had started too soon and profaned the Lord's day, and neither his sixty-four years nor high standing could save him from punishment by fine. And here we must leave this energetic, God-fearing Puritan, whom neither government nor priest could subdue, nor Indian nor devil daunt.

Young Folks' Heroes of History. Pizarro: his Adventures and Conquests. By George M. Towle, author of 'Vasco da Gama.' (Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1879. 12mo, pp. 327.)—The fear that we expressed, when reviewing the 'Life of Vasco da Gama,' that the subject chosen for the second book of the series would be found a less satisfactory one, is fully justified. Not that the 'Life of Pizarro' is less well done. Mr. Towle is a skilful narrator, and has made a very graphic and interesting story. But we protest, in the name of the children who are to read this book, against this cruel and perfidious adventurer being classed as a "hero of history," and still more against a treatment of his career which wholly blinks the wickedness of his enterprise, and even deals very tenderly with the horrors of its execution. Nobody's feelings need be hurt by such mild disapproval as this (p. 203): "We may admire his courage and perseverance, his self-reliance and military genius; but we cannot but condemn many of his acts as barbarous and bloodthirsty, and his objects as covetous and selfish." We have no desire that the historian should go into hysterics over the atrocities that he narrates, but one does long for a few words of hearty indignation, such as even the calm Prescott knew how to bestow upon villanous deeds.

The next subject of this series is a more promising one, Magellan.

English History in Short Stories. Revised edition. 16mo, pp. 179. (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1878)—This little compendium contains a brief account of the reign of each sovereign, preceded by a sketch of the English Constitution and other useful matter. A description of each of the counties of Great Britain and Ireland follows. There is no genealogical table; but its place is supplied by a table of lines of descent, showing Victoria to be thirty-seventh in direct descent from Egbert, and twenty-eighth from William the Conqueror. It appears to be very accurate in details, but there is a strange carelessness in editing. The chapter headed "The Romans in Britain" gives two pages to this topic, then a page and a half to the Anglo-Saxon invasion, then goes on, without a break, to describe the present constitution in seventeen pages (including a sketch of heraldry), after which succeeds an account of the Heptarchy. And not merely is the running title, "The Romans in Britain," continued for the whole, but the table of contents recognizes the same division.

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NEW YORK, January 22, 1879.

The Trustees, in conformity to the Charter of the Company, submit the following Statement of its affairs on the 31st December, 1878.

Premiums received on Marine Risks from 1st January, 1878, to 31st December, 1878	$4,009,309 47
Premiums on Policies not marked off 1st January, 1878.	1,848,697 36
Total amount of Marine Premiums	$5,858,006 83
No Policies have been issued upon Life Risks, nor upon Fire disconnected with Marine Risks.	
Premiums marked off from 1st January, 1878, to 31st December, 1878	$4,186,024 72
Losses paid during the same period	$2,012,784 45
Returns of Premiums and Expenses	$859,960 58

The Company has the following Assets, viz.:

United States and State of New York Stock, City, Bank, and other Stocks	$10,086,758 00
Loans, secured by Stocks and otherwise	704,200 00
Real Estate and Claims due the Company, estimated at	619,034 50
Premium Notes and Bills receivable	1,529,259 74
Cash in Bank	381,210 92
Total Amount of Assets	$13,320,463 16

Six per cent. interest on the outstanding certificates of profits will be paid to the holders thereof, or their legal representatives, on and after Tuesday, the Fourth of February, next.

The outstanding certificates of the issue of 1875 will be redeemed and paid to the holders thereof, or their legal representatives, on and after Tuesday, the Fourth of February, next, from which date all interest thereon will cease. The certificates to be produced at the time of payment and cancelled.

A dividend of thirty per cent. is declared on the net earned premiums of the Company, for the year ending 31st December, 1878, for which certificates will be issued on and after Tuesday, the Sixth of May, next.

By order of the Board, J. H. CHAPMAN, Secretary.

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LA CAISSE GENERALE

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WESTERN UNION BUILDING, NEW YORK.

Assets in the U. S., Jan. 1, 1879	$449,490 61
Liabilities " " " "	179,437 04

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JULIEN LE CESNE, Resident Sec'y.
T. J. TEMPLE, Manager for Middle States.

Liverpool & London and Globe Insurance Co.

CAPITAL PAID UP, $1,228,200.

FIRE ASSETS	$8,886,997 89
FIRE LIABILITIES,	3,031,245 60
FIRE SURPLUS for Policyholders,	$5,855,752 29
SURPLUS over all Liabilities held by Trustees in New York,	$1,768,131 51

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1879.

The Week.

ON the 4th instant the Treasury called in for redemption all the outstanding 5.20 6 per cent. bonds, having been enabled to do so by the subscription of the Bank of Commerce for $40,000,000 4 per cent. bonds at par. The Treasury then withdrew the 4 per cent. bonds which it was offering for sale; and it was a question whether refunding would not stop, although the right existed to redeem the $194,556,300 10.40 bonds. Secretary Sherman visited New York, and had many conferences with bankers. While here he made a call (on the 9th) for $10,000,000 of 10-40s in anticipation of sales of 4 per cent. bonds and ten-dollar certificates of deposit to be made on terms not yet decided upon. On his return to Washington, and after mature deliberation, he issued a circular (on the 16th) in which he offered for sale, at an advance of ⅛ in the price (⅛ in the nominal price and ¼ in the reduction of the commission), $150,000,000 of 4 per cent. bonds and $44,556,300 ten-dollar certificates of deposit. On the 18th instant a syndicate was formed by the First National Bank and Fisk & Hatch, and they notified the Secretary that they accepted for themselves and their associates his offer of the entire $194,556,300 at 100½ and accrued interest. On the same day other bankers sent on bids for $39,000,000 of 4 per cent. bonds. Out of this total of $233,556,300 bids—all being ⅛ higher than the price at which the Treasury was selling the bonds previous to the 4th instant—the Secretary accepted bids for only $150,000,000 of the 4 per cent. bonds. He declined to sell the $44,556,300 ten-dollar certificates of deposit, which are convertible into 4 per cent. bonds, until he had first offered them for sixty days to the general public. He agreed that such as remain unsold at the end of that time shall be given to the bidders of April 18. Having thus made provision for the sale of enough 4 per cents (bonds or certificates) within sixty days, he issued calls for the redemption ninety days hence of the outstanding remainder of 10.40s. The first of these calls, issued on the 18th, was for $160,000,000, and the second, issued on the 21st, was for $24,556,300; these, together with the call of $10,000,000, issued on the 9th, take in all the 10.40s. It may be said, therefore, that the work of reducing the interest 1 per cent. per annum on $194,556,300 of the public debt was accomplished in a week. The subscription of the First National Bank Syndicate in amount overshadows all others on record in this country.

As no more 4 per cent. bonds will be sold by the Treasury until more of the present debt can be refunded in 1881, the market price for the 4 per cents has advanced 1⅛ per cent. in London and here. Money in London lends at the Stock Exchange at 1 per cent., and the best mercantile paper is discounted at 1½ per cent. British consols have advanced to 99¼—the highest price since 1853, when they reached 101. Here the money market has become very easy, and notwithstanding the settlement of bond contracts made in January, the reserve of the New York banks has been increased to $9,480,000 above the legal requirement, against less than $2,000,000 during the first week of April. The large refunding operations in United States bonds will, of course, make money extremely easy for the next seventy to ninety days, and the Stock Exchange already shows signs of becoming crazy. The stocks of the railroads running through Kansas have been particularly in speculative favor. Of these the leading one is Kansas Pacific. A controlling interest in this was a few months ago bought by Jay Gould for the benefit of the Union Pacific; he paid 12 for this interest. The stock had been advanced to 36 to 37 when the great U. S. bond operation became known; it has since bounded up to 49½. This is only a sample of the speculation going on in the "southwestern fancies." Silver bullion has been very steady in London at 49⅝*d.* to 49¾*d.* per oz. The bullion value here of the 412½-grain dollar at the close of the week was $0.8391.

The "revolution" has been shorn of half its terrors during the week. On Wednesday, the 16th, Senator Beck, of Kentucky, concluded a long speech carried over from the preceding day, and being naturally somewhat exhausted by the effort, was hardly in a condition to be catechised. Mr. Hoar, however, insisted upon asking him whether he stood by or backed out from a declaration made in the closing hours of the last Congress, that the House would be justified in again refusing appropriations to carry on the Government if the President should veto the repeal of the obnoxious legislation aimed at by the Democrats. Mr. Beck, after bidding Mr. Hoar sit down with his impertinence, boldly said that if the President refused to sign the bills he would "consult with the wisest and best men of his [my] party and with good men everywhere," to see what an American senator ought to do. He denied having made any threat, but only a statement; and what he did say as a Senate conferee had reference solely to a failure of the two houses to agree, and to the probable action of the lower House, and not to his own disposition to block the wheels of Government. Mr. Hoar read over again what Mr. Beck had just read in his own vindication, and showed that it did contain the programme of the new Congress in extra session, and did predict a stoppage of supplies in case of a veto, shifting the blame of it upon the President. As the dispute went no further, Mr. Beck's real meaning may still be open to question; but his present intent to consult with wise and good men before laying low the Government proves him to be a demoralized revolutionist, from whom Mr. Hoar has nothing to fear. On Saturday, in the House, another Kentucky fire-eater, Mr. Blackburn, was shown to have said in his place: "We do not intend to stop until we have stricken the last vestige of your war measures from the statute-book, which like these looked to the abridgment of the liberties of the citizen"; and then, before this was printed in the *Record*, to have inserted a qualifying phrase—"which like these were born of the passions incident to civil strife, etc." In the pamphlet edition of the same speech the weakening process was carried one stage further. Strange to say, the Republicans appeared to regard this as a kind of robbery of something to which they were entitled.

The other proceedings in Congress have not been very important. The Senate has languidly continued the discussion of the Army Bill, but has thrown no new light on the question involved. Mr. Randolph, of New Jersey, incidentally told a remarkable story of President Grant's treatment of a message which he (Randolph) bore him in 1876 from Governor Hampton, whose title had just been confirmed by the Supreme Court of South Carolina, and who accordingly asked for the withdrawal of the U. S. troops. Grant's reply, "in angry tone and uncivil manner," was: "I won't withdraw the troops; I don't regard the decision of the Supreme Court; and if I had any message to send to General Hampton, it would be that his message to me is an impertinence." As a proof of the way in which a President might abuse his authority over the Army this anecdote could not be offset by naming the ridiculously small number of the troops at Columbia, or by giving their ratio to the area of South Carolina. The House refused to abolish the Southern Claims Commission or to adopt Mr. Potter's scheme of reference to the Court of Claims. It has begun the discussion of the jurors' oath section of the Legislative Bill, and has passed a bill of Mr. Stephens's to make the subsidiary coinage redeemable in lawful money in sums of twenty dollars, and legal tender for the same amount, and on Monday was flooded with upwards of a thousand new bills, whose introduction threatens an indefinite prolongation of the session.

The Assembly has determined to adopt the suggestion of Mr. Hamilton Fish, jr., to send a committee of five senators and nine members of the House to escort General Grant from San Francisco across the continent on his return from his European and Asiatic trip. In doing this New York will only be following the lead of Pennsylvania, which first proposed a similar committee for the same purpose. There seems to be no good reason why all the States should not do the same thing, and thus make the demonstration a grand national affair. As the nomination of Grant next year is the best thing that can happen for the Democrats, there is no reason, too, why there should be any distinction of party in the matter. The chief speaker in opposition at Albany was Mr. Williams, a Greenbacker, who expressed the opinion that General Grant, as President, "did not reflect credit on the office." Both the Pennsylvania and the New York committees are to serve without pay.

The Governor has removed Mr. Sidney P. Nichols, one of the Democratic members of the Police Board, and the Mayor has appointed in his place Mr. Charles F. McLean. What is to be done with the other Commissioners seems to be still undecided. Mr. McLean's appointment was a great surprise to the politicians, as they expected to see some anti-Tammany "worker" put in; while Mr. McLean is simply a member of the bar of very good standing (he has been for some years counsel to the Police Board), whose only prominence before the public, as yet, has been owing to his public services as a member of the Bar Association Committee which preferred charges against Mr. Gumbleton. As to Mr. McLean's qualifications for the position, they are yet to be shown. But it is only fair to say—and this is a great deal more than can be said for most of the selections of Police Commissioners during recent years—that the class from which it is made is a perfectly fit class from which to make selections for offices of this sort. It is indeed eminently necessary that there should be some good legal head among the commissioners, inasmuch as the whole supervision of elections is in their hands. In "Anti-Tilden circles," however, the appointment is regarded as being tantamount to a "confession" by the shameless Cooper that he is simply a tool of the indefatigable "Sammy." Mr. McLean is, it is said, a nephew of Tilden (though this, like other facts with regard to Mr. Tilden, is in dispute), and has now taken Pelton's place. He is believed to have an office at 12 Wall Street, where another person, named, if we remember right, Smith, is thought to have received cipher despatches during the campaign of 1876. He also resembles Mr. Tilden in personal appearance, has a "soft, oily manner," speaks in a whisper, and altogether is an apt agent for the unscrupulous schemer of Gramercy Park. Usually, in the case of appointments of Police Commissioners in the interest of reform, there has been a brief period during which the newspapers published flattering notices of the new men, stated what their plans for the improvement of the health and order of the city were, and cheered them on in their good work. It was not till some time had elapsed that their true character was discovered and exposed. But we live in exciting times now, and have to make up our minds quickly. Mr. McLean must congratulate himself already on knowing the worst. He may remain in the Board for ten years, and clean the streets every day with his own hands; but his character is gone.

Mr. Simon Sterne's plan for regulating the practice of legislative committees, to which we called attention last week, is advocated by him partly on the ground that there is always danger of the Legislature "getting round" the constitutional provision against special legislation by passing general laws to meet particular cases. A very glaring instance of this sort has come to light within the past week. A young man—a resident, we believe, of this city—married some years ago, and after his honeymoon was over found, as many other husbands have found before, that there was not that absolute freedom and independence in married that there is in single life. He and his wife did not get on well together, and finally she procured a divorce from him on the ground of adultery. Of course the decree forbade him to marry again during his wife's lifetime. Some years afterwards he fell in love with another woman, and then found that a new legal marriage was out of the question. Not daunted, however, by this obstacle, he went to Albany, and, after two years' work, has succeeded in getting the Legislature to pass a law authorizing the remarriage of *any husband* divorced for adultery on his furnishing satisfactory proof that he has for a certain number of years conducted himself with propriety. That such a bill should have been signed by the Governor is, we confess, a great surprise to us. Of course it is tantamount to a general permission to husbands to marry again; for the amount of proof of good conduct that a man really anxious to marry again can procure is measured, not by the morality of his life, but by the time at his disposal and the number of his acquaintances. The divorced wife will have no sort of inducement to come forward and prevent his remarriage, and she will, in nine cases out of ten, have no evidence on the subject. In short, the law is simply calculated to encourage adultery and divorce.

General John A. Dix died on Monday, in the eighty-first year of his age, after a life of singular vicissitude and rare usefulness. He was a native of New Hampshire, son of an army officer, and entered the service himself as a mere boy during the War of 1812. His regular education, such as it was, he acquired in Montreal and in Baltimore, and when the time came to choose between a military life and civil pursuits he betook himself to the study of the law and established himself in Cooperstown, New York. He quickly found his way into political life by joining the rising fortunes of the Democratic party, became Adjutant-General of New York in 1830, Secretary of State in 1833, Representative of Albany County in 1841 and 1842, and United States Senator in 1844. In these various positions his military knowledge made his services especially valuable. He opposed the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War, but out of friendship for General Pierce supported him as a candidate for the Presidency, and, but for Southern opposition, would have had a place in his Cabinet. He received the post of Assistant United States Treasurer at New York, which he presently resigned, was appointed Postmaster of this city by President Buchanan in 1859, and finally entered the latter's Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury in those anxious days of dissolution, when the head of the Government was an imbecile and his advisers engaged in betraying the Government into the hands of the Secessionists. He, with Stanton and Holt, kept their chief from recalling Anderson from Sumter to Moultrie, and his were the stirring instructions to the Treasury Agent at New Orleans—"If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." On Mr. Lincoln's accession he re-entered the military service, was made Major-General of Volunteers, being placed in command first at Baltimore, then at Fortress Monroe, then at New York, and finally was made Minister to France, where he remained till 1869. His subsequent career is well known. He was closely associated with the attempt to redeem his adopted State from the corrupt rule of the Ring, and obtained the Governorship in 1872 with the most gratifying marks of popular favor. His administration was honest and vigorous, but left some abuses still for Mr. Tilden's peculiar genius to expose and reform. The mere record of a long life like General Dix's supplies the place of comment or eulogy.

The Supreme Court at Washington has decided the question of settlers' rights in lands granted to the Pacific railroads in favor of the railroads. The controversy turns on the meaning of the words used in the grant to the Union Pacific by Congress, providing that all lands not "sold or disposed of" by the company within three years after the completion of the road should be open to settlement like public lands, at a price not exceeding $1.25 per acre. In the case just decided the company maintained that its lands had been otherwise "disposed of," within the meaning of the act, by a mortgage given in 1867, by means of which it raised the money to build the road. The Court holds that this is the correct view of the act;

that Congress cannot be supposed to have used words without some object; that the words "disposed of" must have some meaning beyond the word "sold," and the most natural meaning would be a disposition by mortgage for the purpose of raising money to build the road. No other mode of disposal would have been of any use, and the right to hypothecate a limited interest in the land would have been a "barren gift." "Looking at the character of the lands and their remoteness from settlements, it must have been evident enough that money could not have been raised on the credit of such a mortgage." In reply to the argument that such a disposition of public lands is repugnant to the governmental policy of guarding against monopolies of public lands, the Court say that this policy was manifestly subordinated by Congress to the more immediate and direct object of having the road constructed, and constructed with the aid of a land-grant. The decision, we take it, applies to all the Pacific railroads. Three judges dissented from the opinion; but the grounds of their dissent have not yet been published. The division of opinion justifies the position that Mr. Schurz took in the matter as Secretary of the Interior.

The news from Russia grows more and more serious. The failure of the police to cope successfully with the Nihilists, coupled with the suspicion, which grows stronger, that the police itself is more or less infected by Nihilist sympathies, has led to the issue of a ukase putting six districts, containing the largest cities in the Empire, Petersburg, Kharkov, Odessa, Moscow, Kiev, and Warsaw, under martial law. A governor-general is to be appointed for each of them, armed with more than the full powers of a general in the field. He can arrest and try by court-martial any one he pleases, on any charge he chooses to prefer, or, if he does not choose to try him, he may arrest and send him off to any place he pleases. He may take charge of all schools and colleges and suppress any newspaper or periodical, and finally may adopt any measure he may consider necessary for the preservation of order. Nothing approaching to this in severity, on the part of a sovereign towards his own countrymen in time of peace, has been witnessed since 1815, except, strange to say, in France, which permitted itself to be cut up into military districts in 1852, and governed by generals armed with powers almost as great as those bestowed on the Russian generals. But then there was in France, even in those dark days, a public opinion which Bonapartist generals could not wholly disregard. The Russian governors will act under no restraint, and it is difficult to imagine anything more terrible than the risks to which persons suspected of liberal opinions, or in any way obnoxious to the authorities, will now be exposed, even in the greatest cities in the Empire.

That the experiment is sure to fail in the long run—that is, that it will not lay the foundation of any better state of things—is quite certain. At the same time it is hard to see what the Emperor, of whose good intentions no one can doubt, is to do. He cannot yield to assassination or armed attacks on the police directed by secret societies, because this would speedily reduce the Empire to the condition of Sicily, and put all life and property at the mercy of brigands. On the other hand, a class has evidently come into existence within twenty years which cannot be handled by the Russian police as it now is, which will not submit to the brutalities and repression which were accepted as a matter of course under Nicholas, and which seems to have unlimited command of desperate agents. It looks as if either the late reforms ought not to have been attempted without representative institutions, or not attempted at all.

The difficulty of getting at the cause of the Russian troubles is very great, owing to the rigid censure of the press, and the silence, in fact, imposed upon all criticism or discontent. But one remarkable examination of the situation from the point of view of the moderate and sensible reformers, of whom there is undoubtedly a considerable party, has been made public. It consists of an address to the Emperor by one of the Zemstvos, a kind of representative County or Provincial Board of recent establishment, and fully described by Wallace. It was signed by all the twenty members, but the President refused to transmit it or allow it to be published. It was circulated, however, in a lithographed form, a copy of which has been published by the Paris *Temps*. It says the cause of the malady which now afflicts Russian society is, (1) the inefficiency of the secondary schools and of the colleges and universities; (2) the total absence of liberty of speech and of the press; and (3) the want of respect for the law. It explains that the great reforms of the present reign have filled Russian society with new aspirations and given it a new leaven, and pushed large bodies of youth into the colleges, where they are only half-taught, and in which only *one-fiftieth* of their number complete their course. Both these and those who do graduate have no career open to them on coming out into the world, and can satisfy neither their intellectual nor material wants, and are in consequence filled with bitterness against society and against the Government, and throw themselves into the present mad struggle against social order. They might be met and vanquished or cured by free discussion, but this is made impossible by the censure. The friends of anarchy propagate their opinions by a clandestine press, while the friends of order have no means of reply. "Silence," they say, "which is the rule of our institutions, makes even such rudimentary institutions as the Zemstvos useless." The rapid decline of respect for the law is due to the absence of proper control in the bureaucracy, the feebleness of the courts, and the continuance of administrative punishments by the police; and with contempt for the law comes general degeneracy of morals and manners. The whole document is very interesting.

There appears to be no doubt that Prince Bismarck is to have his way in the tariff matter. The majority of the Reichstag sticks to him, and the Free-Traders confess the necessity of beginning an economical agitation among the people, which means that victory is still some distance off. He has, too, placated a good many enemies by his liberal tone with regard to Alsace-Loraine, which he admits ought to have an autonomous government—that is, be erected into a member of the Confederation. He said some handsome things by way of excuse for those Alsatians who still mourn the French connection. The reception-address of Renan at the French Academy has excited a good deal of attention and some newspaper bitterness, even from the semi-official press in Germany, partly owing to its jubilant, triumphant strain, so different from the tone of his writing after the war, and partly to his wicked allusion to Germany as a country "whose science, pedantic in its solitude, whose literature without gaiety, whose sour politics, high society without brilliance, nobility without *esprit*, and gentlemen without politeness, and great captains without stirring speech, will not soon dethrone the old French society, so bright, so polished, so eager to please."

It has been found impossible to get the Turks to settle amicably with Greece about the new line of frontier; but Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury took quite a cheerful view of the matter on being questioned about it in the House of Lords, and said that there was nothing wonderful in Oriental negotiations lasting so long; that this was the Oriental way, and they had no doubt all would come out right in the end. The explanation the Sultan and his cabinet are said to give of the delay, on the other hand, is that the Mussulmans could not be got to understand the cession of territory to a Power with which there had been no war. They understand the surrender of portions of the soil of Islam to the superior force of an enemy, but they would be greatly excited by the spectacle of surrender to infidels who have never fired a shot. For this reason they feel it necessary to wait for the interference and even actual pressure of the great Powers. When this is brought to bear, "Kismet" will appear on the scene, and the Mussulmans will declare that God is great, and that nobody is to blame.

STATE TAXATION.

MOST civilized countries, our own included, divide the subjects of taxation in such a manner that the national authorities are enabled to lay their hands on those sources of revenue which are easily managed and give rise to little dispute, such as customs and excise duties, stamps and other imposts which are mostly indirect, and are sometimes termed voluntary taxes, because people can avoid them by not buying or consuming the articles taxed. To the local authorities, State and municipal, are remitted all the subjects of taxation not monopolized by the central government, and these are commonly reachable only by direct assessment, coupled with the power to seize or imprison if the tax is not paid. The puzzle of the local authorities, here and elsewhere, is to assess the subjects of taxation belonging to them in such wise that each person or thing shall pay his or its fair proportion, and that none shall be driven out of the jurisdiction. Any tax, whether just or unjust in itself, which causes the property, or the person owning it, to depart the jurisdiction, defeats its object in a double sense. It not only causes a loss of the particular sum sought to be obtained, but diminishes the taxable value of all other property in the vicinage. Any tax which even tends to cause the migration of capital is *primâ facie* a blundering imposition, and yet no other lesson seems so hard for American legislators to learn. The idea handed down to us from a time when the person and the property were always situated together, that each man should pay according to the amount of his property —which cannot be gainsaid from a moral point of view—has been an invincible obstacle to any rational system of taxation. It is a mischievous fallacy as applied to the conditions of modern society, but it stands on the statute-books and in State constitutions as something in the nature of an axiom which nobody is permitted to dispute.

In preparing any scheme of State taxation the first question to decide is, What are the subjects of taxation? Are they persons or things, or both? Are they persons and things situated within the jurisdiction of the taxing power, or beyond such jurisdiction, or both? Here there is great diversity of opinion, or, at all events, of practice, and the notion which seems to prevail most generally is that both persons and things are the subjects of taxation; that persons and things within the jurisdiction are preferable as subjects of taxation, but that persons and things outside the jurisdiction are to be levied upon as far as possible. Then comes the great question, What are "things"? At first blush this might seem to be tolerably easy of answer; but we find State legislatures, and even courts of justice, hotly disputing with each other upon the definition of a "thing" as a subject of taxation. A horse, a house, a piece of land, a locomotive engine, are conceded upon all hands to be "things." Is a promissory note, a share of stock in an incorporated company, a warehouse receipt, or a railroad bond a "thing," within the meaning of the phrase? Most of our legislatures say, Yes, they are things rightfully subject to taxation, separate and apart from the property, *the other things*, which they represent, and this irrespective of their geographical situation. If the owner lives here, we will tax him for the possession of these *things*, even though the *other things* represented by them are situated in California and taxed there. The pending new constitution of the latter State puts this vexed question beyond controversy, by providing that everything which is susceptible of ownership shall be subject to taxation. Thus the real estate, machinery, and tools of a mining company would be liable to taxation; the capital stock of the company, being likewise susceptible of ownership, would be liable to taxation; and the indebtedness of the company, represented by bonds or promissory notes, would also be liable to taxation. If the stock, bonds, and promissory notes were all burned in the fire, there would be no less property in the State than before. If these written or printed instruments were multiplied by ten, the property would be no greater. Therefore the proposition is to tax a certain species of property three times, or as many times as it takes different forms of subdivision and transfer. Such absurdities are not peculiar to California; New York and Massachusetts can match them in many ingenious ways. Mr. G. H. Andrews, of this city, and Mr. William Minot, jr., of Boston, have given us tabulated statements of double and triple taxation of the same property, and of cases where A. is taxed two or three times, while B., owning the same kind of property, is taxed only once, or not at all, and all in strict accordance with law.

Nearly all the absurdities and inequalities of local taxation—and it would be impossible to enumerate them all in a single article—grow out of a primary want of definitions. There is no clear understanding, as has been shown, of what a "thing" is, in the purview of the tax-gatherer. Nor is there any clearer idea of what a person is. A person can only be taxed as a person. His income may be taxed, his profession or trade, his property, his consumption may be taxed, but as a person he can only be subjected to a personal tax; and it is agreed that all personal as well as other taxes should be uniform. There is no reason why Mr. Vanderbilt should pay a greater poll or capitation tax than anybody else. Such taxes have been generally discontinued. The tax on persons has practically ceased to be levied in the United States, or if levied at all, it is for other purposes than revenue. But the common conception of legislators is that *persons* should be taxed according to the amount of their *property;* whence the solecism arises that a person residing in Massachusetts or New York, but having no property there which the tax-collector can levy upon and sell, may be cast into prison if he refuses to pay a tax upon property situated in California, which may have been taxed or even confiscated by the authorities of the latter State. The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that property lying beyond the jurisdiction of a State cannot be made the subject of taxation by the State, and has added, by way of reproof, that no adjudication ought to be necessary to establish so plain a proposition. With due deference to that high tribunal, we incline to the belief that more than one decision will be needed to break through the crust of ignorance which surrounds this subject. So long as legislators imagine that they are taxing persons when they are really taxing things, and so long as they remain in a fog as to what a "thing" really is for purposes of taxation, they will continue to assess the citizen of New York for property and dues belonging to him in Illinois.

A good deal of confusion has been imported into the subject by the never-ending dispute in reference to the taxation of mortgages. It is not right, say the tax-reformers, when you have taxed A.'s land to tax B.'s mortgage on the same land also; this is double taxation of the same property. That there is something in the nature of double taxation here has been grudgingly admitted by sundry State legislatures, and various awkward concessions have been made to correct the evil. A mortgage is one form of security for a promissory note, or other evidence of debt, differing in nowise from any other kind of security except in its mode of enforcement. A.'s indebtedness is no greater because he has given a mortgage on land to secure it than if he had given cattle, railroad shares, or a friend's endorsement. The only things to be considered are the land and the debt. If the mortgage is brought into the case as a third element, it is sure to produce confusion. Smith, Brown, and Robinson, members of the Legislature, will be sure to have three different ways of dealing with the mortgage, whereas if A. had given bank stock as security for the same debt, or if his credit had been good enough to procure the loan without security (in which case his situation as a debtor and taxpayer would be exactly the same), Smith, Brown, and Robinson would understand the situation perfectly. The State in its tax-gathering capacity has nothing to do with the forms of security by which people satisfy each other for the loan of capital. It has no more concern with mortgages than with pawnbroker's tickets; and tax-reformers make a serious mistake when they bring mortgages forward to illustrate the injustice of double taxation, because they tend to the multiplication of words and darkening of counsel.

The proper rules to be followed in any system of State and municipal taxation would seem to be—1st, to obtain as much revenue

as possible in the way of licenses from trades and occupations which, like the liquor trade, need to be repressed rather than encouraged; 2d, to tax movable things—"things" being tangible, ponderable substances, and not the written evidences and title-deeds of the same—no further than they will voluntarily consent to be taxed by remaining within the jurisdiction of the taxing power; 3d, to tax immovable things, such as houses, lands, railroads; 4th, to exempt from taxation all invisible and intangible creations whatsoever, including the claims which one man has upon another, whether that other be a citizen of the same State or of another State, or of a foreign country. There is no reason why a different set of rules should be applied to corporations. If corporations have property within the jurisdiction of the taxing power, it should be assessed in the same way and to the same extent as similar property owned by individuals. The stock of a corporation being merely the representative of its property, is not a subject of separate taxation any more than a right of inheritance or a right of dower. Demagogues are constantly bringing forward schemes to relieve the whole people from public burdens by taxing corporations. A corporation is only a community of ownership, the need of which in civilized society is so great that every facility and inducement for entering into it is offered by the state. To turn around, after persons have been thus lured into the investment of their money, and to impose excessive and differential taxes upon their capital merely because it is held in small parcels under articles of incorporation, instead of being owned in large blocks by individuals or firms under articles of partnership, is a Jeremy Diddler's trick which will not greatly advance the political fortunes of anybody who seeks to play it upon the people of this State. As regards the project to raise all the revenue required for local purposes from a tax on land, houses, and rooms, on the theory that such a tax will distribute itself equitably throughout the community, it must be said that the burden of proof to show that such a tax will distribute itself equitably is still upon the advocates of the system, and that the highest authorities on the subject, notably Mill and Fawcett, do not concede the truth of the proposition.

THE COLLEGES AND LEGISLATION.

MR. ANDREW D. WHITE, the late President of Cornell University and the new Minister to Germany, recently repeated in this city a lecture of which we have already made mention, calling attention to the need of a larger supply of men properly equipped by education for the work of legislation and administration. He pointed out the immense drafts which our system of government makes on the political capacity of the country, with its Congress, its forty-odd State and Territorial legislatures, and its enormous number of city and county councils and boards. Nowhere is there a greater amount of legislative business of one sort or another despatched every year, and nowhere is there so little preparation made for it by any sort of formal training. The result is, as everybody knows, a large amount of hasty and ill-advised law-making, and slovenly and blundering administration, the evil effects of which have to be repaired or concealed by the great energy and intelligence of the people, and the vast natural resources of the country. But it cannot be concealed that as population grows denser and the mass to be acted on by legislation grows larger, and the interests with which it has to deal become more complex, the popular energy and intelligence and the natural resources of the country will become less and less able to make up for errors and shortcomings of our rulers. We shall have to be governed more carefully, or else submit to a considerable diminution in our rate of progress and in our sense of security.

The remedy Mr. White proposes is the establishment of schools or departments of political science by our leading colleges, in which such young men as choose to make politics their occupation or their leading object of attention might get an education in political economy, in the use of statistics, in finance, in general jurisprudence, and comparative legislation. He thinks this would not only make a much-needed addition to our supply of trained politicians, whether in public life or at the bar or in journalism, but would stop the growing separation of the colleges from the active life of the country. There is nothing in his recommendations or suggestions in which every intelligent observer of the tendencies of American politics must not heartily concur. But he, like every man who is or expects to be in public life, has been restrained by a not unnatural delicacy from mentioning some of the difficulties in the way of bringing training to bear on politics which arise out of the political system itself, but which in devising any plan of reform cannot be overlooked. Foremost among these is the elaborateness of the political machinery—or, in other words, the frequency of elections and the enormous number of the offices which have to be filled by election. It is this, even more than the want of skill or preparation on the part of legislators, which makes American legislation defective. No man, no matter what his training or capacity, has more than a certain amount of energy or working power. Under our present system of choosing men for office through primaries and conventions, and frequent elections, the best man has to expend so much of his energy in getting his place, and after he has got it, in keeping it, that he has little or none left for its proper duties. If he is very skilful in getting nominations and providing for new nominations, he is almost certain to take very little interest in serious questions, and is almost sure, by way of self-justification, to adopt the habit of sneering at scientific legislation and deriding the persons who profess it as "theorists." Our own Senator Conkling is a striking illustration of this. He is a person of considerable ability and untiring industry. No man in Washington works harder, but his time is spent not in looking after the great commercial and other interests of his State, or those of the country at large, but in keeping in good working order the machinery by which, once in every six years, he procures his re-election. It is fair to acknowledge that with less attention to this machinery he could probably hardly attain his object, and that if he did the duty which Mr. White's scheme assigns to a Senator he would have to give less, and considerably less. The reform of the civil service would no doubt greatly improve the quality of Federal legislation, by making the nominating machinery simpler and easier to work, and thus giving the legislators more time for their real duties; but even this will hardly make the public life attractive to the best political talent of the country without greater simplicity in the mode of getting into it. It is still too hard to get at the voters. Politics is, owing to the enormous labor and the peculiar kind of talent needed to manage a convention, something in the nature of a close corporation. It is reached by men of ability and training, but in the larger number of cases theirs is not the kind of ability and training which make good legislation. It is not filled by any means with men like Mr. Simon Cameron and Mr. Roscoe Conkling, but it is such men who find it easiest to get into it, and, what is of still more importance, to stay in it.

To change this state of things the mode of selecting candidates, and perhaps the mode of electing them, will have to be modified. Able men who do not possess the "managing" talent will have to be furnished with some means (such, for instance, as minority representation or the abolition of the residence qualification) of finding constituencies which the caucus in their own districts will not furnish them, before we shall ever see many real politicians—that is, men who are more interested in questions than in machinery—sitting in Congress or in our State legislatures. Such spectacles as the turning adrift of men like Mr. Hewitt, after he has acquired parliamentary experience, at the very moment when his party is in the direst need of brains, will never be prevented in any other way, and yet they are now of yearly occurrence. Two years is about as long as a really well-equipped man, who will not devote time and money to the nominating machinery, is able to stay in Congress.

Until this change is brought about, we fear no system of preparation colleges could devise would produce much fruit. Colleges, with regard to all special training, are, after all, very dependent on

the market demand. The law and medical and mining and theological schools flourish because through these schools men are prepared for callings which they are reasonably sure of being able to follow. If they were simply places in which men prepared themselves to look on at other people arguing, curing, mining, and preaching, and to produce barren criticism of them, they would attract very few students, and these not by any means men of much force or ambition. Yet a school of political science in any university at this moment would be very much in this position if it undertook to furnish a complete college course that is to take the place of all other courses of instruction, which is, we understand, what Mr. White has in his mind. It would, in other words, want the crowning attraction of practice. The graduates would, if they sought for even the humblest office in virtue of their training, be the laughing-stock of the managers; if they worked for it in the ordinary way, by active participation in the management of the nominating machine, beginning with the primaries—which is the course that is usually recommended—they would have to devote an amount of time to it which few young men can afford, and it would be a kind of work so repulsive in many of its features that it is questionable whether, except in the case of men of unusually robust temper, their collegiate training would not prove rather a hindrance than a help in it. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that it is doubtful whether at this moment collegiate training can be made to tell on public life in any way except through journalism. Here we do believe there is a field for those who wish to exert a powerful influence on public affairs in the United States, which men of wealth and education have thus far strangely neglected, and which offers immense opportunities for shaping the thought of the country.

It is a field which thus far, in spite of the great number of newspapers, has been very little worked by the kind of men whom Mr. White seeks to prepare for public life; and yet it is a field in which we feel sure they must labor a good deal before they can hope to labor in any other. So great has been their abstinence of late years from all attempts to influence public opinion on any but philanthropic questions, that they have almost, in the popular eyes, lost their right to be listened to with anything but indulgence. Whatever they have to say against existing practices has come to wear the air of "theory," which in the average politician's mouth means a plan which is incapable of execution in this world; and the list of things in politics which are only practicable in heaven is every year enlarged. There are, too, now regular strata of politicians, each considering itself truly "practical," and the one above it merely "theoretical." To the City Hall politician Conkling is a "theorist," because he makes no money out of his patronage and never calls for a "divvy." When we get down to the man who sells his vote for a quart of whiskey, we find that to him all the rest of the political world is a mass of visionaries, whose heads are filled with impracticable schemes, little suited to a plain democracy like ours, which is after all a government of "the boys."

LIBERAL PROSPECTS IN ENGLAND.

London, April 8, 1879.

THE two Houses of Parliament have adjourned for the Easter recess, the Lords acting in the spirit of Charles Lamb's principle and conduct, and rising earlier to reassemble later. Ease with dignity is certainly the maxim of that august assembly, which in proportion as it does less work requires longer rest and relaxation. This is a rule of human nature—to be more tired of doing little or nothing than of the most strenuous exertions.

The Opposition retire for their Easter holidays, which in the Commons extend from the 7th to the 17th of this month and in the Lords from the 4th to the 21st, in higher spirits than they have known since Mr. Gladstone's capricious dissolution condemned them to a hopeless and almost helpless minority in both houses, and, it is fair to add, in the country. The debate and the division on the Zulu War showed a great accession of strength and confidence on the Liberal side. The Ministerialists were plainly out of heart. A series of accidents has reduced their debating power in the House of Commons to a lower level than has been known since the ministry of Addington was the subject of Canning's merciless jibes. With the exception of Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Cross, the Cabinet in the House of Commons is without a speaker above the second or third rank; and the sense of a powerful majority behind them does not make up for the consciousness of inadequacy in debate. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Lowe are now comparatively infrequent speakers—the last is an eminently uncertain one, as the late debate showed—but their presence on the Opposition benches is a mark and symbol of oratorical and intellectual power which has its influence. The knowledge that they can and will intervene, if occasion arises, to turn the tide of debate, has the effect of a large body of reserve on the side of an enemy already more than a match for its antagonist. It is not that as a whole the Liberal party is stronger in parliamentary ability than its opponents; but the accidents or necessities or the claims to social and political recognition which have removed Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Salisbury, Lord Cairns, and Lord Cranbrook to the House of Lords have left the Government naked to its enemies in the Commons. They have given it a superfluity of strength where it was not needed, and impoverished it where it was poor already. The speech with which Sir Charles Dilke opened the debate in the Commons was one of the great successes not only of this session but of the Parliament. It ranks among those decisive steps which at a critical point in his career a man makes to the front. Sir Charles Dilke's steady progress shows that with him a position gained will be a position kept. With the exception of Sir William Harcourt, no Liberal politician has advanced so rapidly as he in parliamentary reputation, and a considerable place is assured him, if he chooses to take it, in the next Liberal Government.

Talk of the next Liberal Government may seem to hopeless minds like talk of the millennium or of what will take place on the Greek Kalends. But the Opposition benches and the election agents are beginning to feel sanguine; and various combinations are tried and retried in gossip and conjecture. The fact is made much of that the vote on the Zulu debate gave the Government only its strict party majority. That wavering and fluctuating mass of undecided opinion which sways now to this side and now to that, and which turns the balance of parties in the country and in Parliament, went against the ministers. The more independent of their ordinary supporters, men like Sir Robert Peel, Sir Henry Holland, son of the celebrated physician and for many years permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and Mr. Gorst, for a long time their political agent and election manager, spoke and voted against them. There was no heart in the speeches on their side, and the division lobby was filled with reluctant recruits, "whipped" into action as the Russian soldiers used to be. The ministerial majority was little more than half or two-thirds of what it ordinarily is. The financial scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer has not mended matters. It is sneered at as the Cocoa-paste budget, from one of the two new features which it contains. Of course, a momentary relief is felt at the fact that it does not impose fresh taxes. But behind this sentiment is the misgiving that bills are simply renewed which before long will fall due with heavier interest. To use an "Americanism" as old as Chaucer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer lets things slide; and there is fear that they are going down a steep slope with great rapidity. The feeling is common to both sides, and finds expression not in debate but in familiar talk in the lobbies and other places where a safe frankness is practised. It is customary to speak of a particular House of Commons, especially when it has reached a certain term of years, as being at variance with the opinion of the country. On great critical questions this is often so. But the action of the country on the House of Commons is not confined to its votes at a general election. Public opinion tells insensibly upon it, without ostensibly affecting the party allegiance of its members. During the past four years of Lord Beaconsfield's administration the popular Conservatism and Jingoism loosened the bonds of discipline in the Liberal party. The tribe of independent Liberals flourished who delighted to speak and vote against their chiefs and with the Government, some of them undoubtedly from deliberate conviction, others carried away by the sentiment and impulse of the hour, others consciously trimming their sails to the popular gale. Now the effect of outside opinion on the House of Commons is just the reverse. It is loosening the allegiance of the Conservatives, and tempting them into the novel position of giving an independent support to the Government—that is, opposing it whenever they can find a pretext for doing so. On the other hand, the Liberal party is being knitted together. The party managers are confronting the possibility that the next general election may return a Liberal majority to the House

of Commons. At the very least, it is likely seriously to diminish the Conservative majority. What is probable is, that parties will be so nearly balanced as to make government either by a Liberal or a Conservative administration difficult. The new Parliament, if it is of this character, will probably be a short-lived one, and may be followed by another of a more decided party character. The alternations of sentiment, the desire for action after repose, the maturing of opinion on controverted questions, and inevitable growth of abuses needing correction, make it probable that the next Parliament may be indecisively Conservative or Liberal, and that its successor will be decisively Liberal. Another element in the changes of party and opinion needs to be taken into account. Prolonged prosperity has a tendency to make men Conservative and apathetic The financial and commercial successes of Mr. Gladstone's government, paradox as the thing may seem, did something to weaken its hold on the country. Distress and impoverishment help to make men radical. The industrial depression which has been simultaneous with Lord Beaconsfield's administration contributes of itself to a Liberal revival.

Whenever the future of the Liberal party and the possibility of a Liberal administration are considered, two questions present themselves, which are really different sides of one and the same question. The first is : What will Mr. Gladstone do ? The second is : What is to be done with Mr. Gladstone ? The former is asked with a certain eager curiosity and hopefulness by the Liberal rank and file in the country; the latter with considerable perplexity and searching of heart by Mr. Gladstone's old colleagues in the two Houses. It is probable that Mr. Gladstone himself would find it impossible to answer the first question. It is certain that until he has done so no one can answer the second. It will be very difficult to do anything with Mr. Gladstone which Mr. Gladstone does not choose to have done to him. So long as he remains in political life, from which he shows no signs of a disposition to retire, no Liberal administration can be formed with any chance of continuing of which he is not a member, and he could not conveniently be a member of any Liberal administration in any other character than in that of its ostensible as well as its real chief. The confidence of the country and of the House of Commons in the Liberal party is confidence in Mr. Gladstone. The terms in which his candidature for Mid-Lothian have been stated both by himself and on his behalf, and the manner in which his challenge has been met by the Conservatives, show that on both sides the election will be what is called a test one. Mr. Gladstone, as he himself has stated, put himself into the hands of the Central Liberal Association, the party organization directed by Mr. Adam, the Liberal whip in the House of Commons, to determine the place and conditions of his candidature. A merely individual candidature would not have been thus disposed of. The issues of the coming contest which he has laid down are accepted through the country. The general election will turn on the question : Mr. Gladstone's policy or Lord Beaconsfield's policy ? And this means, practically, Mr. Gladstone or Lord Beaconsfield ? The suggestion has been thrown out that Mr. Gladstone might hold the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in an administration of which Lord Granville should be the head, and Lord Hartington the leader in the Commons. Mr. Gladstone habitually lives in considerations in which regard to titular and official precedence has no place ; but finance, as Lord Beaconsfield has said, depends on policy, and large financial reforms could not be effected without the weight belonging to their author as first minister of the Crown. Great financier, too, as Mr. Gladstone is, finance is second in his mind to the moral side of politics ; and it is impossible to think of him as accepting the post of mere cashier or managing clerk of a Liberal administration. It has been suggested that, as was the case with Lord Lansdowne and Lord Russell, he might accept a seat in a new Liberal cabinet without office. But practically this would mean one or other of two things : either Mr. Gladstone would be a merely ostensible member of the Cabinet, giving his name to it and nothing else—a position in which neither he nor the country would acquiesce—or he would be really the first minister without salary, office, or responsibility, an arrangement quite impracticable and barely constitutional.

No ; if there is a Liberal majority in the new parliament it will be a Gladstone majority. If we are to have a Liberal administration, while Mr. Gladstone remains active in political life, it can have only one chief. Lord Granville is a man universally popular ; but he is neither a great minister nor a great parliamentary leader. He is an admirable party-manager and social harmonizer. The House of Lords is a drawing-room, and Lord Granville is a drawing-room politician. Moreover, although half-a-dozen years Mr. Gladstone's junior in age, he is half-a-dozen years Mr. Gladstone's senior physically and mentally. Lord Hartington has done his work admirably in the House of Commons ; his good sense, straightforwardness, and courage are universally acknowledged ; but he cannot succeed in rousing or interesting either himself or the country. In the middle of one of his speeches on a great political question he interrupted himself to yawn, amid the titters of the House of Commons. That yawn was symbolic. There can be no doubt that he would readily yield the leadership to Mr. Gladstone if the interests of the party required it. A combination which has been a good deal talked of, and which may come to pass, would give Mr. Gladstone the premiership and the leadership in the Commons ; Lord Hartington a peerage, in anticipation of his succession to the dukedom of Devonshire, and the leadership in the Lords ; reserving to Lord Granville high titular office, such as that of President of the Council or Lord Privy Seal, with such functions of advice and direction as belong to his experience, ability, and tact, and as were exercised in somewhat similar circumstances by such men as the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Russell. These, however, are details. What is certain is that, if the measures of a Liberal administration, when the time comes for forming one, and of a Liberal House of Commons, when it is elected, are to go to the House of Lords with an authority which will overcome resistance, the official and parliamentary leadership of Mr. Gladstone will be essential. No other man has the personal energy for this work ; no other man has the popular forces at his back. The hostility of the Liberal aristocracy to him has been exaggerated. There have been a few secessions of no great importance ; but the great Whig families and the old Whig officials have been true to him, and the more promising members of the younger aristocracy follow his lead. The historic houses of Bedford, Devonshire, and Argyll, old Lord Halifax and the young Lords Rosebery and Lansdowne, represent a body of political influence and promise which is upon his side. The courtier, and even court, impertinences which were lavished by George III. on the elder Pitt and the younger Fox, and by George IV. on Canning, have not altogether been spared Mr. Gladstone. But feelings of this kind in quarters of this sort do not need to be taken into account. In reckoning with and resisting them they disappear. † † †

THE FINANCES OF PARIS.

PARIS, April 4, 1879.

THE foreigner who visits Paris and enjoys its pleasures and its splendor is not often aware of the price which the citizens of Paris have to pay for the privilege of having the finest capital in Europe. I have before me the Budget of Paris for 1879 ; and I see among the *ordinary* expenses an item of $20,005,956—an item inscribed perforce every year in the budget. This sum alone represents nearly half the annual expense of the city of Paris, which, in fact, now normally amounts every year to $41,200,000. Paris looks like a shining sun surrounded by such small planets as Marseilles (of which city the annual expense is only $2,200,000), Lyons ($2,087,471), Bordeaux ($1,328,626), Lille ($926,548), Rouen ($789,325). Then come in order of wealth or of extravagance, as you like it : Saint-Étienne ($685,072), Havre ($576,467), Toulouse ($528,676), Nantes ($362,781). Nantes begins the list of the cities whose budget is under two millions of francs ($400,000). In the descent to one million we find Nantes, Nancy, Reims, Nice, Amiens, Angers, Toulon, Nîmes, Limoges, Versailles, Boulogne, Grenoble, Tours, Orléans, Montpellier, Rennes, Troyes, Besançon, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Caen—I have placed them in their order of wealth. You see at once what a position Paris holds. Marseilles, the queen of the Mediterranean Sea, has only a budget of eleven million francs, while Paris has all the dignity of the budget of a small kingdom, spending annually more than two hundred millions of francs. The sum of $20,005,956 which is mentioned above represents the interest and the sinking fund of a capital of $397,423 229, which will be repaid, if all goes well, only in 1950.

What is the origin of this stupendous debt of nearly two milliards of francs ? It is to be found chiefly in the extravagance of the Second Empire and its mania for new houses and new boulevards and streets. Nero set a part of Rome on fire, and rebuilt it ; perhaps his way was the cheapest. M. Haussmann destroyed with much care great quarters of Paris, and had them rebuilt. Loan after loan was emitted by Paris after 1852 ; the budget of Paris for 1852 was still rather modest ; we had the loan of 1852, the loan of 1855, the loan of 1860, the loan of 1865, the loans of 1867 and 1868 made to the Crédit Foncier, the loan of 1869. After that date come the loans made after the two sieges of Paris, and for the liquidation of the debts contracted during the invasion and the Com-

mune. The Republican Government, however, did not think of making economies; the very men who had published the 'Comptes fantastiques d'Haussmann' (a very poor allusion to the 'Contes fantastiques d'Hoffmann'), the men who had attacked the extravagance of the Empire and denounced the method of giving labor at any price to the people, began at once to look into the papers left by M. Haussmann, and to study his plans. They saw new boulevards to cut, new squares to make. There is, I suppose, a born mason in every man; our Municipal Councillors, at any rate, seem determined to change again the face of the capital They have cut the immense Boulevard Saint-Germain across the quiet old quarters of the left bank of the Seine; they have cut the Avenue de l'Opéra, from the new Opéra to the Théâtre-Français, across the Butte des Moulins.

Since 1871 the Municipal Council of Paris has contracted two great loans—in 1874 and in 1876; the capital which has to be repaid by the city on these loans was, on the 31st December, 1878, equal to $77,196,600, which is equivalent to an annuity of $3,564,019. It is calculated that the actual total annuity of the debt of Paris, which amounts to $20,005,956, will be reduced, by the operation of the sinking fund, $8,948,766 in the course of thirty years. This reduction of the debt will, of course, only take place if there is no new debt incurred, which does not seem a very probable contingency, as our Municipal Council is more inclined to extravagance than to economy. The sum last named represents nearly the amount of the new taxes which were created in 1871 and in 1872; if all went well, if Paris became frugal and wished to be economical, the citizens of Paris could, therefore, throw off thirty years hence the burden which has been imposed upon them; but if our Councillors continue to walk in the footsteps of Haussmann, there is no hope of ever seeing a diminution of the annuity of the municipal debt, nor a diminution of the municipal taxes.

While the annual tax, per capita, amounts in Belgium to $7.36, in Switzerland to $2.86, it is equal in Paris to $22.40; and this figure does not tell the whole story: it represents only a part of the annual contribution paid in Paris, and in Belgium there is no *octroi* (or entrance duty paid on nearly all articles of food that enter the city); in Switzerland the municipal tax is a part of the figure which I have given. In Paris you must add to the figure of $22.40, which represents the municipal tax, a charge of $13.33, which represents the average payment made by each French citizen to the state. Each Parisian pays therefore, in all, $35.73. He pays twice as much for the expenses of the capital as he does for the imperial expenses. (N.B.—What I have said applies to every inhabitant, whether male or female.)

In old times, before 1852, the receipts of Paris were always somewhat larger than the expenses. The surplus was employed in public works or helped to diminish some taxes. The new economic school has found this too vulgar and too *bourgeois* (as we say), merely to apply a surplus to extraordinary expenses. "Why don't you," said the Haussmanns, "consider this surplus as the interest of a large capital, and spend this capital at once in some great works? It would be more systematic, and, in the end, as economical." It is true that the rules which apply to an individual do not apply to a community; but it seems to me to be merely because the community increases in numbers; if a community makes a loan, there will be in the course of time more individuals who will work in order to repay the capital. It is on this principle of the gradual increase of the population that you can defend the system of state loans and city loans which has become universal. We can hardly conceive at the present day a state or a city having no debt whatever. So much wisdom would seem like folly. The Parisians, however, have entered with too much ardor upon this new system of "the capitalization of the surplus." The city owes now $397,423,229, and in order to liberate itself it has to pay, till the 25th February, 1950, reckoning the annuities and the lots (large lots are drawn in a new sort of lottery), a sum which amounts to $921,349,259. And if you add to this enormous sum what has been paid since the engagements were contracted, you will arrive at the still more enormous sum of $1,091,698,306, a sum equivalent to the ransom which France had to pay to Germany after the last war.

I come now to the resources of Paris. I have shown what its expenses are; I must show how they are met. The greatest resource is the *octroi*. Originally this entrance-tax on the necessities of life had for its object only the endowment of the hospitals of Paris, but now it has become the great lever of the whole administration. It is marked on the budget of 1878 for $25,340,620; with the *octroi* alone Paris can pay the interest on its debt. The *octroi* falls very heavily on the people. Each litre of wine (whether good or bad, cheap or dear) pays at the barrier of Paris an *octroi* duty of 23.875 centimes (nearly five cents), of which 12 centimes are for the state and 11.875 centimes for the city. This applies to the litre when the wine is not bottled; when it is bottled, the tax rises to 50 centimes (ten cents), 30 for the benefit of the city and 20 for the state. But little wine enters Paris in bottles; it is generally only bottled inside of the barriers. A workingman who drinks on an average a litre of wine a day—and this is a very reasonable measure, as the French wines are light—pays in the course of the year $8.66 to the city and $8.67 to the state, which makes in all $17.43. This he has to pay out of a salary which is often not higher than $240 or $300. The housekeeper who puts in the course of a week in her pot one and a half kilogrammes of butcher's meat has paid at the end of the year for 78 kilogrammes of meat the sum of $1.81 (the *octroi* on meat is 11.605 centimes per kilogramme—about two pounds). Salt meat (what the French call *charcuterie*) pays double—22.77 centimes per kilogramme. My woman will have to pay for geese and rabbits 9 centimes per kilo. (this is the third category of game—the first and second categories, hares, pheasants, deer, etc., pay 30 to 75 centimes); butter, 16.80 centimes; eggs, 4.20 centimes per kilogramme; fish, 21.60 centimes for the second category, 40 20 for the first; common oil, 67.45 centimes (of which 15 go to the treasury); vinegar, 18 centimes per litre; salt, 6 centimes per kilogramme; beer, 15 centimes per litre; grapes, 5.76 per kilogramme. Alcoholic drinks pay at the barriers the enormous sum of $53.20 per hectolitre (about 4½ gallons).

The *octroi* of Paris is not only levied on articles of food; there are also small duties on wood, on coal, on all sorts of burning-oils, on candles. You can hardly, in fact, do anything without unconsciously paying something to the *octroi;* you are a taxpayer whenever you eat, or drink, or warm yourself, or light a candle. This unconsciousness is the great argument always urged in the defence of the *octroi*. The *octroi* duty is merged in the price of each article. When you go to market and buy a fish or a chicken you never think of the little clerk at the barrier, in his tight green uniform, who has already levied his tax on your fish or chicken, at the dawn of day, at the time when the market people enter the barriers. Whatever may be said against the *octroi*, it must be acknowledged that we do not feel its tyranny so keenly as we feel the tyranny of the tax which we must go and pay ourselves in the collector's office, such as the personal tax, the land tax, the house tax, the tax on revenue.

The *octroi* is also paid on many articles which enter into the construction of houses and of carriages, stones, cement, plaster, marble, iron, slate, bricks, clay, woods, colors, essences, bitumen, glass; there are taxes upon hay, straw, etc. Out of a receipt of 125,398,641 francs ($25,079,608) of the *octroi* in 1877 we can separate, 1st, what is due to the alimentation, 81 millions (eatables 26,312,510 francs, and drinks 54,639,728 francs); 2d, *octroi* on all materials of construction, 13 millions; 3d, combustibles (wood, coal, etc.), 10 millions; 4th, alcohols, 8 millions; 5th, articles for lighting, 5 millions; 6th, *octroi* on forage of horses, 4 millions. The rest amounts to about 4 millions.

Correspondence.

EMPORIA (KANSAS) BONDS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As you have been willing to advertise the dishonesty which some sections of the country practise, will you please place the following on your "Black List." The city of Emporia, Lyon Co., Kansas, issued legally and correctly $12,000 of bonds dated May 21, 1872, and paid the coupons on them for two years. In 1875 they let the coupons go by default and repudiated the whole debt without giving any reason for such a step. The amount was small, and until recently the bonds have been too scattered to have united legal action in the matter. The city is growing and in good shape financially, but, pleased with their effort of 1872, they have just voted to issue a large lot of new bonds. Will you inform the public about them? W. R.

Lowell, Mass., April 16, 1879.

THE McCLELLAN-PORTER DESPATCH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your review of "Fitz-John Porter's Case" in the *Nation*, No. 720, an extract is made from General McClellan's despatch of September 1, 1862, to General Porter. As the criticism is calculated to do great injustice to those officers, I take the liberty of recalling the fact to

the mind of your readers that the despatch mentioned was sent at the earnest *personal solicitation* of Mr. Lincoln.

The interview with the President, and General McClellan's reluctance to take any action that might appear to doubt the loyalty of General Porter, or the gallantry of an army "committed to the death to a duty self-imposed," can be found in detail upon page 183, General McClellan's Report, Washington, 1864, or pages 341 and 342 of the edition of Sheldon & Co., New York, 1864. And there also can be read General Porter's telegram to General McClellan, the last line of which, for terseness and truthfulness, has few equals in modern war despatches.

Yours respectfully, JOHN P. NICHOLSON.

PHILADELPHIA, April 19, 1879.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your review of General Fitz-John Porter's case, in this week's *Nation*, it seems to me you are in error as to the part taken by General McClellan in his telegram to Porter. As you put it, this telegram was a fatal indiscretion. As I prove it in the following notes, it was a necessity arising from Pope's wilful misrepresentation to Halleck in a letter from Centreville, dated September 1, 1862.

I had dealt with this matter in my forthcoming history of Pope's campaign, and will ask you at this opportune period to give the following pages an insertion.—Yours truly, GEO. H. GORDON.

BOSTON, 37 SEARS'S BUILDING, April 19, 1879.

"This letter was filled with meanly artful complaints against his generals, with charges of lukewarmness against his troops, with brag and bluster in behalf of himself. It was a tissue of misrepresentations. It was written to turn public censure towards worthy and brave men, that the real offender might escape. In the recent vindication of General Fitz-John Porter, Pope has been necessarily condemned. In the rapidity with which he sought safety in flight, the sincerity of his bragging letter was revealed.

"Pope began his communication by a reference to his army. Things were quiet; his men were resting, and they needed it. He was obliged to keep considerable infantry along the road: his cavalry was completely broken down; there were not five horses to a company that could raise a trot. He should attack again to-morrow, if he could; the next day certainly. Then he assailed his own troops:

"'I think it my duty,' he continued, 'to call your attention to the dangerous conduct of many brigade and some division commanders of the forces sent here from the Peninsula. Every word and act and intention is discouraging, and calculated to break down the spirits of the men and produce disaster. One commander of a corps who was ordered to march from Manassas Junction to join me near Groveton, although he was only five miles distant, failed to get up at all—worse still, fell back to Manassas without a fight and in plain hearing, at less than three miles distance, of a furious battle which raged all day. It was only in consequence of peremptory orders that he joined me next day. One of his brigades, the brigadier-general of which professed to be looking for his division, absolutely remained all day at Centreville in plain view of the battle, and made no attempt to join. What makes the matter worse, these are both officers of the regular army who do not hold back from ignorance or fear. Their constant talk, indulged in publicly and in promiscuous company, is that the Army of the Potomac will not fight, that they are demoralized by withdrawal from the Peninsula, etc. When such example is set by officers of high rank, the influence is very bad amongst those of subordinate stations. You have hardly an idea of the demoralization among officers of high rank in the Potomac Army, arising in all instances from personal feeling in relation to changes of commander-in-chief and others These men are mere tools or parasites, but their example is producing, and must necessarily produce, very disastrous results. You should know these things as you alone can stop them Its source is beyond my reach, though its effects are very perceptible and very dangerous. I am endeavoring to do all I can, and will most assuredly put them where they shall fight or run away. My advice to you—I give it with perfect freedom, as I know you will not misunderstand it—is that, in view of any satisfactory results, you draw back this army to the intrenchments in front of Washington, and set to work in that secure place to reorganize and rearrange it You may avoid great disaster by doing so. I do not consider the matter except in a purely military light, and it is bad enough and grave enough to make some action very necessary. When there is no heart in their leaders and every disposition to hang back much cannot be expected from the men. Please hurry forward cavalry horses to me under strong escort. I need them badly, worse than I can tell you'—[*Official Correspondence, Pope from Centreville*, 8.50 A.M *September* 1, 1862, *to Halleck at Washington. Pope's Virginia Campaign*, *pp.* 250, 251.]

"This composition, so plainly acknowledging the utter incompetency of John Pope, and so plainly attempting to shirk responsibility for that incompetency, was shown to the President of the United States. Abraham Lincoln feared that these base accusations against Porter, and the baser insinuations against McClellan as the fountain source of insubordination (for these were the officers to whom Pope alluded), might not be wholly false, and he hastened to plead with General McClellan in an interview which that officer has given in substance to the world. The interview was held at the house used by Halleck for his headquarters. McClellan was directed to come there to meet the President. We can bring before us at this hour the grave, almost sad, earnestness with which Abraham Lincoln informed General McClellan that he had reason to believe that the Army of the Potomac was not cheerfully co-operating with and supporting Pope; and we can hear the President's tones of affection when, as McClellan reports him, he said, 'He had always been a friend of mine,' and asked me as a special favor to use my influence in correcting this state of things. Then followed at this interview McClellan's earnest reply that he was confident the President had been misinformed; for 'whatever sentiment,' he urged, 'the army might entertain towards Pope, they would obey his orders, support him to the fullest extent, and do their whole duty.' But the President desired McClellan to telegraph to '*Fitz-John Porter* or some other of my (his) friends' and try to do away with any feelings that might exist. That McClellan could rectify the evil and that no one else could the President believed and said, upon which General McClellan said he would telegraph to General Porter or do anything else in his power to gratify his wishes and relieve his anxiety. Abraham Lincoln then thanked McClellan very warmly, assured him that he could never forget his action in the matter, and departed. McClellan immediately sent the following telegram; it was forwarded by General Halleck:

"'"I ask for my sake, and that of the country, and that of the old Army of the Potomac, that you, General Porter, and all my friends, will lend the fullest and most cordial co-operation to General Pope in all the operations now going on. The destinies of our country, the honor of our army, are at stake, and all depends now upon the cheerful co-operation of all in the field. This week is the crisis of our fate. Say the same things to my friends in the Army of the Potomac, and that the last request I have to make of them is, that for their country's sake they will extend to General Pope the same support they have ever to me.' 'I am in charge,' continued McClellan, 'of the defences of Washington and am doing all I can to render your retreat safe should that become necessary.'"—[*McClellan's Report of his Interview with Abraham Lincoln and Telegram to General Porter. McClellan's Report and Campaigns, pp.* 341, 2, 3, 4.]

"Pope's letter of accusation had been potent for evil. The President was prejudiced against Porter, and this prejudice was manifest in his approval of the findings and sentence of that court-martial before which General Porter was arraigned for these grave offences which were set forth in Pope's letter, and under which he has suffered so unjustly for so many years. But the attempt to poison his mind against McClellan failed. Abraham Lincoln believed in General McClellan's patriotism and in his ability. He was his friend; and he showed his great friendship by promoting him from the expressly limited jurisdiction of the works and garrison before Alexandria, and from the expressly prohibited exercise of any authority or control over the troops actively engaged in front under Pope, to both of which he had been verbally condemned by Halleck in his personal interview at Washington, to the sole and entire command of all the combined forces which met and vanquished, on the 15th and 17th of September, the victorious Confederate army at South Mountain and at Antietam.—[*See McClellan's Reports and Campaigns, pp.* 341-344.]

"This promotion was due to the President's own act and judgment; it was made in the face of, and in despite of, the evil counsels and mischievous interferences of his War Secretary, Stanton, and his War Secretary's abettor, Halleck.—[*See 'History of Great Rebellion,' following Pope's retreat to defences of Alexandria.*]

"It is hardly necessary to say that General Porter, in replying to McClellan's telegram, indignantly disclaimed the need of any appeal to his loyalty. He denied with much feeling that his own men required a spur to their loyalty.

"'"You may rest assured,' he wrote, 'that all your friends, as well as every lover of his country, will ever give, as they have ever given to General Pope, their cordial co-operation and constant support in the execution of all orders and plans. Our killed, wounded, and enfeebled troops attest our devoted duty.'"—[*Fitz-John Porter from Fairfax Court-House at* 10 *A.M., September* 2, 1862, *to General George B. McClellan.*]

[We had overlooked the fact that the President suggested or asked for the McClellan telegram, and we admit that our allusion to it without any mention of its origin does General McClellan injustice. But we did not use it for the purpose of casting any imputation on him. We referred to it as one of the things which helped to strengthen the popular impression that the McClellan set in the army were not doing their duty; and that it had this effect, no matter under what circumstances it was written, we still maintain. —ED. NATION.]

OUR POLITICAL EDUCATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It has become an axiom that the permanence of a popular government depends upon the intelligence of the average citizen, and we guard and foster our common schools with sufficient reason. But if the chief end of state education is the maintenance and elevation of the state, it would seem self-evident that an important element of this education should be a grounding in the rudiments of statecraft and the theory and practice of our own political system. That this has not been apparent, however, to our school boards in the past hardly needs to be said. In default of any school-training, what has been the actual teaching of our youth?

The boy comes out of school with the commonplaces afloat in the air about the blessings of liberty and the pricelessness of citizenship in our free land. If he is a thoughtful boy, it very likely seems a little thing to him that no one should want to enslave him, or should persecute him for thinking and speaking his mind and honestly obeying his conscience. No one has taught him that these seemingly simple conditions have been the slow growth of centuries, had their roots in the agony and oppression of whole peoples, and have been nurtured by untold endeavor and rivers of blood and tears. The chances are he will conclude that all such talk he hears and reads in the papers is mere cant, and be inclined at the start towards a benumbing scepticism of the sincerity of those who make such professions; and it may take him years to discover that there is genuine and well-founded devotion to free in-

stitutions among sound and wise men, and correct the false attitude taken at first, or it may never be entirely corrected.

But the average boy is merely puffed up with the vainglory of being in some uncomprehended way one of a superior and chosen people, and an ignorant contempt of foreign nations. Of the relation of the States to the Federal Government, of the functions and limitations of either or their co-ordinate branches, he knows nothing, nor of the duties and tenure of office. His next lesson, inferred from his father's party paper, is that the nation is divided into two great bodies, one of which is entirely occupied in doing and contriving evil, and is only prevented from speedily destroying the country by the vigilance of the other, which is by nature incapable of sin and continually thwarts the wicked party's open or insidious designs ; and he gathers an impression that this party warfare is the greater and more important part of government, and that caucuses and conventions are component elements of the constitutional machinery, just as are elections and congresses. If any defects in the actual working of things, not directly or indirectly attributable to the sinful other party, are admitted or implied, he is pointed to the source of the trouble in the failure of honest citizens to do their duty and "attend the primaries," and he resolves to avoid that error when his own time arrives.

Meanwhile elections take place and the boy picks up a stock of learning about "work" and "claims" and "services" and the like. He learns that offices are for the reward of "workers," and that consequently they should change hands frequently in order to give all the faithful a chance and stimulate the zeal of new recruits, and that office-holders owe it especially to their party to repay its favors by devoting time and money to its support. That seems good logic, and a natural coroliary is that a man is a "fraud" and a "traitor" who continues to stand when the party has put up a new candidate for his place. Much besides he hears, more or less delightfully mysterious, about "influence" and "making slates" and "healing breaches" and "selling out" and "restoring harmony."

By and by he attains to the proud privilege of the suffrage. He attends his neighborhood primary, but is surprised to see with what celerity matters seem to dispose of themselves, and of how little consequence his personal part in the affair is. Very possibly he finds the smooth working facilitated by the employment of printed ballots which some one has been at the trouble and expense of kindly providing. About this time he is getting into business and marries, and, finding cares increase, forgets all about the primaries, or runs in at the time if he remembers and can get away, but with the former result ; and he generally contents himself with voting the regular ticket prepared for him, admitting upon occasion that "the good men ought to combine" and then all would be well.

But perhaps he is more curious or more ardent than most young men, and bent upon finding out the secret springs of "politics," and if he is tonguey and shrewd, and shows no signs of impracticable notions, he is very soon taken into confidence, and learns that the primary is simply a formal ratification of a division of offices arranged beforehand by a little interested clique through a process of personal solicitation, balancing of claims, pledges, and bargains, barter and sale. He learns that working for the party and to save the country means "seeing" men who are "powers," buttonholing, cajoling, treating "the boys," slapping on the back, being hail-fellow well met, and some other things rather hinted at than described. If his aptitude for these patriotic arts is genuine, he takes a hand at the game and in a few years the county papers have paragraphs about "our rising and gifted young legislator" or "enterprising sheriff."

And by that time he has learned still another lesson, that the horror of the managers at the traitorous designs of the leaders of the opposite party is not inconsistent with very friendly social and private relations, and that the trading and bargaining are not always confined within the party lines ; that, in fact, a great deal of the indignant scorn heaped in public on the enemy is, like that of lawyers arguing a case, professional, and that, like them, the champions who have been shouting their slogans and hurling defiance can ignore their differences in private, or even laugh together over the amusing incidents of the encounter, and perhaps incidentally arrange a little compromise that may or may not result in the public good, but shall at any rate redound to the profit of the contracting parties.

What wonder, then, if he end where his more thoughtful schoolfellow began, in a contemptuous disbelief of the sincerity of all patriotic professions and a scoffing acquiescence in things as they are, "a belief qualified with scorn in all things extant." To him any assumption of virtue in private as well as in public is simply the indication that a man is literally what in his peculiar dialect he sneeringly dubs him, "high-priced." His secret opinion of the mass of voters is, that they are a great flock of sheep that will follow the bellwether, however unsavory, wherever he leaps, if only he displays agility and is tarred with the proper stick ; and it must be confessed he has some show of reason for so concluding.

Now, that is not a satisfactory result nor one agreeable to dwell upon, but it is a perfectly logical consequence of the training of which it is the outcome. And it does not seem very reasonable to expect any very great improvement in our politics until our boys are provided with some sort of preparation for the parts they are to play, and some sort of safeguard against the quackery and false pretence with which they will be beset.

W.

April 11, 1879.

Notes.

D. APPLETON & CO. have in press 'The Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews, Translated and Critically Examined,' by M. Heilprin, a work which, while notable for its erudition, will be found eminently fresh and readable.——Henry Carey Baird announces a work on the 'Sugar Beet,' historical and practical, by Lewis S. Ware, C.E.——John Wiley & Sons have just published Part II. of Professor Charles E. Greene's 'Graphics for Engineers, Architects, and Builders.' Part I., relating to roof-trusses, was noticed in No. 610 of the *Nation* (March 8, 1877). The part now ready contains the analysis and discussion of bridge-trusses. Part III., completing the work, will relate to arches, and may be expected in the course of the year. The graphical method of treating the problems which arise in roof and bridge construction, though comparatively new, has met with general favor and acceptance wherever it has been introduced and studied ; but the number of books in the English language from which a knowledge of the method can be obtained is still very small. Professor Greene's work is designed to meet the wants of builders and designers of bridges and similar structures as well as to serve as a text-book in technical schools. It is made up largely of original matter, and is written in a simple and concise style. No knowledge of the higher mathematics is required for its use.——The annual report of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station for 1878 is replete with valuable information for agriculturists everywhere. The work of the Station has not been confined to commercial fertilizers and feeding-stuffs, but has included also analyses of the sugar-beet, well-water, Paris green, white hellebore, etc. The discussion of the theory of the Stockbridge manures ; the chapter on the composition of the soil of the red sandstone of the Connecticut Valley ; and the experiments on the relation of soils to water, are especially deserving of attention.——The April number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* is unusually strong in its own line. Dr. Osgood opens it with a biographic sketch of the late E. A. Duyckinck, whose portrait is prefixed ; there is a long and minute and very interesting account of Ezekiel Cheever, an old Boston Latin-School master at the close of the seventeenth century, whose 'Accidence' had a remarkable currency (the seventh edition bearing date of 1704, the latest of 1838); an outline of the Hazen Family for four generations has a timely interest ; and believers in hereditary genius will take comfort from the list of dignitaries composing the "family circle of Mrs. Ursula (Wolcott) Griswold."——The *Magazine of American History* for May contains a translation of Count Axel de Fersen's letters written from America during his connection with Rochambeau, as given in Klinckowström's recent biography of the gallant Swede. A portrait of Fersen at the age of twenty-eight shows a very prepossessing face, which might well have found favor with Marie Antoinette.——With Part VI. the first of the two volumes of Dr. Grove's 'Dictionary of Music and Musicians' (Macmillan & Co.) is concluded, ending with the letter I. It includes the great names of Handel and Haydn, of one of whom a mask is given, of the other a silhouette, besides lesser composers such as Gung'l, Halévy, Herold, F. Hiller, Stephen Heller, etc. Notices are also devoted to Sir John Hawkins, Helmholtz, Hanslick, Henry VIII., and Herschel. Among the instruments treated of are the harp, harpsichord, horn, and hurdygurdy. The Boston Handel and Haydn Society and Harvard Musical Association are not overlooked. Miss Hauck's success as *Carmen* is recorded before it is cold. The most important theoretical article is on Harmony.——

'Egypt under Ismail Pasha,' edited by Blanchard Jerrold; 'The Satsuma Rebellion,' by Augustus H. Mounsey; 'Primitive Manners and Customs,' by James A. Farrer; 'Pictures of the Past: Memories of Men I have met and Sights I have seen,' by Francis H. Grundy; and 'Cæsar,' a sketch by J. A. Froude, are late English announcements.——M. Francisque Sarcey, whose 'Comédiens et Comédiennes' we reviewed last spring, has begun the publication of a second series, to contain critical studies of the actors and actresses of the Comédie-Française omitted in the first series, and of the other important dramatic artists of Paris. The first two numbers already issued are devoted to M. Worms and to Mmes. Dinah Félix and Jeanne Samary. M. Léon Gaucherel, who did all the etching for the first series, will now be assisted by M. Lalauze.

—The Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, now installed in its new building in Central Park, have issued a circular defining the shortcomings of the present collection by reference to the aims of the Trustees, which are justly comprehensive, and calling for subscriptions to the amount of $150,000, payable when $100,000 shall have been subscribed. Among the immediate uses for the money are the purchase of the Avery collection of porcelain, the King collection of gems, the purchase of casts, architectural models, archæological antiquities, etc., the starting of a school of design for the arts and trades, the establishment of a system of medals or awards, and the creation of a fund for lectures on art. Subscribers who wish to favor any one of these objects rather than another will be permitted to dedicate their contributions accordingly. The Trustees point to the straitened resources of the Museum, and contrast it with the liberal support given to similar institutions in Philadelphia and Boston. We hope their appeal will not go unheeded.

—Public-spirited persons having scientific sympathies are addressed in the tenth annual report of the American Museum of Natural History, also in its new quarters on the west side of Central Park. The invaluable collection of fossils illustrating the natural history of New York State purchased of Mr. James Hall has not been fully paid for, and many specimens deposited with the privilege of purchase it is highly desirable to secure as the property of the Museum. On deposit are mentioned several thousand specimens gathered by Clarence King's Survey, and Professor Pumpelly's collections in California, China, and Japan. Some Peruvian rocks and fossils, with terra-cotta vases and figures from San Salvador and Peru, have been received from the estate of the late Dr. A. Habel; and from M. G. L. Feuardent three cases of stone and bronze implements of the Swiss lake-dwellers. The library at the Museum, including works deposited for safe keeping, embraces nearly 12,000 volumes. A heliotype view of the main hall accompanies the report.

—Beyond general indications of activity and prosperity there is little to remark in the annual report of the Astor Library for the year 1878. The most important accession was the Archives of the United States Sanitary Commission, of which the transfer was the last act of that honored organization. Mr. Astor's gifts included six MSS., from the eleventh century downwards, some of them richly illuminated; and two precious specimens of early printing, one from Gutenberg's press, the 'Catholicon' of 1460, and the other Zainer's Augsburg Bible of 1477. In addition to the comparatively recent card catalogue, the Library now publishes quarterly lists of books received, in a neat form. The capacity of the reading-rooms appears to be taxed to the utmost, and it is to be hoped that the Trustees will avail themselves at the first opportunity of a system of electric lighting in order to double the usefulness of the Library by keeping it open in the evening.

—We receive from Mr. L. W. Schmidt three numbers of 'The Classics of Painting,' which appears to be an edition in English of 'Klassiker der Malerei' This work is announced as by Dr. P. F. Krell, of Munich, assisted by Dr. O. Eisenmann, of Cassel, the photographic prints by Martin Rommel, of Stuttgart, and the work published at Stuttgart by Paul Neff. It is one more added to the already considerable number of publications which photography and photographic engraving have made it easy to publish, but it is rather hard on the young student to be asked to receive as classical painting, or as having any intimate relations with classical painting, these reproductions of line engravings. It is perfectly well known to every lover of old pictures that the celebrated engravings after them of the famous old masters of engraving are very unlike their declared originals. It is not pretended by lovers of old engravings that they are very close copies; they are liked for their independent merit and original power. And now a collection of photographs from sixty-eight engravings by Edelinck, Metz, Rainaldi, and the like are announced as the classics of *painting!* To call it the classics of engraving would be much more nearly accurate—so far, at least, as the illustrations go. There are notices of the different painters of celebrity. The three numbers before us give short biographical and critical notices of several artists of the Tuscan school; but, of course, it is still too early to judge of the value of the book in this respect.

—*Lippincott's* for May opens with a sensible paper, "Why do We like Paris?" by Mrs. Sarah B. Wister. Mr. H. M. Robinson, who lately discoursed of dog-sledging in the Hudson's Bay Territory, now writes with equal grace of the summer phase of life there—life as it used to be rather than is—namely, the periodic canoe-journeys between Norway, in the Red River country, and York, on Hayes River, about five miles from Hudson's Bay. Here there is no brutal side to the picture, and the hardships of the *voyageur* have a rich compensation known to all who earn their familiarity with primitive Nature by the sweat of their brow. Miss Annie Porter's "My Village in the South" we have found less interesting in this third paper than in the two preceding. In "My Hero," Isabella Anderson, once a resident of Venezuela with her father, gives some reminiscences of the late General Paez, one of the most remarkable characters of modern times, and repeats some of the more marvellous incidents in his military career as heard from the lips of the General's wife. The narrative could not fail to be entertaining; but in two respects the reader might have been further enlightened. It is not made clear that Paez was a man of color; one of those who, to use the words of Gervinus, "descended from the formerly down-trodden zambo, mulatto, or mestizo races, but now lifted up by the exalting nature of the events of time, rose to views and aims, knowledge and actions, such as we look for only amongst the most advanced classes of mankind." And reference might have been made to General Paez's autobiography, of which the first and we believe the only volume was published in this city in 1867.

—The eastern shore of the Chesapeake, which not long ago was made the subject of some capital papers in *Lippincott's*, is taken up again in *Harper's* by a writer possessed of less literary skill, but still sufficient, and having the advantage of being an artist with his pencil. Moreover, by "A Peninsular Canaan" Mr. Howard Pyle does not mean (at least not yet—perhaps we shall hear more from him) the Maryland paradise described in *Lippincott's*, but the extreme southern and therefore the Virginian end, of Northampton and Accomac counties—virgin soil, so far as we are aware, to the writers for the popular magazines. The charms of this region appear to be inferior to those of the adjoining Maryland counties; manners are ruder, the land less rich; but the ocean, bay, and inland waters are full of picturesqueness and of animal life, and the tourist in search of complete relaxation could hardly fare better elsewhere on the peninsula. Mr. Pyle has brought back a number of excellent stories which, with the pretty designs, give spice and relief to his account of his experiences. Other superabundantly illustrated papers are "The Study of Art in Boston," by G. P. Lathrop; Col. Waring's "Berg und Thal," No. 3; "The Piano and its Antecedents," by Julius Wilcox; and "Stratford-upon-Avon," by William Winter. As a literary performance, the last-named is superior to the rest, and is adorned with pencil memoranda of Mr. Abbey's sojourn in England. Mr. Lathrop conveys, to our thinking, more information than instruction; all is Art that comes to his net. He is convinced, he says, that, "below the high schools at any rate, the boys succeed better in original design than the girls do." Colonel Waring had the good fortune to meet at Dietenheim with William and Mary Howitt. "Thither we went to claim one ray of their genial sunshine before their declining day shall have set for ever." Before these words could be printed the apprehension had been realized for one of these "genial, active, and happy octogenarians." A fine portrait of the late William Howitt accompanies the text. Mr. E. P. Whipple gives a sort of *précis* of Dr. Holmes's biography of Motley, and Mr. William Blaikie discusses the "Risks of Athletic Work," arriving at the sound conclusion that they are overrated. It would have been useful to point out how small an amount of regular gymnastic exercise, such as one may readily carry on in his own room, will keep up the tone of a system which has once been braced and solidified by concentrated training.

—Stress being laid on the first fruits of *Scribner's* Brazilian expedition, it is proper to bear witness to the pictorial and literary attractiveness of Mr. Herbert H. Smith's paper on Pará. Still, while admitting the faithfulness of the descriptive portions, we must consider the writer exceeding his instructions when making political and social generalizations that imply a much longer familiarity with Brazil than an "expe-

dition" affords. Highly interesting, and only too brief and incomplete, is the opening paper by an Italian writer on "The New Museum at Rome." One is impatient that representations of the masterpieces of statuary discovered since 1870 are so slow in being made accessible to the art-loving public. The few that are shown in this number of *Scribner's* only whet the desire. There is a somewhat naïve story, by Mr. C. H. Farnham, of a day's tramp along the North and East River docks, with semi-poetic illustrations of characteristic sights and industries. Mr. Hassard writes knowingly of Wilhelmj and Reményi, and borrows from Mr. Wm. M. Chase two pen-and-ink sketches of these eminent violinists. Mr. Wyatt Eaton makes another half-success in a portrait of Dr. O. W. Holmes, for which Mr. F. H. Underwood supplies an article interesting for its personal facts in regard to the poet, but hardly to be called discriminating.

—The May number of the *Atlantic* is not remarkably excellent. Mr. C. C. Coffin contributes a vigorous optimistic article to show that the material prosperity of the world is greater now than ever before, that earnings have increased while the cost of living has relatively decreased, that pauperism and crime are on the wane, that capital and labor are "naturally helpful," that readjustments of labor are necessary, that men must conform to the laws of progress or be crushed, and that "the race is moving ever on to a higher plane of civilization." The unexpressed conclusion seems to be that men must wait with their hands in their pockets and the faith in their hearts that all will turn out right in the end. The other economic article, on "The Abolition of Poverty," describes various co-operative associations as examples to the workingmen, and urges them to try such associations for distribution before attempting associations for production. Among the literary articles an instructive account of Émile Zola's critical opinions on the Romantic School is especially valuable, for it consists mainly of translations from Zola's own letters to the St. Petersburg *Messenger of Europe*. A sketch of Colorado travel by "H. H.," a very entertaining account of Champfleury's "Le Violon de Faïence," of which a fine and curious edition has lately been printed, a criticism of the decoration of Trinity Church in Boston and the Assembly Chamber at Albany, and stories and poems of average merit complete the number.

—With the last concert of the Oratorio Society, which took place in Steinway Hall on Thursday last, the regular concert season of 1878–79 may be considered to have terminated. The remaining "farewell," "testimonial," and other performances, with the exception of Mr. Wilhelmj's four soirées of chamber-music, do not call for any particular attention. The oratorio concert introduced, for the first time in this country, two parts of an oratorio, "Christus," by Friedrich Kiel. The author has been for many years professor of composition and thorough-bass at the Imperial High-School of Music in Berlin, where he is considered one of the most accomplished and learned musicians of the day. The oratorio fully justifies this reputation. It is the work of a scholar and a student, not of a man of genius or an artist. It bears evidence of the care and intelligence with which the author has studied and entered into the spirit of the works of the two greatest masters in this field, Bach and Handel. But it is a copy, a dry, soulless copy only; nothing of the genius of these two masters can be found in Kiel's highly-finished but uninteresting work. All that study and intelligence can do has been accomplished, but nothing else. The laws of counterpoint and polyphonic writing are as familiar to the author as the most rudimentary principles of his art, but of the grandeur and rich melodies of Handel, of the purity and noble simplicity of Bach, he can only produce a feeble imitation. The second part of the programme was of a miscellaneous character. A violin solo by Mr. Wilhelmj seems out of place in an oratorio concert. Mozart's "Ave Verum" in D major, one of those exquisite melodies which abound in his church music, was very fairly sung by the solo quartet, Miss Henne, Mrs. Rice-Knox, and Messrs. Graff and Stoddard. The chorale from the "Meistersinger" was, as far as the chorus was concerned, an improvement on the last performance at the sixth Symphony Concert. The air for contralto with violin obligato accompaniment from Bach's "Matthew Passion" was very fairly sung by Mrs. Rice-Knox, and the violin part was played by Mr. Wilhelmj with his usual mastery.

—The first chamber-music concert was a disappointment. Seeing Mr. Wilhelmj's name connected with these concerts we were induced to believe that something of unusual merit would be presented, or at least compositions which had seldom or never been heard here before. This, however, was not the case. The first number was a quartet by Haydn, which was exceedingly well played, but better than on former occasions only so far as the first violinist was better than any other artist who has taken part in it here before. The adagio for two violins, by Bach, was the redeeming feature of the concert, and was admirably played by Messrs. Wilhelmj and Damrosch. Schumann's piano-forte quintet, one of the brightest and most vigorous of his compositions, every bar of which breathes youth, strength, and poetry, received a very tame and prosy rendering. The violin solo, an arrangement of the romance from Chopin's Piano-forte Concerto in E minor, lost all original character and beauty by being transposed to an instrument for which it was not intended by the composer, who could only write with effect for his own instrument—the piano. Mrs. Swift's singing of Mozart's "Voi che sapete," and of two very uninteresting songs by Mendelssohn, had no place in a concert intended for the performance of classical chamber-music.——Mr. Sherwood's first recital of piano-forte music, which took place in Steinway Hall, introduced a young artist possessed of many excellent qualities. An infallible technique, a delicate and refined touch, an intelligent and artistic conception of the works before him, ensure for Mr. Sherwood a high rank among the pianists of our day. He does not impart the character of strength and manliness that is required by such works as the Beethoven Sonata and the "Études Symphoniques" by Schumann, but he rendered the works of the modern school, such as Chopin, Liszt, and Rubinstein, with a warmth and delicacy of feeling, with a complete mastery of all difficulties, that was fully appreciated by a numerous audience, from whom he received a most gracious acknowledgment of his efforts.

—M. Saint-Saëns, next to Berlioz the most gifted and original orchestral composer France has so far produced, is now following the example of his great predecessor in making a tour through the principal cities of Germany and Austria, where he shows himself in the fourfold capacity of composer, director, pianist, and organist. His success so far has been great in every respect, although a certain class of musicians, to whom every melody is distasteful which was not sung to them in the cradle by their nurses, contrive, as in the case of Liszt and Rubinstein, to find much more to admire in his playing than in his compositions. When he came to Vienna, Dr. Hanslick of course found more or less to praise in his early and immature compositions, while the beauties of his later and more original works were not visible to the near-sighted professor. Saint-Saëns, however, did not commit suicide on this account, but consoled himself with the extraordinary success of his new opera, "Étienne Marcel," at Lyons. The production of this work at Lyons instead of Paris is a somewhat remarkable event in the history of French music, for it is the first time that a work of such importance has been performed first at a provincial theatre instead of at the capital. The way this came about was as follows: The Théâtre Lyrique no longer exists, and while the new opera was adjudged too serious for the Opéra-Comique, the Grand Opéra appears to have regarded it as too light to enter its portals—on the same principle, we suppose, that "Tannhäuser" was at first rejected at Berlin as being too lyrical and not adapted to the stage. Saint-Saëns finally lost patience and took his "Étienne Marcel" to Lyons, where, in the course of a few weeks, more than a dozen performances of it followed in rapid succession, and now the Paris critics are very jealous and indignant that a provincial city should have got such a trump into her hands. It is quite probable that Saint-Saëns's opera will follow him on his continental tour. The same happy fate will doubtless attend the "Benvenuto Cellini" of Berlioz, which, after lying in the desk so many years, has now been brought out very successfully at Hanover, owing to the commendable efforts of Von Bülow. It is proposed to follow up this triumph next season by putting on the boards Berlioz's other opera, "Béatrice et Benedict," for which Bülow intends to do what Berlioz once did for Weber's "Freischütz" at Paris, by changing the spoken dialogue into recitative.

—These dramatic works, together with Rubinstein's "Maccabees" and "Nero," and Hoffmann's "Armin" and "Aennchen von Tharau," to which we alluded some time ago, promise to infuse fresh life into the stale repertory of foreign theatres. Still more important, from this point of view, is, of course, the fact that Wagner's "Ring des Nibelungen" has now been produced entire at Leipzig, Munich, Vienna, and Hamburg, and in part at Cologne, Weimar, Schwerin, and other cities. The Trilogy, as everybody knows, really consists of four parts, the scenic overture "Rheingold" counting as one part. We have reason to believe that at Vienna there are some folks who feel exceedingly sorry that it does not consist of five or six parts instead of four. These are Hanslick, Spitzer, and Speidel, the three gentlemen who control the literary department of the

leading Vienna newspaper, the *Neue Freie Presse*. They have eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them by the production of the successive parts of the Trilogy to launch forth venomous criticisms and quasi-sarcastic essays past counting, so that one feels inclined to wonder sometimes what these three popular writers would have done for a living if Wagner had never been born. Ungrateful are the wasps which persist in pronouncing as bad the pear on which they feed and grow big! They will, doubtless, swarm over to Berlin as soon as the Imperial Opera there decides on purchasing the right to perform the Trilogy, although at present there seems little prospect that this will soon happen. The director, Herr von Hülsen, wishes to have the "Walküre" alone, while Wagner stubbornly refuses that unless he take the whole work. Three reasons are assigned by Von Hülsen for not wishing to do so. The first is quite ingenious: "It would disturb the present repertory." No doubt. The second is less original, having been advanced before: "It would ruin the voices of the vocalists." If he means by this that it spoils them for singing in the Italian bravura style, we may admit this too. The third reason assigned is shamefully sophistical. Ignoring the unexceptional pecuniary and artistic success of the Trilogy wherever produced, he—or rather his organ, the Berlin *Fremdenblatt*—signalizes as a warning omen the fact that not long ago, at a town on the Rhine, Wagner's "Meistersinger" could not be performed one evening because only a handful of people had appeared in the auditorium. To this one might reply that a small town like Mainz has not the means of giving such a difficult work in proper style, when even in Berlin the performance of it, as of Wagner's operas in general, is far inferior to what it is in Munich and Leipzig. But it was likewise at Mainz, and about the same time, that just fourteen dollars' worth of tickets were sold one evening for Mozart's "Figaro," while a third-rate operetta had a run of twenty-six nights to crowded houses.

—Stratford-on-Avon celebrates the three hundred and fifteenth anniversary of the birth of Shakspere by a series of entertainments, extending from Wednesday, April 23, to Saturday, May 3, in the Shakspere Memorial Theatre. This is the only part of the Memorial building, projected at the Tercentenary Celebration in 1864, which is finished. The other parts—a picture gallery and library—it is hoped will be completed during the summer. The opening exercises consist of the recitation by Miss Kate Field of a dedicatory address written by Dr. Westland Marston, and the performance of "Much Ado about Nothing," Barry Sullivan taking the part of *Benedick*, and Mrs. Theodore Martin (Helen Faucit) that of *Beatrice*. On Thursday and Saturday "Hamlet" will be produced, Mr. Sullivan taking the title rôle. Friday evening will be devoted to a concert under the direction of Sir Julius Benedict, with Mme. Arabella Goddard, Miss Kate Field, Mme. Antoinette Sterling, Mr. W. Shakespeare, and Mr. Santley for the principal artists. During the following week "Much Ado" and "Hamlet" will be repeated, and "As You Like It" will be produced. The festival will close with a morning performance on May 3. The committee announce that "any funds that may be subscribed beyond the amount necessary to complete and maintain the building and garden will be applied to the annual celebration of Shakspere's birthday, the advancement and improvement of the dramatic art by the establishment and maintenance of a school of acting, the delivery of lectures, the establishment of prizes for essays, and the relief and assistance of poor and deserving members of the theatrical profession."

—The second performance of a play after an interval of more than two centuries is certainly deserving of comment. The French theatrical managers make better use of their matinées than is done in this country: instead of always repeating the piece which they have played the night before, they often endeavor to give variety by reviving interesting old plays or by attempting promising new plays by young authors. At one of the theatres a series of revivals for one performance only of pieces of note in the history of French dramatic literature has been given, including the "Phèdre" of Pradon, which was opposed to the "Phèdre" of Racine; the "Pédant joué" of Cyrano de Bergerac, which is supposed to have given Molière a hint or two; and, lately, "Mirame," a tragedy in five acts, written, under the direction and inspiration of the Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, either by Desmarets, to whom it is generally credited, or by Boisrobert, to whom M. Sarcey and M. Vitu attribute it. The Cardinal brought out "Mirame" with great splendor in 1639, spending more than four hundred thousand livres on decorations and machinery, and building especially for it in the Palais-Cardinal a theatre which was occupied by Molière after the Palais-Cardinal had become the Palais-Royal. The play, which now to us seems absurd—most of the characters die in the fourth act and come to life again in the fifth—was not much, if any, worse than most other tragedies of that time. It was brought out during the height of Richelieu's power, before the assembled courtiers, all of whom would have been delighted to praise and applaud Richelieu's work, and yet it was performed amid a dead and oppressive silence, and has not been repeated until now. What was the cause of this failure, when there was apparently every reason for success? M. Auguste Vitu, the dramatic critic of the *Figaro*, prefaced the recent performance of "Mirame" with a brief lecture on the play, in which he solved this difficulty most happily. As was the fashion in those days, "Mirame," while decked in classic garb, was in reality a setting of contemporary history; it was an attack by Richelieu on the king's wife; its plot bore a transparent resemblance to the current scandalous stories about the intrigues of Anne of Austria and the Duke of Buckingham. M. Sarcey, in the *Temps*, points out another instance in which the circumstances of an ancient tragedy were at once applied to contemporaries: in the "Esther" of Racine everybody recognized Mme. de Montespan in *Vashti*. Other instances are not wanting; the "Bérénice," also by Racine, was a setting of the king's parting from a tender love for reasons of state.

GENERAL RICHARD TAYLOR'S REMINISCENCES.*

THIS book is both useful and mischievous: useful because every such contribution to the history of the time by an actor in it will be of more or less help in reaching just conclusions; and mischievous because the writer has used to the utmost his influence with the people of the Southern States to teach contempt for popular government, worship for aristocracy, whether of rank or of wealth, false notions of Northern society, dislike for all occupations except "planting," and a general belief that the triumph of the Government in the late war was the ruin of civilization on the continent. Southern youth need, of all things, practical business sense and a new idea of the dignity of labor in any honest employment; but this book will fool them to the top of their bent and strengthen all their most incorrect ideas. The author had the highest possible veneration and regard for gentlemen of colonial families and fine estates, and the poorest possible opinion of mechanics, shopkeepers, "scribbling attorneys," *et id genus omne*.

As a literary performance the book has necessarily a little of the appearance of patchwork; but this may not improperly be attributed to the ill-health of the writer, which has terminated in his death almost immediately upon the publication of his volume. The earlier chapters embody in substance two articles which appeared originally in the *North American Review*, and which were evidently finished with more effort at composition and a closer eye to effect than subsequent portions of the narrative. Indeed, one cannot help thinking that effect is so important in the writer's opinion that the story takes a color of uncertainty from this suspicion. The vein is rather too much that of 'Charles O'Malley' or 'Tom Burke of Ours' to be received as altogether veritable history. Stonewall Jackson is almost too constantly absorbed in silent prayer, and General Ewell's bird-like beak twitters quite too funnily, to leave a sense of harmony between the description and these men's soldierly deeds. This portion of the book is designed to tell the author's share in the campaign of Jackson against Banks and Frémont in 1862, and is followed by the history of his campaign in Louisiana in 1863–4, where he was again opposed to General Banks and defeated him at Sabine Cross Roads, or Mansfield. This latter part of the volume is the larger one, and is plainly its *raison d'être*. Departing from the connected-narrative style of the former part, it quotes largely from documents, from testimony given before the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, and from correspondence of Admiral Porter and others, in a painstaking but not altogether well-digested argument to prove the merit and the importance of that campaign, and that it was conducted by himself to a successful conclusion that might have been even more disastrous to the Union arms had Taylor not been trammelled and finally stopped short by an incompetent superior officer, General Kirby Smith, commanding the "Trans-Mississippi Department"

Besides these two principal topics the author introduces several digressions in the form of estimates of the character and ability of men prominent on either side, like Lee, Johnston, McClellan, Jackson, Grant, Bragg, etc. He closes with chapters upon reconstruction under Johnson and Grant. In these he gives himself full rein as the prophet of pessim-

* 'Destruction and Reconstruction: Personal Experiences of the Late War. By Richard Taylor, Lieutenant-General in the Confederate Army.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo, pp. 274.

ism. Our disbanded volunteer generals are described as "gorged with loot," which they spent "as lavishly as Morgan's buccaneers after the sack of Panama," while "their women sat at meat or walked the highways resplendent in jewels, spoil of Southern matrons"; yet, as if to prove the Pickwickian character of this tirade, General B. F. Butler, who has been to Southern imaginations the incarnation of all he has described, and the one of whom General Taylor had best means of knowledge because he was opposed to him in person in Louisiana, has received in chapter viii. a full acquittal of the charge of thus profiting by the spoils of war. Grant's nepotism, the Crédit-Mobilier investigation, the Beecher scandal, the Freedman's Bank failure, Sickles's appointment to the Spanish embassy, Schenck's to the English, are grouped in spasmodic style to prove "of the popular idols of the day that, unveiled, they resemble Mokanna, and can each exclaim :

> "Here, judge if hell, with all its power to damn,
> Can add one curse to the foul thing I am."

On the natural principle that worshippers are like their idols, we are told in conclusion that "the examples of thousands of pure and upright people in the North were as powerless to mitigate the general corruption as song of seraphim to purify the orgies of harlots and burglars; for they were not in harmony with the brutal passions of the masses."

In General Taylor's judgments concerning prominent soldiers of both sides the same lack of poise and absence of self-control is very apparent, and greatly diminishes the value of the estimate he gives us. He can see little good in men against whom he is prejudiced, and he is prejudiced against all Northern officers and some Southern ones. It becomes even amusing to note that none but those who have shown sympathy with the Democratic party can obtain even the cold and negative commendation of the author. It is, therefore, in regard to Southern officers only, and those who never swerved in their adhesion to the secession cause, that his opinions have any value. His sketches of Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, Stonewall Jackson, and of several subordinate officers of different grades are discriminating, and seem to catch the salient outlines of character in a way to give liveliness and vitality to the picture. His estimate of Hood appears to us to fail by overlooking the fact that the essential condition of his investment with command when Johnston was relieved at Atlanta, was that he should substitute an aggressive for the defensive policy which had been adopted up to that time. This change of policy was notoriously dictated from Richmond, and for it the Confederate Administration there must bear the full responsibility. Assuming that this was the basis of the orders Hood received from Jefferson Davis, we question whether there was a general in the Confederate Army after Stonewall Jackson's death who could have shown more activity, audacity, or skill. If General Taylor had been put in command of Hood's army, as he apparently expected to be, in the fall of 1864, and had acted in accordance with the views expressed in his criticism of Hood, he would neither have troubled Sherman on his march to the sea, nor Thomas in his campaign in the central Southern States. In this respect his strictures on Hood are a weak apology, after the fact, for the blunder of the Davis Administration in relieving Johnston.

Of the two historical episodes in the book, the story of the campaign of 1862 in the valley of Virginia is the briefer, and is full of sprightliness and local color. It graphically indicates the way in which Jackson made Massanutten mountain the key of his clever strategy, and shows in the writer a good eye for the beauties of nature as well as for the strategic value of a position.

Upon the Louisiana Campaign of 1864 General Taylor sheds a good deal of light. He shows that the forces under his command were habitually exaggerated in the reports received by Banks and other Union commanders, and although he evidently regarded the organization of the Trans-Mississippi Department under Kirby Smith as unnecessarily trammelling himself and reducing him to a subordinate position, he gives us pretty good evidence that it had the effect of imposing upon the Federal officers by making them assume that there were rebel forces adequate to the high-sounding names of corps and divisions under a department command. He virtually declares Smith to have been a pompous incompetent, who organized complicated staff-bureaus at Shreveport, of which the only effect was to make unnecessary details of officers and men for staff-duty, to the weakening of the force in the field. Taylor himself was left to do all the fighting, and he does not hesitate to claim all the merit there was in the defeat of Bank's Red River Expedition, insisting that Smith's only part in that affair was to call off the troops at the moment when a more decisive victory was within their grasp. Whilst the condemnation of Kirby Smith seems in the main to be supported by good evidence, it is not so clear that Taylor would have accomplished what he expected if he had been allowed to have his own way. He had struck Banks's columns when they were greatly extended. An advance guard of a division of cavalry with two brigades of infantry had been routed, and a division of infantry sent to their support had been roughly handled at Sabine Cross-Roads. The cavalry train and much artillery had been captured as it became blocked in the single-track forest road. But Taylor admits that he was repulsed at Pleasant Hill as he attempted to follow up his advantage on the succeeding day, and when our forces were thus concentrated they were superior to him in numbers, and on any field where they could have delivered battle with *ensemble* their well-known fighting qualities were such that it is risking nothing to say they would have defeated him easily. The men who had fought at Vicksburg and Port Hudson could take a drubbing such as part of the command had received, and have stomach for hard fighting afterward. But again, Taylor's own story is wholly inconsistent with the pretence of a purpose to push the fighting on the 10th of April. On the preceding evening he had retreated seven miles. He calls it withdrawing for the purpose of getting to water. That was what Banks also said of his retreat to Grand Ecore. He also admits that portions of his command, notably Churchill's division, had become demoralized by being routed, and that Churchill was discouraged. With these facts in mind, no man of military experience will believe that he would have marched his command back on the morning of the 10th over the seven miles they had covered with their retreat after dark of the preceding day; or that the troops would have been in condition to give battle if he had done so. The truth is, as his narration shows, that he had enough of it at Pleasant Hill, and that when Banks continued his retrograde march to Grand Ecore, it was a godsend to his adversary, who sent the cavalry in pursuit and raised the shout of victory. Nor does Kirby Smith appear to have been altogether foolish, as Taylor maintains, in his next step. Gen. Steele was approaching with a Federal column from Arkansas; Banks was kept under the impression that Taylor with undiminished forces was still after him, whilst Kirby Smith withdrew the larger part of the infantry and himself led them, rumor exaggerating them into a new army not yet engaged, against Steele, who, on hearing of Banks's disaster, also retreated. If Taylor had no greater proof of Smith's incompetency than this he will hardly escape a judgment of jealous misrepresentation. The current reports of our officers showed that information came to them from Confederate sources to the effect that Taylor was relieved for insubordination and for attacking at Pleasant Hill without orders. The circumstances all tend to show that there was some foundation for this, and that Taylor's immediate commander, at least, did not treat that matter as a victory, however public policy might make the Confederates claim it as such. Taylor tells us that he was relieved at his own request, which no doubt was so in form, and is not inconsistent with the view we have taken. The failure of Banks's expedition made the campaign a successful one on the side of the Confederates, and Taylor's feelings were subsequently soothed by promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general, a grade equivalent to corps-commander with us, and by assignment to an undefined command in Alabama.

There is nothing in the history of the Red River Expedition that is very pleasant for Northern men to reflect upon. It is plain as day that neither Halleck, Grant, Sherman and Admiral Porter, nor Franklin, Smith, and probably other subordinates of Banks, had confidence in him. When Grant became lieutenant-general in command of all our armies, he said, in a despatch to Halleck, that for nine months he had had no confidence in Banks's capacity. Sherman showed the same feeling by insisting that he only "loaned" A. J. Smith's corps to Banks for thirty days, and in directing the latter to confer confidentially with Admiral Porter, as next friend to the Army of the Tennessee. Porter, in his letters to the Navy Department, charged Banks with utter incapacity. Franklin testified that he had no confidence in Banks's ability to handle troops. It is not hard to see that under such circumstances Banks was little less than foredoomed to failure. Nothing but extraordinary exhibition of energy and capacity as a commander could have given him the necessary grasp of his army, and no such miracle occurred. He put Franklin in command of the whole moving column on leaving Alexandria, but without well-defined responsibility. He went personally to the front when the cavalry became hotly engaged with the enemy, and ordered up infantry supports, although Franklin was of opinion that the cavalry should fall back, if overpowered, and let the infantry form on some near line, rather than crowd to the front in detachments, to be beaten in de-

tail. He attributed the disaster to the position of the cavalry baggage-train in front of the infantry, but he had given no orders respecting that train when he passed it on the road and knew that the cavalry was hotly engaged in advance. He neither took actual, efficient command of such sort as to control the order of march, as well as other important details, nor did he leave full responsibility with others. He assumed that the enemy were twice as numerous as they were, and accepted the moral conditions of defeat when less than half his force had fought at any one time. The army and navy forces were jealous of each other because, among other things, the navy claimed the right to make prize of cotton collected miles away from the gunboats. There was no common head, as there ought always to be in a combined military and naval movement. Political purposes of reconstruction were mixed up with proper military objects. In short, every conceivable circumstance that could ensure disaster was present in full force, and made a failure for the whole expedition out of what had no need to be more than a momentary check. For the military defeat Banks, as the commander on the field, cannot avoid responsibility. His attempt to shift it upon Franklin was wrong, though the latter's confessed lack of faith in his commander was fatal to the energetic and devoted support which alone could have retrieved affairs. But a large share of the blame must still rest with the Administration at Washington, which urged the expedition without attending to the only conditions of unity of command and of compact organization.

It is in this regard, as throwing new light on the history of that ill-starred expedition, that General Taylor's reminiscences will have permanent value. Had his narrative been modest throughout and free from gross extravagances of various sorts, we should give greater weight to the evidence which goes to show that his own part in the campaigns he describes indicated a high order of military ability. He, however, claims so much and so sweepingly that most readers will make considerable deductions from his own estimate of his exploits, whilst admitting that the facts, as far as corroborated, put him in the rank of vigorous and intelligent commanders of the second rank.

DOBELL'S LIFE AND LETTERS.*

IT was no fault of Sydney Dobell that the disparity between the excellence of his rare natural gifts and the meagreness of their literary result is so great, for the difficulties which beset him made partial failure inevitable. The disastrous nature of his early education has seldom been paralleled in the records of blighted genius, and in manhood, when he had emancipated himself from it to some degree, successive misfortunes struck down and maimed his powers. His parents were members of a Church which had been founded by his mother's father, a free-thinking Christian of the last century, to bring about a return to the apostolic practice, and was thought by them to be the germ of a great religious reform. They believed that Sydney, their first-born, was the chosen instrument of God for this work. The child was precocious in mind and endowed with all the susceptibility to emotion which belongs to the poetic temperament. Every new sign of intellectual strength or religious fervor was to his parents a fresh proof of the boy's divine calling, and their injudicious zeal stimulated a development which would have been abnormally rapid under the best care. His mission was instilled into his thoughts when he was four years old; at eight years his diary is filled with theology and his waste-paper with verses; at ten he falls in love; at twelve, enters his father's office and begins a life of business routine; at fourteen he is prostrated with nervous fever; at fifteen, is engaged to be married, and considering the publication of a drama on Napoleon which he had written and Campbell had read; at seventeen, we read of long-continued and exhausting prayer; eloquent church oratory follows; at twenty he is married; at twenty-three the blow falls, and he is prostrated with a nearly fatal disease which left him a man of broken health. The history of these years is given scantily in these volumes, but there are many indications of their unnatural life; his father says, for example, that in his delirium, when the sense of locality and the memory of faces were lost, he talked rationally on moral and reflective subjects; and his wife says of their courtship, in a remark of blended humor and pathos, "the more we loved, the more we prayed." He himself gives the clearest glimpse of the nervous intoxication of his boyhood in a letter to his sister, where he says, "I shall not cease to look back on the four or five years preceding my illness with a kind of self-reverence—as to an impossible saintdom to which I would not return, but which I can never equal on this side the grave. I see that I have a wider mission and a rougher excellence before me; but I cannot look back without a melancholy interest to the years when I never thought a thought or said a word but under the very eyes of God." Such experience necessarily left indelible traces; the practical result of his education was a physical blow, and it is easy to observe in his letters after this time symptoms of lingering disease, as when he speaks of having a double consciousness of locality, or of being seized by spontaneous trains of thought of unusual brilliance, but which he cannot recollect on coming out of this state.

With such a mind and body he began his literary career, against the remonstrance of his parents, who still believed in his apostolic mission. He published two dramas which have passed into literature, and a volume of war-lyrics. He was contemplating an epic on the millennium which should be his crowning work, and seems to have looked for no activity in other fields than literature. But ten years of writing, study, and business, added to the constant and wearying care of an invalid wife, overcame his shaken constitution, and at thirty-three a second illness practically put an end to his career. The two invalids tried all climates with little success; accident followed accident; he fell into a Roman drain and injured his spine, another fall from his horse nearly proved fatal; relapse followed relapse until after seventeen years, "wherein," he says, "the keen perception of all that should be done, and that so bitterly cries for doing, accompanies the consciousness of all I might but cannot do," he died in 1874.

Such warping and blighting influences made Sydney Dobell's public service fall so far short of his extraordinary capacities as to amount practically to failure. His senses were abnormally acute, like those of a savage, and this made his appreciation of natural loveliness remarkably keen; his powers of imagination and sympathy and his super-subtle reflective faculty completed his poetic endowment. The bent of his mind, the surcharging of his soul with religious emotion and mystical feeling, led him sometimes into that region of dreamy poetic conjecture with which readers of the transcendentalists are familiar, where the object, too vague for thought, is grasped at through symbols, and the qualities of the symbol extended fancifully to the unknown object. This, for example, reads like an excerpt from Novalis: "What if the visible universe stand in the relation to the Divine of the brain to the human soul; humanity upon its surface answering to the cineritious matter; these past six thousand years a passing illness of the Eternal Nature, and its scheme of salvation and ultimate golden issue a process of Divine physiology?" It is not often that he gets so far off his feet as in this passage. Here is one, of mystical suggestion, which in a letter to Charlotte Brontë he says was struck out of an article by the sapient editor of the *Eclectic*: "Yea, O divine earth! O incommunicable beauty! wearing thy crown of thorns and having on the purple robes of immemorial sunsets, we have parted thy garments among us, and for thy vesture have we cast lots"; and he is led to this *O altitudo!* because he has thrown down his pen "helpless before this unapproachable world," and the unapproachable world was merely apple-trees in blossom—"the very Avalon of apple-trees, that makes an awful rose of dawn toward the east." Such was the fervor and intensity of his poetic moods. On more prosaic ground he could be sensible enough, but his prejudices were sometimes very curious. "Aurora Leigh" he thought no poem because written by a woman, and he held "all feminine literature to be an error and an anomaly." To a sister he writes: "The passion for writing, especially among ladies, is the mental and spiritual nuisance of this age. What the young people of the day want to learn is that authorship, unless it be of the very best—the best and most competent minds expressed in the very best ways—is worse than useless"; and again, to resist "a temptation which bids fair to stain with ink the sweetest sanctuaries of life, and taint with the inevitable evils of every unnatural and abnormal gratification three-fourths of the women of England." Toward the theory of woman's rights and the theory of the equality of men he was extremely hostile; but in politics, in which he interested himself much, he was in enthusiastic sympathy with the Liberals. We read with wicked pleasure the letter in which he says he spent an hour walking in his garden, and repeating "the damnation of hell" after hearing that Mazzini was entrapped in Nuremberg, and with amusement the account of how Victor Emmanuel lost a present of one of the poet's dogs because he imprisoned Garibaldi. It will be seen that he had many interests—a man of business all his life as well as a poet and orator, a liberal as well as an aristocrat, the broadest of Broad Churchmen as well as an earnest Christian, a lover of horses and dogs, used to the saddle, the gun, and the rod; he was the most affable as

* 'The Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell. Edited by E. J.' In two volumes. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1878.

well as the most merciless of critics, and he was the dearest of friends. Variously developed in these and many other directions, he saved much from the wreck; his private life evinces throughout a refined and noble character. He was a gentleman of the highest type, who made the most valuable acquisitions in life and shared them as widely as he could, who united grace of action in doing a thing to "the beauty of reason or feeling that causes it to be done"; he used to say, "To do the useful is the tenure by which we hold this world, to have done it beautifully the condition of our transit to a better," and called attention repeatedly to "that moral truth still older than formularized religion—that relation between the charitable heart and the idealizing eye, which the earliest Greeks unconsciously asserted when they entitled the Graces the Charities." To see how these principles found harmonious expression in a daily life of such pain and disappointment mitigates the sense of wasteful loss which these volumes arouse; his poetry is unwrought ore, his published prose stray leaves of thought, but in himself it is not too much to say he came near to his own conception of the poet's ideal life: "Thou wert the courteousest knight that ever bore shield; thou wert the truest friend that ever bestrode horse; thou wert the truest lover that ever loved woman; thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword; thou wert the goodliest person that ever came among press of knights; thou wert the meekest man and the gentlest that ever ate in hall with ladies; and thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever laid lance in rest."

RECENT NOVELS.*

A WONDER among books: a tale from Miss Yonge in which saints' days are hardly mentioned—daily service not at all; in which there is not even one of those noble beings, compounds of the loftiest birth and the finest sentiments, whose existences find their nutriment in the history of the peerage and "the ritual year of England's Church"; in which no description of the exquisite anguish endured by those distant descendants of noble families who are obliged to contaminate their lives by trade rends the souls of American readers. 'The Disturbing Element' is a simple, natural story—telling of the home-work of two old ladies who help the lassies of a little sea-side town, Poppleton St. Barbe, first to a sense of their ignorant inaccuracy, then to a little careful and thorough work, and to the various mental and moral rectifications which attend on work well done. The Disturbing (masculine) Element is treated with due consideration, and though if Miss Yonge lived on this side of the water she would certainly rid her pages of the foolish nicknames in which her young ladies rejoice, this is but a small fault to find with a book certainly pleasant and possibly useful.

Dr. MacDonald's new story is, to use a Scotch word, full of eerieness; nor, by this, do we mean to put ourselves among those who, the author says with some contempt, will declare his tale unnatural, for it is within nature, but nature at that point of extreme tenuity where it vanishes into the supernatural. In saying this we have in mind only Sir Gibbie himself, for the other characters are framed of the crudest Scotch earth. Sir Gibbie is a dumb child of a drunken father, bred in the streets, neglected, but with an irresistible instinct to be serviceable to every one; at first, he guides his father home at night by gyrating round him so that he cannot fall, and pushing him so that he must go on. After his father's death he watches the streets to do the accustomed service for any who may be in need of it, until the murder of a negro sailor before his eyes drives him from the city to the country, where he finds the most extraordinary opportunities for his gifts; is believed to be at first a "brownie," then a "beast-boy"; lives on a mountain with an old couple whose sheep he tends; performs the most difficult feats in saving the lives of animals, children, and men, during a great flood, which is described with great force and distinctness, until finally he becomes heir to a fortune and is married. Dr. MacDonald uses this child-creation, for he does not seem a day older at twenty-one than at six, as an example of instinctive love for all living creatures which finds joy only in service and looks for no return. This is the inevitable moral element in the novel, but for all that the treatment of the incidents and of nature is imaginative often in a high degree; and if one tires of the garrulity of some of the characters, and at times of the preacher's discourse itself, there is much more than enough in the tale to make it interesting to those who look only for pleasure, while the moralizing public could not have more wholesome food.

In a recent article on novel-reading in the *Nineteenth Century* Mr. Trollope has pointed out that the novel fills, in a great measure, in the education of modern youth, the place held in a different age by poetry. Novels are as a rule written for the young, and from their pages most young men and women get their first picture of life; they supply the gorgeous scenery, the heroic characters, and the thrilling events of those day-dreams on which the fancy of youth dwells, and so furnish unconsciously its ideals for future life. With regard to love and marriage, for instance, it would not be too much to say that novels are the sources from which in early life, long before we can know anything about the matter from actual experience, we derive some of our most deeply-rooted preconceptions. Most people in mature life can look back upon some one or two novels which suggested to them new objects of existence, a clearer insight into the poetry of life. It is unnecessary to say, by the way, that this applies only to English novels, and not to the fiction produced by the lively Gaul, who seldom unites the functions of saga-man and novelist in one person, and who draws pictures of love and life and marriage which are the reverse of improving. But the truth of Mr. Trollope's observation, applied to the English novel, is as undeniable as is the fact that Mr. Trollope is one of the last persons whom we should suspect from his own novel-writing of being much impressed with it. We admit a great liking for his novels. They are all true to life as most of us know it. His young men are good, and his old men are no less good, while his young women are charming. His pictures of modern English life are recognized as photographically true, though more interesting than photographs. Yet Mr. Trollope can hardly hope to be remembered as a novelist who has discharged the duties of the poet. There is nothing in his stories which invests life or love or marriage with a romantic or heroic interest. On the contrary, they represent those matters exactly as they are or may be every day in the year. But Mr. Trollope, though no poet, is beginning, if we are not mistaken, to show signs of a desire to assume another function which he also considers to be proper to the writer of fiction—that of the preacher. In 'The Way We Live Now' he read the London public a savage sermon upon modern manners; in 'An Eye for an Eye' we have a tale showing the evil consequences of weakness of character.

This, at least, is the only moral that we can extract from the story, which is not altogether a pleasant one, turning, as it does, upon the base behavior of the son of an English earl to a pretty young Irish girl, her ruin, his desertion, his murder by her mother, and the consequent confinement of the latter in a private asylum in the west of England, where the unfortunate woman is still repeating from morning till night, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Is it not the law?" The story is a painful one; for the weakness of the young man in refusing to marry Miss O'Hara is not made tragic but simply weak, while the repulsiveness of her disreputable father is made so glaring that the reader is at times left in doubt whether a marriage is not as entirely out of the question as the young man feels it to be himself. It is needless to say that all the story is well told. Mr. Trollope has the art of narration to perfection; while his characters—though none of them, as characters, fix themselves in our minds—all do their duty in the story as they are called upon to do it. We do not remember them, perhaps, as living men and women in the way that we remember the characters of Thackeray or Dickens. They are types, and true types, without being highly individualized. They have invariably the external form and appearance and manners and behavior of the class from which they are taken. His earls are always real earls, just as his bishops and vicars are always real bishops and vicars. The same thing is true of his women. If there is nothing more, we ask for nothing more. No one ever accused him of putting real people into his books, and the reason is very plain: the life and soul of reality in character—in other words, individuality—is wanting. The characters do not of themselves develop the story; they are used by the novelist to tell the story with. In his English characters this is more concealed; but when he takes a foreigner, like the American senator or the priest in 'An Eye for an Eye,' we feel at once that we are in the presence of a novelist's puppet rather than a real human being. This can hardly be set down, however, as a peculiarity of Mr. Trollope's. It is the peculiarity of one or two great novelists in a century that they are able to do something which he cannot.

'Quaker Cousins' is a pleasant, readable story, which gives the history of an orphan girl and boy left by their devout Quaker mother to the care of almost unknown cousins. The prosperity, the ill-doing, and the

* 'The Disturbing Element; or, Chronicles of the Blue Bell Society. By Charlotte M. Yonge, author of 'The Heir of Redclyffe,' etc.' New York: D. Appleton & Co.
'Sir Gibbie: A Novel. By George MacDonald, LL D.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.

'An Eye for an Eye: A Novel. By Anthony Trollope.' New York: Harper & Bros. 1879. (Franklin Square Library.)
'Quaker Cousins. By Agnes Macdonell, author of 'For the King's Dues,' 'Martin's Vineyard,' etc.' New York: Harper & Bros. (Franklin Square Library.)

downfall of these cousins, and the steady rectitude and disinterested fidelity of the cheated wards, make the story. If Mrs. Macdonell were a débutante in authorship we should consider the many *motifs* of the story, some of which are never developed, as the mark of inexperience, but perhaps it is a sign of a fertile fancy, and she is certainly a good story-teller. The visit of the three "Friends" to enquire after the lambs once of their flock is decidedly dramatic and promises much, but nothing comes of it, and the wrongs of the children get no redress. Mrs. Burton, we think, is rather a favorite of the author, who describes with much care her muffled worldliness, her shallow content, and eternal striving for her own ends. Our favorite in the book is rather Mr. Forbes-Stokes, who, cheated into marrying an unloving beauty, gradually and painfully rectifies his lot by sheer nobility of nature. The opening of the story, which describes the life and household and the death of Susan Marsland, is very good indeed, and we wish there were more of the Quaker element in the book.

We should recommend the author of 'Lord Strahan' to learn to write the English language before publishing another book. After that it will be in order to consider peculiarities of style and plot. We give a few flowers of rhetoric selected from the first ten pages: "a lingering refrain of horn, spasmodic with distance"; "past villages snowed on either hand, with hills behind shadowed all askew by the flags of the forts sheeting thin to the breeze"; "now the water fluffy with sail has been left behind; the sand-absorbing dusk long astern."

There seems an unlimited demand for novels of the class of 'Castle Hohenwald,' and there is certainly an ample supply. The types in these German stories are oddly old-fashioned; the villain, the lover, the eccentric man, the traitor are wrought by a fixed pattern which has been laid aside for some time by English-speaking folk. The story is involved with the Franco-German war, but it does not modernize it.

'Joan the Maid' is the story of Jeanne D'Arc, told by a young Englishman, a prisoner in France, during her public career and after her death. Only the wicked people in the book doubt of the Maid's inspiration, and round the facts of the case are draped descriptions of private love affairs, and personal grief and discipline, which we suppose makes the story to some people seem humanized and possible, so that it settles comfortably into their minds, its difficulties quite untouched, but its outline a little blurred. We confess to a vivid dislike of this kind of books; people who write them seem like the Eskimo mothers chewing a bit of blubber to adapt it to their children's capacities, which is heresy to Mrs. Charles's numerous admirers.

'Famous Stories' includes two or three standard stories—among them De Quincey's ghostly 'Avenger'—and several very ordinary tales. On board ship or at a station where one had missed the train one would probably read them all.

'Bonne Marie' is a very attractive and original story, following an unusual line but fresh and coherent, and, though anything but didactic, is thoroughly well *orienté*. 'Philomène's Marriages' is hardly as attractive, though there is a little French country town and a cheery young French couple, partly artistic and wholly lively, which are charmingly described, but one gets bored with the meanness and the yellow face and the petty malice of Philomène.

'Lord Strahan: A Novel. By Mrs. Wildrick.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1879.

The Week.

THE President has, as has been anticipated during the last fortnight, vetoed the Army Bill. He gives as his reasons: (1) That the danger of military interference with elections is already amply guarded against by existing statutes; and especially by the act of last session, which forbids the use of the troops as a *posse comitatus*, or otherwise, for the purpose of executing the laws, "except in cases authorized by the Constitution and an act of Congress"; and that this last piece of legislation was recognized by the Democrats as affording full security against the improper use of the army; (2) that, therefore, the omission of the words "or keep the peace at the polls" might deprive the Federal Government of the only means at its disposal of securing the fair election of members of Congress, and make all the legislation for this object now in existence a dead-letter; (3) that the practice of tacking general legislation to appropriation bills is pernicious, is condemned by public opinion, and forbidden by the constitutions of half the States, and ought now to be abandoned by Congress.

The message does not, as the Democrats hoped, base the veto on the form of the bill, and therefore make it possible to meet it by separating the appropriation from the repeal. It goes to the merits of the matter in controversy, and claims for the Federal Government the right to use the army in aid of the marshals to protect voters and repress disorders at Federal elections, or, in other words, to discharge duties which the Democratic theory reserves to the State governments exclusively. We think there can be little doubt that on this issue the Democrats will in the long run be beaten, though they will doubtless owe their defeat largely to the fact that the army is so small. They cannot make it appear that in its present dimensions it is dangerous as a police force, or is anything but a police force; nor can they convince people that the Federal Government needs no police force to execute the laws. It is to be observed, however, that though there have been threats of coercing the President, thus far there has been no coercion of him, and we feel very certain none will be attempted. The Democrats have got to the end of a very silly business, and will now probably refrain from utterly disgusting the country, by voting the appropriation or else continuing the appropriation of last year until December. Consequently there has been, and will be, no "revolution" or change in the structure of the Government, and no renewal of the late war.

The week, and indeed every week for the last month, has, according to the Washington correspondents, been filled with the greatest speeches ever delivered in Congress. Of course, no speech was a great speech if delivered by an orator of the other side, but accepting all the eulogies as well founded, no such floods of eloquence have ever been poured out in any country. On the other hand, no parliamentary body has, according to the same authority, ever witnessed within the same period so many examples of hopeless imbecility. The way in which, we are told, many Democrats, as well as Republicans, have disgusted their own side with their twaddle and then sat down confused and ashamed, has been something most painful. Ordinarily a man who rises to talk in a legislature has some glimmerings of reason, but according to the press, which is mostly Republican, large numbers of Democrats have lately discussed the constitutional powers of the general Government in a manner indicating idiocy. The reports in the *Congressional Record*, however, do not, we are glad to say, bear out either these encomiums or lamentations. The speeches have neither been so good nor so bad as the correspondents have represented. The Democrats have not been utterly crushed, nor have the Republicans outdone the eloquence of ancient and modern times. The best speech delivered in the House, as it appears in print, has been that of Mr. Robeson, of New Jersey, who, in the discussion on the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Bill, made a very strong and apparently unanswerable argument in defence of the right of the Federal Government to regulate Federal elections. He overthrew all comers easily in a statement of the case, which contains almost everything one needs to know about it.

The speech that has attracted most attention, however, is that of Mr. Conkling in the Senate, and on it the correspondents lavished all the riches of their vocabulary. Mr. Conkling always makes a good impression on his audience, owing to his vehemence and his striking personal appearance, so that he is always sure of an ecstatic despatch from the reporters present, and remains for a day or two in the same rank with Demosthenes, Cicero, Chatham, and Daniel Webster. Then comes the verbatim report, and his fame dies as the laurel-leaf and the rose-leaf die. When one sits down and reads coldly one finds that he said nothing, after all, which forty or fifty of his benchmen might not have said. A striking instance of this dependence of his on his presence and voice was afforded by his treatment of the financial question at the last State Convention, which, from a Senator, was melancholy in the extreme. Another is the speech before us. He opened with an ingenious fallacy, in which, by giving the figures showing the amount of taxes *collected* in different States, he sought to produce the impression that these amounts represented also the proportion in which the different States *paid* the taxes. He then blundered in an illustration by supposing that Parliament in England is dissolved by "popular disapproval," the fact being that it is the disapproval of the Ministry by the majority of the House itself which leads to dissolution. He treated the mere attaching legislation to appropriation bills as in itself an attack on the Executive, which, of course, is untrue, and then dealt out some well-deserved invective against the attempt to deprive the President of the power to use the Army to execute the laws on election day. He showed what McClellan did in Baltimore on election day; pointed out that the Act of 1865 was a restricting and not an enabling Act; told the story of the New York election frauds in 1868; and eulogized General Grant, before whom, he said, "a continent beyond the sea rose and uncovered itself," which we are afraid will make much laughter on that continent. He pointed out with much force the absurdity and needlessness of this legislation now, and conjectured that it was intended to enable the Democrats to carry this State by fraud. He then castigated the Democrats; waved the bloody shirt freely; denounced "the ecstasy and gush" of conciliation; and drew attention to the number of soldiers sent up by the South to Congress contrasted with the number sent from the North, as showing the malignant and recalcitrant spirit of the South, but most unfairly, because the South drew on its population for the war to a degree never reached at the North and because the "brigadiers" of the South are really their leading men. He berated the Southerners for trying to get back into the United States Army and for removing old and faithful officers of the Senate, advised them not to be in such haste to get back into power, and closed with the customary expression of affection for all peaceable and well-disposed persons.

The Army Bill passed the Senate on Friday by a vote of 41 to 30, and the Legislative Bill, with all its objectionable features, was carried in the House on the following day by 140 to 119. The Senate has besides amused itself with a struggle over the offices appertaining to that body, in which the Republicans, though of course defeated, succeeded in putting the Democrats "on record"

as (1) wishing, contrary to good civil-service doctrine, to make those offices partisan prizes instead of simple ministrations to the comfort and business of the Senate; (2) depriving the President of the Senate, because of his Republicanism, of the right to supervise and confirm or reject appointments to these offices; (3) refusing to except from dismissal ex-Federal soldiers; (4) refusing to except from appointment ex-Confederate soldiers. Of these iniquities only Nos. 3 and 4 will be heard of in the next campaign. On Monday Mr. Pendleton called up his bill admitting Cabinet officers to seats and a voice in Congress, and supported it in a speech of great force and pertinency. He showed that the innovation required no Constitutional amendment, and was only carrying out the liberty which Congress has exercised in many ways in giving a hearing to outsiders, and was expressly provided for by existing law in the case of the Secretary of the Treasury. He was opposed by Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, for no better reason than that the proposal was "monarchical" and unnecessary. It remains to be seen whether a measure absolutely free from party considerations is to fail of Republican support generally. The monarchical objection applies with fatal force to the very existence of Congress, which is a direct copy of a monarchical institution.

The Supreme Court has rendered a judgment of some interest in view of the controversy in Congress over the Jurors' Test Oath. A case came up on appeal against the ruling of the Court below, viz., that a juror who, having been challenged and asked whether he had not taken part in the rebellion, refused to answer, was justified in refusing to answer, and in the absence of other proof of his participation in the rebellion was competent to serve. The Supreme Court has confirmed the ruling, on the ground that a man cannot be compelled to criminate himself, an admission that he had borne arms against the United States being a confession of treason. Judge Field went further, and declared the law requiring a test oath from jurors as to past conduct unconstitutional in time of peace. Judge Strong dissented from the opinion of the Court. Senator Conkling defended this law in the Senate the other day, on the ground that it did not affect men under thirty-five, and that "ex-rebels" over that age ought not to complain. But elderly rebels are, for the purposes of jury duty, certainly the most valuable portion of the Southern community, and everybody interested in the administration of justice suffers by their exclusion. As regards hostility to the negroes, we have no doubt they are much more impartial than the young men whom the act does not touch.

It is now estimated that the colored emigrants arriving at St. Louis since the beginning of the year have numbered 8,600, of whom all but a very small portion had no means to carry them further on their journey to Kansas. Their poverty, together with their utterly vague notions as to their destination, have caused them to be set down on the very threshold of the promised land, and have thus thrown a disproportionate and formidable burden on a small district. The mayors of Wyandotte and of Kansas City across the river have forbidden any more landings to be made, and with good reason, seeing that in the former city there are still 3,500 encamped in the suburbs, sick or helpless, and forming a nest of disease from which even the yellow fever may be apprehended as the season advances. Three thousand more have dispersed over the State, finding employment and perhaps truly bettering themselves. A correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune*, writing from Graham County, Kansas, shows how the so-called Nicodemus Colony, founded in the fall of 1877 by negroes from Kentucky and Tennessee, who knew the Northern methods of cultivation for a variety of crops, and were exceptionally well organized as a community and well located, were obliged to depend on systematic appeals to public charity until very recently, when the organization was disbanded and aid was no longer sought from without. He anticipates great hardships for the new-comers, more ignorant and less versatile, and wholly unorganized, when pushed further away from civilization upon Government lands.

Two large public meetings were held last week, in this city and in Boston, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the emigration. Here the chief speaker was Capt. Tandy, of St. Louis, who seemed to think ill of any one who disapproved of a general unsettlement of the Southern negro population. He told some harrowing stories—"depositions" of emigrants at St. Louis—about the atrocities practised in Mississippi to deter those desirous of getting away. In Boston, Governor Talbot presided at Faneuil Hall, but the meeting was turned to political account by Mr. Boutwell and General Banks, the former statesman declaring that the Republican party must now become aggressive, and as soon as able must refuse a seat in Congress to any man "whose election is clouded by any informality or wrong-doing designed to obstruct or to defeat the full and free expression of the will of the people"; and if that fails, must fall back on the clause of the Constitution guaranteeing a republican form of government to every State. We do not observe that there was any denunciation of the mischievous tracts issued by the Principia Club or National Farmers' Association of Boston, for indiscriminate circulation in the South, and filled with the most extravagant appeals to the ignorance and fear of the blacks.

In a caustic message to the New York Legislature Governor Robinson has given his reasons for allowing the Apportionment Bill to become a law without his signature. He shows that the Constitution makes it the duty of that body in the first session immediately following a State census to alter the Senate and Assembly Districts, and that this provision was neglected for three sessions and has been tardily complied with now. He withholds his signature to the measure just perfected because it flagrantly disregards the Constitutional command that the apportionment shall as nearly as possible give an equal number of inhabitants to the respective districts. In the case of the Senate districts he shows discrepancies indicated in the extreme by the Nineteenth, which contains 101,693 inhabitants, and the Thirty-first, which contains 180,000. The "contiguous territory" called for has plainly been carved out with some other motive than a desire for geographical fitness. As for the Assembly districts, "Cattaraugus County, with 45,737 inhabitants, has two members, while Suffolk, with 50,330, is given but one"; Lawrence, with 78,014, gets as many representatives as Monroe, which has nearly 50,000 more inhabitants. The Governor's objections, which embrace many more details than we have cited, seem well taken.

George G. Barnard, the famous or infamous judge of the Supreme Court, so prominent in the Ring period in this city—that is, between 1868 and 1872—died on Sunday. He was the most conspicuous and ablest of the men by whom the Ring was built up and enabled to prey on the community, but there was nothing very remarkable about the man himself. Persons like him, both in the kind and degree of ability, are by no means scarce in the lower walks of the profession in all countries, and can be found in almost any of the better class of bar-rooms in this city. He owed his celebrity and powers of evil to the extraordinary social and political condition of the city during the ten years following the outbreak of the war. This brought his talents into play and put him on the bench, and secured him the impunity he so long enjoyed. If a monograph of the right kind is ever written on that singular episode in American history, the rule of the New York Ring, it will give but little space to Barnard's character and career—for he was simply a smart and audacious ruffian—and a great deal to the causes of the silence and submission of the bar which practised before him until the press had broken the power of his political confederates. It is this silence and submission which constitute the black passage in that strange story. Of the hundreds of upright, able, religious lawyers who for years witnessed his villany and indecency, and blushed over them, not a man had the courage to rise in court and denounce him, and appeal to the community against him.

Of the $121,000,000 United States 4 per cent. bonds taken on the 18th instant by the First National Bank syndicate it is announced that more than one-third have already been resold to permanent investors, and during the sales the market price has advanced to 101⅞. A good part of the buyers have been holders of the called 5-20 or 10-40 bonds. A considerable amount of the bonds has gone to London, where the price has advanced to 104⅝, and accordingly sterling exchange has not advanced as it usually does at this season when commercial bills are so scarce. There has also been a great demand for the ten-dollar certificates; but this has come more from brokers who took this roundabout way of getting 4 per cent. bonds than from the people for whom the certificates were designed. To check this buying by brokers and to reserve the certificates for people of small means the Secretary on the 28th issued a circular saying that the Treasury would not convert the certificates into 4 per cent. bonds until after July 1. At the Stock Exchange the speculation in Southwestern stocks has made further headway. Kansas Pacific stock, a majority of which Jay Gould bought recently at 12, has been advanced to 57; Wabash, which has had difficulty for many years—viz., providing for the interest on its debt (the present May interest, according to report, having in part been borrowed)—has been advanced to 35. The older stocks have been less active, but generally strong. Money has been very easy for borrowers, and the New York banks have further increased their surplus reserve to $12,350,000. Silver advanced in London to 50⅛*d.* and closed at 50*d.* The bullion value of the 412½-grain dollar at the close was $0.8430.

Lord Beaconsfield has obtained another vote of confidence in the House of Commons, his majority rising from 60, on Sir Charles Dilke's late motion, to 75, on the recent one of Mr. Rylands condemning the Ministerial financial policy, which was most effectively assailed. But the fact is that no majority has ever sat in the House more impervious to argument than the present one. They were elected on the Jingo platform, which had no argument in it, and, in fact, was made up of war-songs, worthy of the Zulus, and they are the more careful not to hasten a dissolution the more the tide of popular support seems to ebb from them, in this resembling the French Legitimists who were elected in 1871. The flagging of the war in Afghanistan, and the doubtfulness of its result, and the enormous responsibility it seems to involve if Yakub Khan holds out; the disasters in South Africa and the complication in Egypt, in which the Government cuts a ridiculous figure, and is thus far really defied by the Khedive; the break-down of the great Rumelian scheme—are all disheartening the Jingo voter, and producing silence in the music-halls. It seemed at one time as if Lord Beaconsfield might not live long enough to be found out by his followers, but that danger seems to have passed away.

The beleaguered British garrison at Ekowe under Colonel Pearson has been relieved, after a sharp fight, by the force under Lord Chelmsford, which advanced along the sea-coast. Pearson's force, which was sickly, has been withdrawn to the Tugela River, and the next job to be undertaken is the pursuit of Cetewayo to his kraal, which is said to be in a very inaccessible region, and will probably be desperately defended. The situation is complicated by the hostile attitude of the Dutch in the Transvaal, who produce a long string of grievances against the British in past years, ending with the loss of their independence, and even talk of hostilities. The negotiations with Yakub Khan in Afghanistan drag along very slowly, and it is not known at this date how they will end, or whether an advance on Cabul will be necessary; but now that the imperialist fever has abated considerably, the enterprise is no longer looked on with much eagerness. The army is described as sick of the war, which has consisted thus far of skirmishes with mountaineers, and apparently might last in this form indefinitely.

The Bulgarians have finished the work of making a government by electing a Prince in the person of Alexander of Battenberg, a member of the German ducal family of Hesse and a nephew of the Empress of Russia. He stipulates for the retention of the Russian employés now in Bulgaria for five years, which is probably necessary in order to get the administrative machine in motion. The continued blackening of the Bulgarian character by the English Tory press is one of the curious features of the situation. The object of it it would be hard to conjecture, but the result—the pushing of the province into the arms of Russia—is plain enough. The Rumelian question is not yet settled, although the time for the withdrawal of the Russians is close at hand. The mixed occupation scheme has broken down, and so has the prolonged occupation scheme, and it is certain that if nothing is settled before the Russians go, the people, probably assisted by the Bulgarians, will resist the passage of the Turkish troops to the Balkans. The Porte is still without funds, all plans for raising the wind having failed.

Turkey refuses to cede the town of Janina, which Greece claims as within the line recommended by the Treaty of Berlin. In this the Greeks have the support of Germany, Austria, France, and Russia. But England and Italy stand by Turkey, or rather suggest that Greece should not insist on Janina, but accept in place of it some territorial compensation in Thessaly. The main cause of the Turkish tenacity about Janina is the largeness of its Mussulman population, whose departure would undoubtedly be stimulated very effectively if it fell into Greek hands. One of the peculiarities of the gentle Turk is that he never likes to live in any country in which he does not belong to the ruling race, and it is also remarkable that whenever a Turkish province has fallen into Christian hands he has always been urgently requested by his neighbors of all races and creeds to emigrate as rapidly as possible. This has been the case in Hungary, Rumania, Servia, and Bulgaria, and will be the case everywhere in Europe as the Empire goes to pieces. The Jingo theory in London is, however, that this hostility to the poor Mussulman is a piece of pure and causeless malignity. The Ministers at Constantinople, who of course privately see the joke of the thing, have quite eagerly taken up the Jingo view, and every now and then address a circular to the Powers calling attention to the wanton and most singular dislike displayed towards the Turkish inhabitants by the Bulgarians and Eastern Rumelians. The last of these says the emigrants who have been driven out by "their Bulgarian countrymen" are filling Adrianople in such numbers as to cause great embarrassment to the Turkish authorities.

The state of things in Russia is extraordinary and bids fair to grow worse. Arrests are being made on an immense scale, followed by deportations to Siberia, and of course a large number, perhaps the larger number, on mere suspicion of liberal sympathies or opinions, and many through private malice. Porters armed with sticks are placed in great numbers along the streets in St. Petersburg to prevent the posting of Nihilist proclamations, and a general disarmament has been ordered. The Nihilist organizations, however, seem to have accepted the conflict without flinching, and assassinations still continue, and little difficulty seems to be experienced in finding agents ready to sacrifice themselves, if need be, for the purpose. In fact, the fight is rapidly taking the form of a rising of the educated and partly educated class against the bureaucracy in every department, and if the news be true that Nihilistic opinions have made serious inroads among the officers of the army and the secret police, it would seem as if the Emperor would have to give way, abdicate, and let his son institute a different policy. The crisis in one way bears a curious resemblance to that of 1789 in France; that is, it has undoubtedly been precipitated by the recent participation of the Russian army in delivering Servia and Bulgaria, and making them into free states with parliamentary institutions, just as the crisis in France was precipitated by her share in the Revolutionary war in this country. Russians who read and write and think naturally ask how it happens that the Bulgarian is fitted for a free government, and they, who freed him, are not?

THE CRISIS AT WASHINGTON.

IT is an established fact that Congress, under our system of government, although it has power to print the speeches of its members, has no constitutional means of compelling people to read them. It is owing to this cause, indeed, that the *Congressional Record* makes so little headway as a daily newspaper, and still has so comparatively limited a circulation. As a practical matter we must admit the fact that the pages of the *Record* are not scanned with eagerness with each recurring day by the thoughtful citizen desirous of ascertaining how the country stands, but that he gets most of his impressions on the subject from the daily press. And this may be the reason why the revolution now in progress at Washington attracts so little attention throughout the country. Under these circumstances the responsibility resting upon journalists is, of course, only increased, and we cannot but think that the disposition manifested by some of our contemporaries to make light of the crisis is very reprehensible.

Some of our readers are probably aware that there has been for a month past some trouble over the passage of an Army Appropriation Bill by Congress. It is, at any rate, a matter of common notoriety that when an army appropriation comes up in Congress speeches on the subject are always delivered by members, some being delivered orally, others to a messenger, who gives them to the Congressional printer. To a certain extent, therefore, it may be assumed that the public know that there was a debate on the Army Bill, but as to what was said in it we doubt whether many people can have any accurate knowledge. If they had there could hardly be that prevailing sense of false security which pervades the atmosphere. We have before us the speeches of Mr. George M. Robeson, late Secretary of the Navy, and of Mr. Blackburn, of Kentucky, made during the debate. From these it seems that Mr. Robeson gave the country timely warning as to the plot in which Mr. Blackburn is engaged, and Mr. Blackburn announced his intention to go on with it to the end, though he cautiously refrained from saying what the end would be.

The debate appears to have arisen over a somewhat nice legal question as to the power to "keep the peace" at the polls in Southern elections by calling in the army of the United States, a force which we believe now numbers in the Southern States seventy-four men and one commissioned officer. Mr. Robeson had a preliminary debate with Mr. McLane on the subject, which did not finally settle the question, for towards the end of it Mr. McLane, while declaring he had great respect for "the character of the gentleman from New Jersey," declined to commit himself as to his sentiments on the subject of Mr. Robeson's intellect, and, in fact, declared in that hypothetical manner which is the mark of real courtesy in debate, that if Mr. Robeson supposed that he [McLane] was confounding the meaning of the term "keep the peace" with the right of the Government to do something entirely different, he must confess himself unable to have "any respect at all for his intelligence."

Passing on to the main subject of the debate, Mr. Robeson declared that what Mr. Blackburn proposed was to take away the power of the President to direct the seventy-five soldiers who now hold the South under their iron heel to "keep the peace," or else to refuse all appropriations to carry on the Army. He then enquired whether if this "brings us to a stand-still and a destruction" it is not "revolutionary"? No one replying to this question, he went on to show that it was a mistake to suppose, as some people did, that republics are generally ruined by "troops." The fact is, Mr. Robeson says, that though the last final blow to liberty has usually come from the sword, this has not been "until some branch of the government has usurped to itself rights which it did not enjoy under the constitution and laws of the country, and has thus destroyed the unity and power of civil government." Thus it was, for instance, that the usurpation by "that stern soldier, Oliver Cromwell," was only rendered possible by the gross behavior of the Long Parliament; so, too, it was only "after the assemblies and councils of the French Republic had made France, with its fair corn-fields and its vine-clad hills, run red with the blood of its best and noblest," that Napoleon, with the forces appropriately referred to by Mr. Robeson as his "armed soldiery," was able to seize upon the French Government. Now, however indifferent we may be to the fact, it is nevertheless true, as Mr. Robeson next insisted, that ours is "a system of government with co-ordinate and limited powers"—"like the solar system in the heavens, each member of it dependent upon the other, each held in its place, each governed in its motions, each restrained in its orbit, by the power and the attraction of the other members of that system." Let one of these spheres invade the orbit of the others, and what becomes of it and the system? "It wanders abroad not only to the destruction of its co-ordinate spheres, but an object of terror to the universe and of destruction to itself." Mr. Robeson finally closed his remarks by predicting that if the revolution which was now in progress was aimed at the title of the President, "the excitement which is apparent throughout the country to-day is but the muttering of a storm which will increase in fury, will grow in strength and in resistless power, until the men and the party who endeavor to unsettle the title of the President of the United States will be swept for ever from the political horizon."

We have no space to dwell at length upon Mr. Blackburn's reply; but it was full and explicit. He declared that the ballot "shall be free"; that "the sovereign" shall not be longer subjected to "the surveillance of the soldier"; and that he desired to have the country understand that this was the difference between the position of the two parties—that one insists "that the Army shall not hold its mailed hand at the throat of the sovereign," while the other "refuses to release the throttling grasp, and declares that it will block the wheels of the Government and bring it to starvation." He also added that his side of the House of Representatives would not yield or surrender until this Congress should have come to an end; and, finally, amid great applause, declared that not a single man in the majority could ever recede, but would stand to his convictions come what might; pointedly adding that "he who dallies is a dastard, and he who doubts is damned."

When scenes like this occur at the capital of the country it would seem as if it were time for the public to arouse themselves from their lethargy; and yet the only other place where the revolution seems to have attracted any serious attention is in the new capitol at Albany, where last week, in the course of a debate on the proposed escort of General Grant from San Francisco to the Atlantic seaboard, some remarks were let fall which showed a determination on the part of at least two leaders of public opinion to prepare themselves and the public for the worst. Mr. Wheeler declared that for one he was "astonished at the spectacle in Washington" and anticipated "another war." For three years, he added, he had "followed a battle-flag" during the rebellion, and is willing "to follow it again." He assured his audience that he had "an old sabre at his home in Dutchess County" which he is "ready to buckle on again if that time should come." Mr. Alvord, the Speaker of the House, a man hitherto absorbed in peaceful pursuits, reminded his hearers that "a war was begun at Sumter by a single cannon-shot which lasted for four long years," and that "another cannon-shot has been fired at Washington which re-echoes here" (at Albany). He predicted that the people would again "march arm-in-arm with us in defence of that Union which is now in imminent peril once more."

There seems to be little doubt that a revolution has broken out which ought not to be lightly passed over. The Democrats are pledged to refuse supplies to carry on the Government unless the seventy-four soldiers and the officer now believed to be quartered in the South are forbidden to interfere with the freedom of elections by "keeping the peace," and the Republicans are pledged to prevent the passage of any bill which makes the withdrawal of this licentious soldiery a *sine quâ non*. As the parties are almost exactly balanced in the two houses, and Mr. Hayes is a President who always tries to do what he thinks bad men would dislike to have a good man do under the circumstances, it is pretty clear that, in the

beautiful language of Mr. Robeson, one of the "spheres" is going to "invade the orbit" of one of the other spheres, and the invasion must necessarily cause trouble. Moreover, General Grant is going to land simultaneously at San Francisco, whence he will be escorted across the continent by one of the most ferocious hordes of politicians ever let loose in any country. Predatory by disposition, occupation, and training, and serving, too, on committees of escort "without pay," it is not very difficult to see that by the time they reach the longitude of Washington, inflamed as their worst passions will then be by a week's intercourse with their old leader, they will be ready for any desperate attempt. A collision between Blackburn and his followers, maddened to fury by months of Congressional oratory, and the Union forces under Grant will be inevitable, and it is at least an even bet that the mailed hand of the Soldier will tighten round the throat of shrieking Liberty, strangled amid the tottering wrack of the three co-ordinate, yet independent, departments of government.

A gloomy picture! The worst of it is that we care so little about it. Not a man turns from his accustomed avocation to prepare himself for the fray. Not a man takes down the old family Bible at eventide and reads to his assembled household words reminding them of their duty in the hour of peril. Not even "a mass-meeting irrespective of party" (a measure of precaution seldom left untried in New York) has been called. On the contrary, the banker goes on banking, the merchant buying and selling, the stock-broker dealing in "puts" and "calls," the lawyer arguing his cases under the Code and the codifier changing the Code under which he argues them, the builder continues to build, and the real-estate speculator to take advantage of the recent shrinkage in real estate. The securities of railroads, too, go on improving in value, while the Government sells a hundred millions of four per cents at par.

The blow, perhaps, when it comes will be all the harder to bear. In South America and Mexico, where revolutions occur every year or two, the inhabitants who do not take part for or against the rising generally retire into their houses, barricade their doors and windows, and wait till the storm is over. Here, while a leader of one party is denouncing any person who "dallies" as a "dastard" and consigning doubters to eternal damnation, and a leader of another party is predicting an invasion and destruction of one co-ordinate sphere by another co-ordinate sphere, and Mr. Wheeler is estimating the expenses of a trip to his home in Dutchess County for his sabre, everybody goes on with his accustomed business as if there were no revolution in progress at all. Such a case is without parallel in the history of any country. In previous instances, it has been the people who have set the revolution in motion, and the politicians have rather reluctantly taken part in it. Here, the politicians in a most handsome way provide a revolution for the people, and the people will not have anything to do with it. Whether this is from sheer obstinacy, or from the fact that it has escaped their attention that there is a revolution in progress, it is perhaps as yet too early to say.

THE SILVER QUESTION IN ENGLAND.

THE recent address presented to Sir Stafford Northcote by a deputation of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce on the silver question has moved the London *Economist* to make a novel suggestion for arresting the further fall in the price of that metal, and the consequent disturbance of the exchanges with India. The suggestion is no less than that the Bank of England be empowered to buy one-third or one-half of the unsold stock of the German Government at an agreed price, and issue notes against it, with the understanding that Germany shall not sell any more silver for a period of five or seven years. The unsold stock of Germany is estimated by the *Economist* at $75,000,000 to $100,000,000. By dividing the task of carrying this sum between the two countries for a fixed period it thinks that the pressure on the silver market might be removed, its former price restored, and the Indian exchanges rehabilitated, and all this without any alteration of the monetary standard of England. The plan provides further that any loss resulting to the bank from such purchase of silver shall be borne by the Government, and that any profit accruing from it shall be shared by the Government.

The fact that the grave and judicious organ of British finance has offered anything except stern opposition to the Liverpool movement must be taken as evidence that the fall in silver and the disturbance of the exchanges with the East have racked Lombard Street profoundly. Other evidence is not wanting, among which may be noted the recent confession of the Oriental Bank, an honestly-managed institution, that its losses growing directly or indirectly out of the derangement of the exchanges had swallowed up its whole accumulated reserve. Nevertheless England will hardly yet consent to a change of her monetary standard. The words of the late Mr. Bagehot—we quote from the *Economist* of December 30, 1876—are probably in the main a true description of the state of feeling and opinion on this subject still, although there may be more disposition now to reargue the grounds of such opinion than when he wrote:

"England (said Mr. Bagehot) has a currency now resting solely on the gold standard, which exactly suits her wants, which is known throughout the civilized world as hers, and which is most closely united to all her mercantile and banking habits. What motive, that an English Parliament could ever be got to understand, is there that would induce them to alter it? You cannot even begin an argument which would seem to have a sufficiently striking sound. Some time ago it was indeed said that the finances of our Indian Empire were thrown into confusion by the fall in the price of silver, and that, therefore, the English and the Indian currency should be assimilated and both be on the double-standard principle. But even in that case the English people would, rightly or wrongly, never have consented to change their currency; they would have told the Indian financiers to adjust their system of raising a revenue to the new circumstances. They would not have altered the sovereign for anything which might happen to the rupee."

This we judge to be decidedly the governing opinion of England to-day, the address of the Liverpool committee and the guarded hints of Lord Beaconsfield to the contrary notwithstanding. The holding and maintaining of such an opinion is not inconsistent with endeavors, even strenuous and costly ones, to prevent the further fall of silver and depression of the Indian exchanges. The *Economist* considers the mass of unsold silver in the German treasury the controlling factor in the market. It shows that the increased drawing of Indian Council bills (which take the place of silver shipments from England to India), from £4,000,000 per annum to £10,000,000 between the years 1868 and 1872, had no perceptible effect to depress the price of silver; from which it argues that the further increase of the drawings to £13,000,000 in 1874 did not contribute materially to the depression, although silver fell during that short interval 2*d.* per ounce. It was in 1872 that Germany came forward as a persistent seller of silver. The influence of the American mines the *Economist* deems as insignificant as the operations of the India Council. So long as a mass of silver equal to three thousand tons avoirdupois lies ready, or is supposed to be ready, to be thrown on the market, there can be no material advance in its price, while the possibilities of its further decline are measured only by the inclinations or needs of Germany. Remove this menace, argues the *Economist*, and we have all that England desires to accomplish.

But there are men in England of culture and position who will not be satisfied with this device, even if it be practicable to carry it into effect—and it is admitted by the *Economist* that it is only a temporary expedient—men like Mr. Ernest Seyd and Mr. Stephen Williamson, who are laboring for the double standard in England *per se*, aiming to bring about that which Mr. Bagehot said no Parliament would patiently listen to. They are not so foolish as to suppose that this can be brought about by one country alone—in this respect they differ from the majority of our silver-men. They are in favor of a new international conference, not daunted by the failure of the last one, which they think might have had a different result if the English delegates had not entered it under instructions to consent to nothing which should commit their own country to a

change of her monetary system. Believing that the end is to be gained only by concert of action among nations, in which England shall join, they deprecate all separate action, like that of the United States, as tending to relieve England, Germany, and other obstinate gold countries of a portion of their self-imposed distress, and thus to postpone the only possible cure for their malady. In their view things must be made as bad as possible in order that everybody may be forced to learn the truth. This is likewise the view of M. Cernuschi. "Stop coining silver if you want to bring us to our senses," is the adjuration of all the silver advocates in Europe to their friends and allies in the United States. Their friends and allies here, however, for the most part, reply in the enlightened phrase of Mr. Stanley Matthews, "What have we to do with 'abroad'?"

The Paris Conference was a foredoomed failure for this reason, among others, that the only countries capable of exercising a serious influence in favor of bi-metallism were either absent or hostile to its purposes. If England and Germany had been present and had joined in the proposed bi-metallic union, we should, at all events, have had the experiment tried. Not all the difficulties would have been surmounted by a vote, nor even by the opening of the mints to the free coinage of silver at a fixed ratio with gold, but the result of the experiment, whether favorable or otherwise, would have been worth much to the world by settling for ever a great controversy. Money must possess certain attributes which will cause people to seek it—to desire it—to prefer it as a medium of exchange. Gold has been self-elected to that office. The action of the German Government was merely a crowning illustration of the truth of this proposition. At considerable expense and sacrifice they changed their monetary system from silver to gold because the latter was *preferable*. It is not to be supposed that they did it out of caprice or in order to inflict a wound upon themselves. Can any international compact, however solemn, however fortified with good intentions, confer the attributes of money upon something which is not self-elected to the office? We grant that it can make silver legal tender, but that is only a small part of the problem. It must also cause people to desire silver equally with gold, else it cannot establish bi-metallism in practice. A conference which should do nothing more than give liberty to people and nations to "shove" silver upon each other would not have achieved any very desirable or lasting results. A conference assembled to stop the depression of the Indian exchanges, or to enable the German Government to get rid of its surplus silver, or to secure fair wages to Nevada miners, or to enable people to get out of debt, or to accomplish any other philanthropic achievement, would not be necessarily or primarily a monetary conference, because it would have for its object something else than ascertaining what is fit, suitable, good international money. Nevertheless, Americans will take a lively interest in any new conference which Mr. Williamson and his coadjutors in England may persuade their Government to initiate. The United States cannot be expected to take the lead in calling another after having failed to gain a single ally, great or small, among the specie-paying countries of the world, but they will cordially respond to an invitation coming from any respectable quarter. Meanwhile, we shall probably go on buying silver bullion at the rate of two millions per month without any aim or purpose that a thinking man, whether bi-metallist or "gold bug," can understand, relieving to that extent the pressure upon the Anglo-Indian exchanges and upon the German treasury, and postponing any real decision of the question at issue.

RAILROAD OWNERSHIP AND REGULATION IN GERMANY.

[THE following criticism, from a German point of view, of Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr.'s, recent work on 'Railroads,' has been sent us from an authoritative source in Germany, and will be found to contain valuable information on a somewhat intricate subject.]

IT appears to us a principal merit of Mr. Adams that in the first part of his instructive and very interesting book he publishes the authentic documents connected with the first appearance of railroads in England and in the United States, whilst in the second part he very judiciously and with statistical proofs demonstrates the evil consequences arising from the chaos of railroads, and from the embittered wars of competition, which, destitute of a single economic idea, have a detrimental influence, not only on trade and commerce, but also on the railroads themselves and their shareholders. On the other hand, we cannot agree with the author in reference to the ways and means of reaching a healthier condition in the management of American railways. The arguments of Mr. Adams have often been influenced by the development of German railroad affairs, and the so-called "Union of German Railroads." But herein he has been wrongly informed on important points, and of course the conclusions which he draws from his false premises cannot be true. If in the following lines we undertake to correct Mr. Adams in this regard we do it without the least intention of reproaching him. As it is difficult even for a native to form a right idea of these complicated affairs, how much more difficult must it be for a stranger, who can only judge from pamphlets, newspaper articles, etc., obtainable with difficulty.

Omitting the unimportant mistakes referring to the non-Prussian German railroads (for instance, in Bavaria only the railroads on the right side of the Rhine belong to the state; all the railroads on the left side, in the Palatinate, are private property), we will in the first place take note of what Mr. Adams says of the development of railroad policy in Prussia, the leading German state.

The remarks on the railroad policy up to the years 1868 and 1869, on the appearance of Dr. Stroussberg (not Straussburg, p. 111), and on the collapse of private railways which had been, partly directly and partly indirectly, founded by him, are in general correct. But then the statements on pages 111 *et seq.* are incorrect. The above-named collapse took place in consequence of two famous speeches by the Deputy Lasker, delivered in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on January 14 and February 7, 1873. A commission was appointed for the purpose of examining the principles on which the then Minister of Commerce, Count Itzenplitz, had given the concessions for building railroads, and of making propositions for a thorough reform of these principles. At the same time a new ministry was created in the German Empire, called "Reichseisenbahnamt," which had the superintendence of all the German railroads with the exception of those of Bavaria, which in most respects are not subject to the laws of the constitution of the German Empire. The report of this commission, whose tendency was to convert all the railways into state property, has been without direct consequences, and no new events took place in Prussian and German railroad politics from 1873 to the end of 1875. The only remarkable fact is that twice have the endeavors of the Reichseisenbahnamt to bring before the Bundesrath and the Reichstag a project of a railway law for the German Empire failed in consequence of the opposition of the separate governments.

Only this circumstance, and not the report of a commission (as Mr. Adams says, on page 113), was the motive of the co-called Reichseisenbahn project—*i.e.*, the Chancellor's plan to purchase the principal trunks of all railroads for the Empire. The first step toward the realization of this project was the bill concerning the transfer of the Prussian state roads to the Empire, brought in during the session of the Prussian Chambers in March, 1876, and accepted by them in April and May. Because Prussia, notwithstanding this law, has not yet offered its railroads to the Empire, Mr. Adams infers that Prince Bismarck has given up the idea of introducing the system of state ownership of railroads. On the contrary, he always insists upon this idea, only he tries to realize it in another way. Prince Bismarck's project encountered bitter resistance, arising from political motives, in the minor states, particularly in those which are themselves owners of railways. For this reason, already foreseen in the motives of the bill of 1876, the Prussian Government is beginning to enlarge and to consolidate the Prussian state railroad property by the acquisition of private railways.

The following data may prove what an ascendency Prussia would attain by the purchase of all the Prussian private roads, and how by this proceeding the question whether railroads should be state or private property would be for ever solved. On the 1st of January, 1879, the German railroads operated 20,250 miles of track; of these 5,675 miles were owned and managed by the Prussian Government; 5,504 miles were the property of private Prussian companies. The state property of the other larger German states amounts to about 6,000 miles. In case Prussia acquired all its *private* roads, its property would amount to 11,000 miles, whilst all the other states would possess only 6,000 miles, and the

remaining 3,000 miles of scattered private railways would be in total dependence on the consolidated union of 17,000 miles of state railroads.

The idea of dividing the Prussian Ministry of Commerce into a Ministry of Commerce and a Ministry of Railroads, which was first rejected in the year 1878 but has lately been adopted by the legislative bodies, has only been realized for the purpose of facilitating this difficult task of the minister, so that Mr. Adams is mistaken in supposing, on p. 114, that the creation of *a new ministry of railroads* was in question; the sole object was to free the minister who had had the direction of railroad affairs hitherto from all other business. The entrance of Baron von Weber into the Prussian service, which Mr. Adams supposes to be of so great importance, has not the least political consequence, and Baron von Weber is altogether much over-estimated abroad. He has never exercised the least influence in Prussian railroad politics. The leading person, next to the Chancellor, is the present Minister of Commerce, Mr. Maybach. The latest events which have taken place since the appearance of Mr. Adams's book prove that this minister, in full concurrence with Prince Bismarck, firmly and persistently pursues the project of state-ownership of all railroads. On February 15, 1879, the first treaty concerning the acquisition of a more important private railroad by the Government was agreed upon. Mr. Adams will see from the above facts that German statesmen do not at all incline toward the adoption of a railroad policy similar to that of Great Britain or America.

Mr. Adams, on pp. 112, 205, 206, speaks of the "Verein Deutscher Eisenbahnverwaltungen," which, at the close of 1876, embraced 110 managements, operating 31,000 miles of track. He declares that this union "makes all necessary arrangements respecting joint traffic, that it settles questions of fares and freights, and substitutes arbitration for wars of rates." He thinks it desirable that a similar agreement should take place between the American railroads, and sees principally in such a proceeding the solution of the railroad problem in the United States. But now this Union of German Railroads, to which belong the German, Austrian, Hungarian, Belgian, Dutch, Rumanian, and some of the Russian railroad managements, is not in the least concerned with tariffs and joint traffic. The freedom of tariffs, as far as it exists for the railroads belonging to the Union, is not at all compromised by the Union. Questions of rates lie quite beyond its compass; wars of rates have always been waged between the managements of the Union, and are being carried on at this moment. The Union has rather proposed to itself to secure as far as feasible a uniform management of the railroads belonging to it, and for this purpose has established uniform principles for the construction and the equipment of railways, for the quality of wagons, locomotives, etc., and for the operation itself. This uniformity has been generally recognized as very conducive to the promotion of commerce, and a similar union of the American railroads would doubtless exercise the same beneficial influence. But the real evil under which the management of the American railroads is suffering would not thereby be removed—nay, not even affected. This evil seems to us, according to the excellent enquiries of Mr. Adams, to consist in the *de facto* absolute liberty of tariffs for the American railroads, which is evidenced by the establishment of tariffs not in accordance with economic principles but in accordance with the whims and private interests of the managers. The experience of all civilized nations has proved that such defects cannot be healed by light, palliative means, but must be energetically handled so as to conquer them.

However, it would be advisable for America in regulating its railway tariffs to profit by the experience gained in this respect in Germany. Such circumstances as are represented in the article "Congress and Inter-State Commerce" (*Nation*, January 30, 1879, pp. 79, 80) are indeed impossible according to the present legislation and practice in Germany, and what in America is yet a desideratum is in Germany almost an "überwundene Standpunkt." Thus, for instance, the railroads are obliged to publish their tariffs; the application of unpublished tariffs and the granting of particular favors to individuals are strictly forbidden. It is very difficult to evade these prohibitions, and if the railways nevertheless do so, they are severely punished. Besides, all German railways have accepted a conformity in the establishment of their tariff system, and the governments have settled the maxima of rates, which cannot be exceeded without the permission of the Government, whilst the railroads have full liberty to take lower rates. These laws, to which all private and state railways are subject, and the execution of which the above-mentioned Reichseisenbahnamt carefully superintends, greatly restrict the liberty of tariffs. The introduction of similar laws in America, as is intended by the Reagan Tariff Bill, would be a great progress. But whether at the present time the Government of the United States, as would become its duty under that bill, has power to interfere; or whether, on the other hand, the Government has power to hinder the ever-progressing formation of railway states in the political States—this question we do not dare to decide, particularly as we are not personally acquainted with American railroad affairs, but have only taken our knowledge from books.

Correspondence.

GENERAL GRANT AND THE RASCALS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: You say there is not a rascal in the country but is eager to vote for Grant. If that is true he would be triumphantly elected; but all the rascals are on the Democratic side. The Rev. Jos. Cook has come out in his favor. Is he a rascal? As Greeley truly said: "Point where you please to an election district which you will pronounce morally rotten, given up to debauchery and vice, whose voters subsist by keeping policy offices, gambling houses, grog-shops, and darker dens of infamy—there is the Democratic party" for railroad wreckers and ciphering frauds.

Marquette.

[We say nothing of the kind. We said there was no Republican rascal who was not "a Grant man," and we say so still. All the bad element in the party is frantic in support of him. We began by stating explicitly that *all* Grant men were *not* rascals. Our correspondent's question about the Rev. Joseph Cook is, therefore, a little silly. The assertion that "all the rascals are on the Democratic side" has a pleasing sound, but unhappily it is not supported by experience. It is strange but true that the Republican party contains several of very superior quality. A correspondent of Colonel Forney's cheerful paper, the *Progress*, also asks, apropos of our paragraph, "Is it just that General Grant should be made to bear the sins of the men whom he commissioned in good faith, but who have in some instances violated their trust?" Of course not; but it *is* just that General Grant should be made to bear the sins of rascally officers whom he kept in office, on the "under-fire" rule—that is, after their rascality was discovered and clearly proved. The renomination of "Boss" Shepherd for the chairmanship of the Commission of the District of Columbia, for instance, immediately after he had been legislated out of office for corruption, which so shocked the Senate and the public at the time, was a case of responsibility for rascality which General Grant actually took pains to make plain. No one knows better than the joyous editor of *Progress* that if Grant is nominated the Democrats will only have to make extracts from the files of the Republican papers between 1870 and 1876 in order to compound a most damning and damnable campaign document. The Grant movement is, in fact, a proposal to confess that the party has neither policy, nor ideas, nor statesmen. It is saying substantially, "We have no plans, no policy, and no ideas to speak of; but we have a first-rate man. He has no plans, policy, or ideas either; but he is tough, decided, and combative, and will make the Democrats skip." If this is not imperialist talk, what is it?

We may add that the acceptance of the third-term idea would be, as every one saw plainly, or was supposed to see plainly, three years ago, virtually the adoption of the life-tenure for the Presidency and the abandonment of popular government. The gratitude, love, and admiration, or whatever it is, which makes people want to give Grant three terms would, of course, grow the longer he served, and would give him an irresistible claim to the place on the expiration of his sixth term. If, also, the Democrats should succeed in defeating him before he died, they would never admit that their man was anything short of a six-term man either, or ought to have less than three terms. The European nobles, too, would soon fall into the way of taking a hand in the Presidential canvass. When an ex-President arrived on their shores they would receive him with increasing honors on seeing that it tickled the Americans. Then,

if there were two ex-Presidents in the field pitted against each other, the campaign orators of each side would endeavor to show that their man had had bigger dinners in Europe, and had been received by more crowned heads, and had had more elephants in his procession than the other man. Would "government of the people by the people for the people" in this way grow in strength and dignity?—Ed. Nation.]

BIENNIAL SESSIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your very discriminating article upon my scheme for methodizing our legislation leaves but one thing to be desired—*i.e.*, that you should draw attention to the one great evil which has been brought about by the recent constitutional amendment limiting and prohibiting private and local legislation, and requiring that certain objects theretofore obtained by special and local laws should thereafter be achieved only by general laws. This amendment subjects the whole body of the general law to most insidious attacks dictated by special and local interests, and will hereafter beget numberless new general laws to effect such special or local objects. This evil will become in time so great and intolerable that a recurrence to the old system of indiscriminately passing local and special laws will be considered a relief from the mischiefs which we are now developing, by general legislation to effect such smaller and minor results.

The clamor for biennial sessions of the Legislature is of a piece with the empiricism which limits the legislative power instead of methodizing it. This is on the assumption that legislative sessions produce more harm than good, and that therefore the less we have of them the better. The absurdity of this way of dealing with a political evil is best illustrated by imagining the derision with which any reasonable human being would have met the suggestion of a reformer who in 1871 had proposed as a remedy for the corruption which disgraced the New York judicial system that Barnard, Cardoza, McCunn, etc., should sit but half terms. It does not at all follow that by sitting half the time they would do half the mischief, because they might readily crowd into any given number of days double the injustice that they did more leisurely before.

Respectfully, Simon Sterne.

New York, April 23, 1879.

"COMPARISONS ARE ODIOUS."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Mr. Shepard, in your paper for April 17, suggests Sir John Fortescue as the author from whom Shakspere may have derived Dogberry's "comparisons are odorous." I wonder that no commentator has called attention to Lyly's 'Euphues' as the most probable source of the suggestion. 'Euphues' was first published in 1579. In page 68 of Arber's reprint we read:

"Concerning *Liuia*, though she be faire, yet is she not so amiable as my *Lucilla*, whose seruaunt I have bene the terme of three yeres: but least comparisons should seeme odious, chiefely where both the parties be without comparison, I will omitte that, and seing that we had both rather be talking with them, then tatling of them, we will immediately goe to them."

Shakspere was fond of ridiculing the style of 'Euphues,' and would gladly use the opportunity of parodying it in the mouth of Dogberry.

Many persons, in attempting to quote Dogberry, spoil the joke by correcting him, and thus they quote 'Euphues' without knowing it. This is one of many absurd blunders made in popular quotations from Shakspere and other poets. A. B. Stark.

Logan Female College, Russellville, Ky., April 23, 1879.

STATE TAXATION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your statement in the article on State taxation in to-day's issue that a tax upon A.'s land and another upon B.'s mortgage upon the same land amounts to double taxation, receives a curious illustration here in Philadelphia.

The city imposes a tax upon the land, the State imposes a tax upon the interest on the mortgage, the latter ostensibly payable by the mortgagee. The mortgages, however, all contain a covenant that the mortgagor shall pay the State tax. Hence the result is that a landowner pays more taxes after he has mortgaged his property, when his own interest in it is really less and the State's interest can surely be no greater, than when it was unencumbered.

Very respectfully, Robert H. Neilson.

Philadelphia, April 24, 1879.

Notes.

After a period of comparative fixity the book-trade in this city has again begun to share the spring mania for removals. In conformity with the general uptown tendency, Henry Holt & Co. contemplate a new location on Twenty-third Street, between Fourth Avenue and Broadway, while F. W. Christern is already installed at No. 180 Fifth Avenue, next door to G. P. Putnam's Sons; and B. Westermann & Co. at 838 Broadway. Bangs & Co. have transferred their auction-rooms to 739 and 741 Broadway. *Per contra*, J. Sabin & Sons have moved further down town to No. 64 Nassau Street. The American branch of George Routledge & Sons, which still remains, as during the past thirteen years, at No. 416 Broome Street, celebrated last week the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation ——A new publishing firm with an old and familiar name is announced as having established itself at No. 714 Broadway. The senior partner of A. C. Armstrong & Son was lately well known as a long-time member of the house of Scribner, and his son has partly acquired his training in the same good school. For a beginning A. C. Armstrong & Son have purchased part of the standard stock of W. J. Widdleton, embracing Burton, Disraeli, Hallam, Milman, Lamb, etc.——The 17th volume of *Scribner's Monthly* bears a double frontispiece, the heads of Longfellow and Emerson, and is replete with good engraving and good reading, as we have testified from month to month.——Sheldon & Co. have in press a manual of English Literature based upon Professor Morley's well-known work, but largely original in matter and arrangement. Prof. Moses Coit Tyler is the editor.——President A. D. White's address on "Education in Political Science," on which we commented last week, has been published by John Murphy & Co., Baltimore, in pamphlet form. ——Candidates for fellowships at the Johns Hopkins University are notified to present their applications before the 15th instant. In a letter addressed to the President the previous reading and study and future intentions of the applicant should be stated, and some essay or thesis (not necessarily prepared for this occasion) should be offered in connection with it, together with references, etc. Five fellowships will be allotted this year to each of the departments of Greek, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, and Biology; and five at the discretion of the Faculty.——A second circular concerning private collegiate instruction for women at Harvard has just been issued by Mr. Arthur Gilman, Secretary, whose address is 5 Phillips Place, Cambridge. Admission to instruction will be granted those who pass satisfactorily the Harvard University Preliminary Examination for Women this month in Cambridge, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, in eight of ten subjects enumerated. The fee for the full year's instruction will be $200; for single courses, $75 to $100. ——The last report of the Davenport (Iowa) Academy of Natural Sciences shows a flourishing condition. Among the important acquisitions of the past year have been an exhumed tablet of stone, with inscriptions differing from, yet partly agreeing with, those of similar ones already exhumed and ascribed to the mound-builders; and two "animal" pipes, representing a bear, conjectured to be the grizzly, and an elephant. Mrs. Mary L. D. Putnam, one of the principal benefactors of the Academy, was chosen president for the current year.——Lovers of early English literature should procure the circulars of Mr. Edward Arber, Southgate, London, N., England, who publishes 'An English Garner: Ingatherings from our History and Literature,' the 'English Scholar's Library,' and other collections of reprints interesting for their intrinsic contents or for the rarity of their originals; the invaluable 'Transcript of the Stationers' Registers,' 1554–1640, etc., etc. All these publications are printed with accuracy and elegance, and sold for a very moderate price, Mr. Arber being not only the editor and publisher, but sole dealer in them.

—D. Appleton & Co. have just published a well-devised and well-executed 'Hand-book of Requirements for Admission to the Colleges of the United States,' compiled by A. F. Nightingale, A.M., Principal of the Lake View High-School, near Chicago. These requirements are tabulated, in a remarkably condensed manner, for forty-four of the leading colleges, and afterwards restated in the form of a general average, compliance with which will ensure admission anywhere. This informa-

tion is supplemented by specimen examination papers from Yale, Bowdoin, Dartmouth, and Boston University; and by the current circular of the Harvard Examinations for Women. Provision having thus been made for the capacity of the pupil, the parent's taste is consulted by a variety of statistics helpful in making a choice. There are lists of all the colleges in the United States, classified by States; of thirty-eight colleges, showing the attendance in the various schools, and whether men only or both sexes are admitted; of forty-four colleges in reference to church influence or control—all the State universities being classed as non-sectarian; of the same number in the order of their establishment, with the presidents' names, etc. The colleges are also divided according to their adherence to the English or the Roman pronunciation of Latin, and the schemes of the latter adopted at Michigan, Cornell, and Harvard are presented side by side. Still other statistics have chiefly a speculative interest. It appears, for example, from the data concerning the thirty-eight colleges, that in the New England thirteen nearly 75 per cent. of the students are in the classical course; in the nine of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, nearly 54 per cent.; in the sixteen West and South, less than 43 per cent. The modern languages, and German above all, largely take the place of Greek in the Western colleges. In the mixed colleges, nearly 24 per cent. of the students are women, who pursue (31 per cent.) the classical course; (55 per cent.) the scientific or technical; (15 per cent.) the medical, etc. Finally, in all the above colleges medicine attracts 2,304 students, the law 1,840, and theology 456. The women number 2,053. Speaking generally, all the State universities and all the Methodist colleges enumerated admit both sexes. In the New England States there is one college to every 174,396 inhabitants; in the Middle States, one to every 126,545; in the Southeastern, one to every 93,178; in the North-Central, east of the Mississippi, one to every 82,249; in the North-Central, west, one to every 65,126; in the South-Central, one to every 77,240; in the Western (Pacific slope), one to every 24,451. These figures forcibly reveal the worthlessness of the term "college" as a criterion of the institution adopting it, or as an indication of the culture of any given State. Tennessee, with a population slightly inferior to that of Massachusetts and consisting one-third of freedmen, and with one-sixth the wealth, counts 27 "colleges" to Massachusetts' 9.

—Now that Lent is over, the theatres are applying themselves with great assiduity to the discovery of plays adapted to the short spring season. The Union Square, having reaped a magnificent winter's harvest from the "Banker's Daughter," has turned its attention to a field in which it has already made many hits, and brought out an adaptation of "Les Orphelins du Pont Notre Dame," in "five acts and eight tableaux." It is suggested by the manager that "a story that deals with the foundation of noble charities and benevolent institutions ought not to be uninteresting to the public of a city like this, whose public charitable institutions challenge comparison even with those of the city in which the noble Vincent de Paul founded the first asylum for the neglected and orphaned children of the poor." The story is that of two boys, one the son of the *Countess de St. Val* (Miss Linda Dietz), the other of *Catharine Fournier* (Miss Ida Vernon), both abandoned, one by his starving mother, the other by the wicked *Duke Savello di Savelli*, who, for purposes of his own, finds it convenient that the child of the countess should not be supposed to exist. The two children are, however, picked up by *Vincent de Paul* (Mr. John Parselle), and, needless to say, after incredible and blood-curdling adventures, are restored to their mothers. Mr. Parselle's acting of *Vincent* is, as his acting of almost any part is sure to be, very good. Indeed, he makes the most of it; but it is not a good part for him, and does not give his powers free scope. Mr. Thorne as *De Couci*, the poor but honorable knight who stands next friend to innocence and virtue through the play, acts with spirit, but possibly with not precisely the sort of spirit that would at once identify him as a veritable *De Couci*. Miss Dietz, as the countess, seems rather overpowered by her dress, which is of great magnificence, but not at all becoming to her. The best acting in the play is undoubtedly that of the two children (Miss Mabel Leonard and Miss Hattie Anderson). Their parts are well written and natural, and their acting quite charming. *A priori*, we should have doubted whether twelve is an age of sufficient maturity for successful dramatic presentation—so many plays are spoiled by the introduction of prattling infants—but all doubt is dissipated by the success of these two boys. In melodrama a boy of twelve seems quite in place. He is, after all, in that very world of incident and adventure and romance of which real boys of twelve are half the time dreaming. With "emotional" plays, in which there is an absolute impossibility of the child dramatically entering into or becoming a part of the situation, the case is different. The "Lost Children" is well put on the stage, several of the scenes, and especially the Bridge of Notre Dame, being masterpieces in their way.

—Most people in New York are probably chiefly familiar with Suppe's music through having heard his "Poet and Peasant" given at Thomas's Garden. From the slightly propagandist tendencies of Thomas as a concert-giver, the impression was created that Suppe was a sort of musical purist, and that in listening to him an audience was doing something to educate itself. The fact is, however, as the simple-minded population of this city has just discovered, that Suppe is an industrious writer of comic music of the lightest kind, and that, however much he may desire the improvement of the musical taste of the world, what he has been most strenuously endeavoring to do during all these years has been to write an uproariously funny and successful comic opera. This he has at last succeeded in doing. "Fatinitza," which was brought out last Wednesday evening at the Fifth Avenue Theatre, has, we believe, had enormously successful runs in half the capitals of Europe. Its success is not difficult to understand. The whole idea of the play is very comical, and many of the situations, particularly the scenes in which the Reform Pasha and his harem are introduced, extremely farcical. There is nothing very new in either the play or the music, for the idea of making a comedy turn upon the hopeless passion of one of the characters for a young woman, the young woman being actually a young man whom the lover has met masquerading in female attire, has been common dramatic property in all countries for several generations; while the music contains reminiscences of every opéra bouffe that Lecocq and Offenbach have ever produced. he music is undoubtedly Suppe's, and some of it, particularly the choruses, is very pretty; but it would not have been written had it not been for the composers we have mentioned. Here and there the origin is almost too directly traceable, as in the scene where the Turkish chorus effects an entrance into the Russian camp, which appears almost an infringement of the proprietary rights of the owners of "Giroflé-Girofla" and the "Fille de Madame Angot." The libretto is, even in its disfigured English version, very amusing, and in the original no doubt constituted a great part of the strength of the opera. It is fairly sung, and acted much better than we have ever seen anything of the kind given in English. The newspaper correspondent is a strong part, and ought to be put in the hands of an actor who has an exceptionally good voice.

—Mr. Bergner's annual concert, which took place on Wednesday week, presented an excellent programme, which was performed in a very satisfactory manner. The first number was Schumann's piano-forte trio in F major, one of the brightest and most characteristic of the master's compositions, full of that strong and manly humor which pervades many of the works dating from this happiest period of his life. Miss Henne, whose charming and sympathetic voice it is always a pleasure to listen to, sang a rather gloomy and monotonous song, by Gounod, followed by one of Rubinstein's, by no means a good specimen of this author's style, who has written many interesting and delightful compositions for the voice. Schumann's "Widmung" also was admirably sung. Mr. Bergner played a violoncello arrangement of an air by Pergolese and a mazurka by Popper. The concluding number was Beethoven's quartette for string instruments in C minor, Op. 18, No. 4.——Mr. Wilhelmj's second concert of chamber music was an improvement on the first in so far only as the selection was performed in a decidedly superior manner. In other respects it was equally disappointing. The programme did not contain a single number of concerted music that has not been heard here this season and often in previous years. It opened with the same quartette, by Beethoven, that was given only two days before at the Bergner concert. Schumann's trio in D minor was a few weeks ago admirably played by Messrs. Pinner, Damrosch, and Bergner at their chamber-music concerts in the Union League Theatre, and the andante with variations from Schubert's string quartet in D minor has likewise been performed at one of the chamber-music concerts given at Republican Hall by Messrs. Brandt, Matzka, and others. Mr. Pinner gained a decided success by a truly admirable and vigorous rendering of Bach's great organ toccata and fugue in E flat, arranged for the piano by Carl Tausig. The artist was received by the audience with particular warmth and heartiness, and in response to repeated recalls played a charming "Pastorale," by Scarlatti. His performance of the piano-forte part in Schumann's trio was equally artistic and intelligent. Miss Henne sang three Italian airs of the seventeenth century, Mozart's "Veilchen," and a delightful song by Rubinstein.

—More than half of the last number of the *Revue Politique* (April 5) is occupied by a study on Renan, by Charles Bigot. The writer has already discussed Feuillet, Lemoinne, A. Dumas, fils, and lately published a capital sketch of the Duke d'Audiffret-Pasquier; but Renan offers a much finer subject for psychological portraiture, and M. Bigot has profited by all its points. He is acute, ingenious, perhaps fanciful. He dissects M. Renan, classifies him, accounts for him, gives a "theory" of him, all in a few pages and in most agreeable French. The article was, of course, written on occasion of Renan's reception into the Academy. Renan's *Discours* at that time (very badly delivered, it is said, in a style to make Legouvé wince) has been published, and, as every one knows, has excited the ire of the Germans; but from the account given elsewhere in the *Revue* of Mézières' *Réponse*, that apparently ought to be published also, not merely because the author acquitted himself well of the difficult task of replying to such a predecessor, but because Renan's thesis—that great writers pay little attention to style—is false and dangerous, and was ingeniously opposed by Mézières with a reference to the style of the very man whom Renan had eulogized in the latter part of his discourse, his predecessor in the Academy, Claude Bernard. M. Mézières also dexterously guarded the Academy from the imputation of accepting all the scepticism of their new associate; and the whole response seems to have been an exhibition of fencing, courteous but a little malicious, interesting yet requiring for its full enjoyment a knowledge of the course of feeling in the Academy and in Paris.

—Several important monographs upon Roman history and antiquities have appeared in Germany in the course of the last year. Genz's 'Das patricische Rom' is the most important for the early period, and, being the most recent discussion upon the primitive institutions of Rome, ought to be consulted by all students of this period. It is in general founded upon Mommsen's views, from which, however, the author differs on some points, especially in regard to the three tribes, which Mommsen considers to have all existed in Palatine Rome, while Genz holds the common view—that the Sabine Tities inhabited the Quirinal. The chief puzzle of the tribal organization of Rome is the complication of the threefold division with a twofold (*e. g.*, the four pontiffs, augurs, and vestals, the doubling of the centuries of knights, etc.), and this Mommsen explains by the theory above mentioned, while Genz explains it by the later origin and inferior rank of the Luceres. The treatise (of 122 pages) consists of five chapters—"Die patricische Gens"; "Die Curien"; "Der Staat, Populus, Senatus, Rex"; "Die Stämme [Tribes]"; "Patriciat und Königthum." The theory of the *gens*, elaborated in the first chapter, gives the head of the gens almost the position of the chief of a Highland clan—as being, in fact, the proprietor of all the land of the gens, and the only *paterfamilias* in the strict sense of the term. On the other hand, the clients are regarded as members of the *gentes*, and therefore a part of the *populus*. The objection that they would thus have had a vote in the *comitia curiata* is ingeniously disposed of by the theory (p. 61) that the earliest mode of voting was (as in Homer) acclamation. The last chapter contains a striking and suggestive sketch of the contest between the early patrician institutions and the innovating royal power.——Dr. Schwartz, of Posen, has published a thin pamphlet, 'Der Ursprung der Stamm- und Gründungs-sage Roms unter dem Reflex indogermanischer Mythen.' It is an application of the theory of the "sun-myth," which has been made so familiar to us by Max Müller and Mr. Cox, and it traces in an interesting and ingenious manner the connection of this with the stories of early Rome. However far one may be willing to go in this interpretation, one is at any rate surprised at the number and the closeness of the parallelisms which are here pointed out with the stories of Romulus and of Servius Tullius, the worship of Picus and of Vesta.

—Dr. Holzapfel's dissertation 'De Transitione ad Plebem' touches a fundamental point in the gentile system of the Romans, which is of interest, therefore, as a question of Roman constitutional law, and historically interesting, moreover, in virtue of the important case of Clodius; the dissertation is, indeed, mainly devoted to the consideration of this case. Dr. Holzapfel adopts the view of Mommsen, that the transition to the plebs (a different thing from adoption into a plebeian family) was regularly effected by an oath of *patriciatus abdicatio* taken personally before the *comitia calata*. He does not, however, follow Mommsen in identifying this act with the *detestatio sacrorum*, and he thinks that both previous action by the *comitia centuriata* and some formal subsequent action in the plebeian assembly of the tribes were essential to it. It was because Clodius failed to get this necessary authority for his transition in 60 that he had recourse the next year to the clumsy expedient of *adrogatio*, being adopted by a plebeian young enough to be his own son. So far the case may be considered as settled, at least in its main features; the difficulty is in explaining how Clodius, after adoption, was able to retain his old name. This he thinks was by an abuse, with the connivance of the pontifex maximus (Cæsar); it was on this ground, therefore, that Cicero always denied the legality of the tribuneship of Clodius, and therefore the validity of his laws.——'Die agrarische Frage im alten Rom' is a popular lecture, delivered in Heidelberg, by Dr. Heinrich Buhl. It does not aim to enlarge our knowledge of the agrarian laws, or to solve any of the puzzling problems in which this question still abounds; but it presents in a brief and interesting way the substance of what Mommsen has to say upon the subject.——A good summary of the revenue system of the Roman republic will be found in 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss des römischen Staatspächtersystems,' by Dr. Dietrich. The most original part of the treatise is that which treats of the publicans, in two chapters; the one upon their companies, *societates publicanorum*, the other upon the definition of the term, which is shown to apply not only to farmers of the revenue, but to contractors of public works, and also to those who rented mines, fisheries, etc., belonging to the state. Other chapters discuss the method of assigning contracts, both for farming the revenues and for constructing public works.——Belonging to the same general head is Hirschfeld's 'Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte'; the first volume containing the administrative officials of the empire, down to the time of Diocletian. It makes a volume of 323 pages, and contains an exhaustive account of nearly all branches of administration—such as the treasury system, the postal system, the fleets, the aqueducts, games, libraries, etc. The next volume, which will be delayed by other duties, will contain the system of taxation and the provincial administration of the empire.

—A topic of the highest importance is discussed by Bernhard Heisterbergk, in 'Die Entstehung des Colonats.' It is known that at about the third century of our era the free peasantry of Italy and many parts of the empire is found to have been superseded by a body of prædial serfs, and the origin of this condition, *colonatus*, has been one of the most difficult problems in the history of the empire. Dr. Heisterbergk clearly states and discusses all the leading theories in regard to the subject, those of Savigny, Puchta, Huschke, etc.; but devotes most of his polemics to that of Rodbertus. Rodbertus, an economist rather than a philologist or jurist like his predecessors, attempted to find the explanation of the phenomenon in Von Thünen's theory of "the Isolated State"—an ingenious demonstration of the forms which will be taken by agricultural industry at different distances from a given centre; its proximity to Rome forced Italy to a garden culture, and the previous disappearance of the free peasantry in the formation of the great estates, or *latifundia*, made it necessary to use slaves for this purpose, giving them a semi-free condition. Heisterbergk, after showing the untenableness of this view, maintains that the *colonatus* did not begin in Italy, but in those provinces (as Africa and Spain) which were the chief sources of the supply of corn, and upon which fell a heavy burden of taxation, from which Italy was free; that it was "the characteristic feature of the formation of *latifundia* upon tributary soil." Then came legislation and made the condition uniform over the whole empire. The special value of the treatise lies in the thoroughness and lucidity with which the working of economical laws is traced in the social events of this distant period.

—We print in another column some German comments on a recent notable work by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr. At the same time we are in receipt of a handsome and not slender report on the operation of American railroads, prepared by a Prussian railway inspector, H. Bartels, in accordance with the instructions of the Minister of Commerce. Herr Bartels came to this country in connection with the German exhibit at the Centennial, and was able to make a flying trip to the Pacific and towards the Gulf, in the course of which he had an opportunity to observe the management and construction of the most important roads on this continent. He expresses warmly his thanks to the railway officials, who gave him every facility in their power "in willfährigster und aufopferndster Weise," and supplied him freely with reports, photographs, drawings, etc. While endeavoring to make a purely objective showing of the appliances of our roads, he points out in his preface the danger of borrowing American methods and contrivances for adoption under wholly different conditions. He praises highly the American inventiveness and desire to have the best thing from whatever source it is presented; and our railway-engineering audacity, aptness, and success he also extols in the most gratifying terms. The volume before us is Part I., and deals

only with railway stations and signals. It is illustrated with numerous excellent wood-cuts and thirteen copper-plate maps, and is printed in the Roman character. We suppose we hazard nothing in saying that for the two subjects treated there is no work in the English language to be compared with it on the score of information alone, while the foreign point of view even in selection and description must considerably enhance its value. The title of the report is 'Betriebs-Einrichtungen auf Amerikanischen Eisenbahnen : Bahnhofsanlagen und Signale' (Berlin : Ernst & Korn.)

DRONE ON COPYRIGHT.*

THE English Commission on Copyright in their recent report on the subject of literary property, speaking of the English legislation, say: "The law is wholly destitute of any sort of arrangement, incomplete, often obscure, and even when it is intelligible upon long study, it is in many parts so ill expressed that no one who does not give such study to it can expect to understand it." The copyright laws of the United States are free from some of the faults which make a chaos of the English statutes, but Mr. Drone hardly overstates the case as a whole when he declares at the outset of his interesting book that "meaningless, inconsistent, and inadequate statutory provisions ; ambiguous, erroneous, and conflicting decisions, cover the law of copyright with doubt, difficulties, and confusion."

The causes of this are not difficult to understand. Literary property is a species of ownership which is of entirely modern development. Some writers on the subject have touched upon the Roman law in its bearing on copyright ; but beyond a text which, if we remember right, decides that a manuscript written upon the paper of another becomes the property of the latter because the paper is his, the Roman law has hardly anything applicable to the matter, and that little is of the very slightest importance, for the single reason that the Romans did not understand the use of types. It is only since the invention of printing—that is, within the last three hundred years—that copyright has become of any value as property, and consequently it is in the laws and decisions of this period that we must look for the development of it as a branch of the law of property. To the student it presents an interesting instance of the development, almost within the memory of men now living (for the copyright question can hardly be said to have been seriously discussed except during the last hundred years of the period which we have mentioned), of a new and distinct species of property resting on precisely the same foundations with other proprietary rights, but differing from all others in its nature and attributes. The idea of property in these is so familiar to us that it is difficult to conceive of a state of society in which it is not recognized. Recent research has, however, made us familiar with the fact that the idea of property is a product of civilization ; that in pre-historic times, among the races which now consider themselves charged with the especial duty of protecting and preserving it, the institution of private property did not exist, and that it has been slowly developed out of a primitive communism. In copyright, however, we have a sort of property which is even now, under our very eyes, freeing itself from the early communistic fetters, and establishing for itself a footing, at first infirm and precarious, but gradually becoming fixed and unquestionable in all civilized countries. This is a fact which we do not propose to prove by any abstruse legal argument. Whether, as some eminent lawyers have maintained, copyright did exist at common law (*i.e.*, independently of any statutory provisions), or whether it is simply a creature of statute, there is one fact which cannot be disputed by any one familiar with the history of literary property—that with the past hundred years the rights of authors in intellectual productions have been gradually but steadily extended in every direction. For, it must be remembered, there are several directions in which a right of property may extend itself. It may be increased in duration of time (as, for example, the ownership may exist for a limited term of years, or for life, or for ever), in the power of disposition (*e.g.*, it may be enjoyable by the author himself, or he may have the right to sell it, in whole or in part) ; it may be strengthened by international as distinguished from local recognition. Now, comparing copyright as it existed in England during the last century with copyright as it exists to-day, there is no doubt that there has been a steady progress in one direction. By the first English copyright statute passed in Queen Anne's time (1710) the period for which authors' rights were guaranteed was only fourteen years, with a return to the author of an additional fourteen years' privilege. A century later (1814) we find this lengthened to a period of twenty-eight years absolutely, and the lifetime of the author. By the present law of the United States it is twenty-eight years in the first instance, with a right of renewal for fourteen years more. By the present law of England it is the life of the author and seven years more, or forty-two years—whichever is the longer period. In Germany it is life and thirty years ; in France, life and fifty years ; and in Italy, life and forty years, or a fixed period of eighty years (equivalent to rather more than two lives)—whichever is the longer. Finally, the English Commission, after a mature consideration of the whole subject, have recommended a still further lengthening of the period in Great Britain, and this recommendation will undoubtedly be adopted by Parliament.

Taking the world at large, therefore, it is not unfair to say that the development of the idea of literary property, so far as relates to *duration*, has reached a point at which there is a pretty general consensus of opinion that the author of a book, a play, a poem, a history, ought to have the opportunity of making what he can out of it during the term of his natural life, and that his children after him should have a qualified right of inheritance for a short time longer ; and that this right is recognized by all countries. It is clear that there is but a very short step from this to the position that copyright should be put on the same footing with all other property ; in other words, made perpetual. This step, as to what is now called play-right or stage-right (the right of public representation of dramatic works), has actually been taken in many American courts in a series of decisions which are, by the way, remarkable instances of the advantages of the system of judicial legislation in a case where the legislature itself, from defects in intelligence and morality, cannot be relied upon to relieve the courts of this duty.

While copyright has thus been strengthening itself with regard to *duration*, it has also gained, as a form of property, an almost universal international recognition. All civilized countries except the United States now recognize, by treaty or by general laws, the duty of protecting authors from piracy as being of the same obligation as the duty of protecting other owners of property, no matter whether citizens or strangers, from injury to their rights ; and in the United States the only obstacle in the way of a recognition of the principle is the interest of the manufacturers of books, who even now, from time to time, profess their perfect readiness to have foreign authors' rights protected, provided they publish their books here, or, in other words, pay a royalty to American publishers. We believe this position is taken, curiously enough, by publishers who are ardent advocates of free-trade. The fact, however, of a general progress in this country in the direction of foreign authors' rights will not be disputed.

The progress from non-recognition to recognition of literary property in the last hundred years has been so clear that the attitude of mind produced in most impartial persons who examine the subject is one of surprise and indignation that the copyright question was not long ago settled. Mr. Drone, who has made a painstaking and exhaustive study of the subject, frequently expresses this in the strongest way ; and, from the professional point of view, it is a defect in his treatise that he does not always distinguish with a perfectly judicial fairness (with the fairness which is such a marked characteristic, for instance, of Sir James Stephen) between the law as it is and the law as he would have it. To the non-professional reader, however, who cares less for what the law is actually decided to be by the judges than for what it ought to be in a well-governed state, Mr. Drone's strong expressions will appear—as, indeed, they generally are—no more than justified by the facts, and he will ask himself, as we have often asked ourselves, why this question is always arising and never being settled; why, with all our boasting about this age as one particularly devoted to the honor of authors, literary property should still to-day be the worst-protected kind of property there is.

Of course the fundamental reason is that it is a kind of property difficult to protect ; that the author is himself absolutely helpless in the matter, and that his only security is the common sense of justice and right, which is not always as strong a social force as it should be. All other kinds of property—houses, lands, chattels—are protected, in the first instance, by the strong hand of the owner ; in the case of copyright he has no protection except what the law gives him. But apart from this, if we examine the reasons which have been put forward to show why the law should not give him complete protection, we shall find that the reason most commonly advanced, and the one which has had the greatest weight in the discussions on the subject, is that of monopoly. Of course we do not mean that this is advanced as a reason

* 'A Treatise on the Law of Property in Intellectual Productions in Great Britain and the United States. Embracing copyright in works of literature and art, and play-right in dramatic and musical compositions. By Eaton S. Drone.' Boston : Little, Brown & Co. 1879. 8vo.

against *international* copyright; but in all the discussions of the proper *duration* of copyright, from the time of the great decision of Lord Mansfield in the case of Millar *vs.* Taylor down to our time, monopoly has always been a favorite argument with the enemies of copyright.

We believe, however, that the whole argument as to monopoly rests on a pure fallacy. Monopolies and property rights have nothing whatever to do with one another. Property is simply the absolute right of individual enjoyment and disposition of the thing owned. A monopoly is the grant of an exclusive *privilege* for the benefit of private persons, which they otherwise would not have had. The distinction is so clear in practice that it is difficult to see why it should be so difficult to grasp in a new subject. The exclusive right to sell tobacco, which is, under ordinary circumstances, open to all the world, is a monopoly. The right of the owners of a particular newspaper is a right of property. Now, literature is a business in which any one may engage, and to give the sole right of producing a particular kind of book, as histories, novels, or poems, would clearly be the creation of a monopoly; but the right to enjoy and dispose of a particular literary composition is a right of property belonging to the author, or it is nothing at all.

The matter has been much confused by a supposed resemblance between books and mechanical inventions. This difference between patent right and copyright, however, is fundamental. It seems to be perfectly well established as a fact that in the progress of the application of science to the useful arts the question of discovery is merely a question of time. All inventions are pretty sure to be made by some one, sooner or later. Some of the most important discoveries which have marked epochs in the history of civilization have been made independently in different countries at different times. This has been the case with printing, with gunpowder, and with the use of steam as a motive power. With regard to mechanical inventions, patents are every day being taken out in different countries on substantially identical processes. It is not, therefore, unfair to say that a patent right is a grant of an exclusive privilege in something which in a certain sense is common property. This privilege may properly be limited by legislation to a reasonable period. But with books the case is totally different. If Shakspere and Milton had not lived, the world would indubitably, to the end of time, have been without "Hamlet" and "Paradise Lost." It is perfectly clear, too, that neither Shakspere nor Milton was under any sort of obligation to write. They were at liberty to gain their livelihood in any way they pleased. Literature itself is, of course, an occupation open to all, and a grant of the general privilege to a particular person to write books, or to write books on a particular subject, would create a monopoly; but to protect a particular author against piracy is merely guaranteeing him in the enjoyment of the fruits of his original, individual labor. To say that full property rights in this would be a monopoly is merely to say that all property is a monopoly.

It is hardly necessary to remark that nothing will be found in Mr. Drone's book in conflict with these views. He is an ardent advocate of copyright as a branch of the law of property, and has devoted the first hundred pages of his book to an enquiry into its origin, nature, and history. This part of the volume will probably be found of most general interest. The subject, as a branch of the history of literature, well repays study. It is in its main outlines easy of comprehension to the non-professional reader. The same thing cannot be said of common-law property in unpublished works, discussed in chapter i., or of common-law play-right in unpublished dramas (chapter xiii.), though the decisions of the courts as to these are often very entertaining and instructive reading. But we have left ourselves little space to speak of the book in detail. In another edition we should recommend Mr. Drone to moderate some of the epithets which he applies to the decisions of the courts; for, though these may be from a philosophical point of view justified, they always injure a law-book with the legal public, and sometimes diminish the reputation to which very great books are justly entitled, as in the case of Austin, whose 'Jurisprudence' would unquestionably have found much greater favor with practical lawyers had it not been for his ferocious assaults upon Sir William Blackstone. We should not omit to add that Mr. Drone discusses copyright in works of art and in musical compositions, as well as book copyright; in another edition he might render his book still more valuable by an examination (like that which he has given to literary property) of the theoretical basis on which copyright in these should rest. We feel a reluctance, however, at expressing any opinion which might seem to raise a question as to the value of the book as it stands. Mr. Drone's collection of authorities is exhaustive and his statement of them accurate; he is, moreover (a rare thing with legal writers in this day and generation), so thoroughly at home in his subject that he brings to bear upon the discussion of each point in it a mass of information derived from familiarity with all the other points, and has, as a result, produced by far the best treatise on copyright that has been published in England or America.

Personal Memories: Social, Political, and Literary. With sketches of many noted people. 1803–1843. By E. D. Mansfield, LL.D. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1879.)—This book, originally letters to the author's children, and showing few marks of editing in its present form, hardly calls for criticism as a literary performance. As a contribution to the history of a period for which we have no good standard work, it possesses both interest and value, but neither in the degree which might be inferred from a mere statement of its contents. Dr. Mansfield was born in New Haven, in 1801; at the age of fourteen he entered the West Point Academy, where his father was the first teacher, and graduated in 1819; the next year he entered Princeton, and graduated in 1822; the year following he entered a private law-school in Litchfield, Conn., and was admitted in 1825 to the bar of the same county, but almost immediately removed to Ohio, of which State he has ever since been a resident. He had previously as a little child accompanied his parents to Cincinnati, while the city was in its own babyhood, and he remembers hearing the howl of wolves and seeing flocks of green and gold paroquets near what is now Spring Grove Cemetery. He was ten years old when the Mississippi Valley was shaken by the tremendous earthquake of December 16, 1811, which produced the most violent disturbances in the neighborhood of New Madrid, Missouri, and permanently altered the relations of land and water. For five months afterwards, as tested by a pendulum which his father hung at a front window, there was a constant trembling, with occasional smart shocks, during one of which the writer, while at a neighboring log-house, heard the corn on the upper floor "roll from one side of the house to the other." But the moral effects of this phenomenon did not compare, in Ohio at least, with those of the Asiatic cholera in 1832 and 1849, which Dr. Mansfield describes with some particularity. In Cincinnati, during the latter visitation, he estimates that one in twenty-nine of the total population (116,000) perished; of the Germans and Irish together, one in sixteen. In 1826 he assisted in taking a private census of the city, which then had but 16,200 inhabitants.

On the whole, Dr. Mansfield is inclined to believe politics no worse in our day than in the third and fourth decades of this century, while, by the decline of intemperance and of the respectable vice of gambling, society has been greatly improved. Judging "from newspaper accounts," he thinks the stage, too, has been purified, but he seems to doubt "whether we can imagine the early Christians to have frequented theatres." A marked social difference is illustrated in the following anecdote of an English auctioneer in New Haven (1812–13):

"The habit of intemperance at last brought him to the poor-house, but not to that degradation, either of position or character, which now attends the inmates of poor-houses. He had been the associate of gentlemen, and continued to be so when in the poor-house. Mr. Bishop and other gentlemen used to supply him with the best of clothes, and he went round visiting as he pleased. It happened that while he was in the poor-house the descendants of some of the first merchants of New Haven were also there. Capt. Powell was asked if he did not feel the want of society. 'Oh! no,' he replied, 'I enjoy there the society of the best families of New Haven'" (pp. 55. 56).

This was true of many other New England poor-houses until the pauper class became distinctively foreign. Scarcely less hard to realize is the following idyllic scene from the same section:

"It was about the middle of June, 1823, that my father and I drove up to Grove Catlin's tavern, on the 'Green' of Litchfield. . . . One of the first objects which struck my eyes was interesting and picturesque. This was a long procession of school-girls, coming down North Street, walking under the lofty elms, and moving to the music of a flute and flageolet. The girls were gayly dressed and evidently enjoying their evening parade, in this most balmy season of the year. It was the school of Miss Sally Pierce, whom I have mentioned before as one of the earliest and best of the pioneers in American education. That scene has never faded from my memory. The beauty of nature, the loveliness of the season, the sudden appearance of this school of girls, all united to strike and charm the mind of a young man who, however varied his experience, had never beheld a scene like that" (pp. 122, 123).

Turning to his adopted section, we have from Dr. Mansfield some candid appreciations of Western character which are even now instructive. Speaking of Henry Clay's fitness to be a leader:

"If he had been more of a scholar, and more of what the world calls a moralist, he would have had fewer followers and admirers among the

Western people, who loved more the frankness, courage, and gallantry of their chief than they did the acquirements of a scholar or the strict manners of a moralist" (p. 215).

"Mr. Clay was unable to carry for Adams any one of the States which had voted for himself. Mr. Adams held and carried all his own strength, while he derived none from Mr. Clay. The causes of this were very obvious. The Western States which had voted for Clay were composed of exactly those people who are most susceptible to the idea of military glory. In fine, they were carried by the Battle of New Orleans" (p. 229).

Here is a "Veteran Observer's" comfort for those just now in mortal dread of "revolution":

"Apparently Mr. Adams was defeated by a very large majority of the electoral vote, but really the majority was comparatively small. Jackson had received a popular majority over Adams, in 1824, of 50,000, in a vote of 350,000. In 1828 he received a majority of 138,000 in a vote of 1,156,000—not so large, in proportion, as before. In 1824, five States chose electors by the legislatures. Any one can see, by examining the votes of 1828, how little the strength of parties has changed since. The truth is, that politics, like religion, descend from father to son, with little variation" (p. 235).

Again, of the hard-cider campaign of 1840 :

"The vote at the Presidential election was nearly a million of votes greater than that at the previous election. This showed the popular excitement, but did not show any great change of parties. For example, the State of Ohio, with all this effort, gave only 23,000 majority for Harrison, who had received 9,000 at the previous election. The increase of majority was 14,000, and half of that, 7,000, were all the votes actually gained from the Democrats" (p. 321).

"General Harrison received the electoral votes of all the States but six. This, however, did not represent the true proportion of parties; for, while he received this great electoral vote, he received only 147,000 majority in 2,500,000 votes. Maine, Pennsylvania, and one or two other States had only given him three or four hundred majority. The general result, therefore, was that while the triumph was complete, the real strength of parties was not materially changed" (p. 323).

We have left ourselves no room in which to make extracts concerning the various public characters whom our author encountered more or less familiarly in his youth and early manhood. Timothy Dwight; the third Governor Oliver Wolcott, who used to say, "You don't want a man of genius for President. You want a plain, practical man. There is old Sitgreaves, of Pennsylvania ['a member of Congress, full of statistics and political economy'], will make as good a President as any other"; Lyman Beecher at Litchfield (where "it is said that he would return from a funeral and send forth the quickest airs from his fiddle"), and afterwards at Cincinnati; Clay; "Tom Corwin, the wagon-boy"; J. G. Percival; Alexander Campbell, founder of the sect bearing his name; Thomas Smith Grimké; General Ormsby Macknight Mitchel (singularly enough, though he was Dr. Mansfield's law partner, spelt Ormsby McNight Mitchell throughout); Caroline Lee Hentz (spelt Hentze throughout), and other personages, noted and unimportant, figure in these pages, never very vividly, and not always, so far as anecdotes are concerned, freshly. The author's very positive judgments of men and books and measures call for cautious acceptance on the part of inexperienced readers; they may curtly be defined as the views of a Presbyterian Protectionist Republican. Dr. Mansfield's age would excuse errors like the killing of *Owen* Lovejoy (p. 281) instead of Elijah; but the printer is the most constant offender. Between them lies the grotesque substitution, on p. 187, of *bon ami* for *bonhomie;* perhaps a case of "heterophemy."

The Odyssey of Homer done into English prose. By S. H. Butcher, M.A., and A. Lang, M.A. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1879.)—We have in this book an attempt to solve on a new theory the problem of translating Homer. After all the discussion of the problem a few years ago, and the numerous experiments that were made by the late Lord Derby, Newman, Wright, Worsley, Bryant, and others, there was still left one plan that was not tried, though it was mentioned by Matthew Arnold. It was always assumed from the time of Chapman down that the translation of a poem must be in metrical form. The present translators have broken with that tradition for reasons which they give in their preface. They hold that there is a want in regard to Homer still unsatisfied, and which no verse-translation can satisfy. What is wanted is "the simple truth about the matter of the poems," the content of them as historical documents giving information as to the manners and institutions, the thoughts and pursuits, the hopes and fears—in a word, the human life—of their age. Now, a verse-translation cannot precisely meet this demand, for the poetical style of one age differs necessarily from that of another, and the characteristic element, whatever it may be, of the poetical style of any age since the epic will be foreign to Homer. Thus, "for the Elizabethan age Chapman supplied . . . the mannerisms that were then deemed of the essence of poetry—namely, daring and luxurious conceits." So Pope for the age of Anne, Cowper for that of the Georges. Then, when some forty years ago there was a craze for the ballad as the earliest form of popular literature, the ballad element was recognized in the Homeric poems, and there came attempts to reproduce them in ballad form. In every case the special characteristic of the poetry which commends it to the age for which it is written, that element without which it would hardly seem then to be poetry, is either a distinct addition to Homer or else the exaggeration of what in him is subordinated to other things. For these reasons the present translators have undertaken to give in prose that simple truth about Homer which cannot be given in verse. The theory seems to be correct, for there can be little doubt that the demand for knowledge of the contents of the poems is stronger now, under the influence of modern historical methods, than it has ever been before. And the success of their attempt, when compared with any verse-translation, further justifies the theory. Indeed, we are not sure that the use of prose for the translation of Homer may not be defended on other ground than that taken in this preface. It may be merely a testimony to the skill with which the work is done, but while we were reading it the question arose whether this is not after all the true corresponding medium in English to the Greek hexameter of the heroic age, at least for the 'Odyssey.' This smooth, melodious, slightly antiquated, but strong and noble prose goes on serenely through sorrow, disaster, death, adventure, feasting, jesting, peril, and triumph in the wonderful story with very much such an effect upon an English ear as the hexameter may have had on the more rhythmical Greek ear. Certainly no verse-translation that we have yet had can carry one through the poem with so much interest and so little sense of monotony. The medium interposes no bar between the reader's mind and the poet's thought, and that can never be the case with a verse-translation. To a scholar who reads it with the text in hand it may often happen that this translation will not seem altogether right; thus, in the very first sentence the change of subject in "many were the men" disturbs the relation of thought in the original, although it preserves the emphasis of order. But even he will feel anew the charm of the *story*, though not that of the poem, and will find many a valuable hint as to the sense, while the general reader who takes up this book to get his first real knowledge of the 'Odyssey' will find nothing to embarrass or mislead and much to delight him. One such, we happen to know, has read the whole book with keen interest in two short evenings.

Army Sacrifices; or, Briefs from Official Pigeon-Holes. By James B. Fry, Colonel, Adjutant-General's Department, and Brevet Major-General United States Army. (New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1879.)—The author describes his work as consisting of brief sketches of actual occurrences, scattered over a period of nearly thirty years, presented as examples of the dangers and privations to which our soldiers in active service in the Indian country are continually exposed, and the gallantry and fortitude they display. In this respect the sketches enforce the practical estimate announced by life-insurance companies, that the so-called peace periods of our national history are fraught with risks demanding premiums not charged to the officers and soldiers in other services, and they are of interest as giving to the public some narratives not accessible except to heads of bureaux in charge of official documents. No great praise can be bestowed upon their style of composition. The author saves his own literary reputation by declaring that there is, in some instances, no change in the terms of the recitals as originally reported, but the faults of sometimes affected and often slipshod writing are only thus shifted upon the other officers of the Army who actually made the reports.

Carelessness or ignorance is shown in matters of more importance than mere style. On page 49 "a band of Pah Vaut Indians (Eutaws)" is mentioned. Pah Vaut may be a typographical error for Pah Vant, but Eutaw recalls more readily a hotel at Baltimore than the Ute division of the Numa family, in which division the Pah Vants are a political subdivision of the body recognized as the "Utes proper." On page 149 it is broadly stated that Indians have not the least aptitude in constructing artificial defences; whereas elaborate and efficient defensive works of stockades, palisades strengthened with earth, sometimes with parapets and loopholes, were found when the Iroquois and Muskoki in the east, the Chinooks on the Columbia, and the Arikaras on the Missouri were first met; and such examples can be multiplied wholly apart from the relics of the mound-builders and cliff-dwellers. It is too much the habit of

army officers to generalize from the present condition of the one or two tribes with which they may have been engaged. The author displays the same want of comprehensive and historic knowledge in his preface, which is obviously designed to favor the transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department. He doubts whether, after "so many years of trial," the Indian *race* has given any assurance of receiving our civilization. If it were not proved that great and permanent advances have been actually made by the American aborigines, under highly adverse circumstances, it would still show ignorance of modern science to harp upon the racial theories given in a past generation of school-books. It is now generally agreed that conclusions once founded on assumed hereditary varieties or races must be greatly modified, and that mankind should be treated as of homogeneous nature though found in different degrees of civilization, the progress toward which is still everywhere in regular operation. The several distinctive and conflicting classifications invented from bodily configuration, hair, color of skin, etc., are now little regarded. We must look upon the North American Indians as representing our own ancestors of the Stone Age, and as well able to emerge in time from savagery and barbarism as were the pristine men of Asia and Europe, whom they strongly resemble in their customs and mythology. The author unconsciously presents a good argument against the transfer of the Indians to the Army, as true statesmanship would entrust them to the care of agents who believe in and hope for, not to those who deny the possibility of their civilization.

Artists of the Nineteenth Century and their Works: A Hand-book containing two thousand and fifty Biographical Sketches. By Clara Erskine Clement and Lawrence Hutton. (Boston : Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1879. 2 vols., pp. lxxxvii. 386, 43, and lviii. 373. 43.)—In these convenient volumes of ready reference the whole array of indices is twice repeated. Each volume contains an alphabetical list of artists' names, an index to the authorities quoted, an index of places, and a general index—each and all of these tables of reference being for the whole work, so that the tables in one volume are exactly the same as those in the other. This swells the size of each volume by twenty-five leaves or so, but adds to the facility with which the book can be consulted. The authors have rightly felt that this matter of handiness was the most important consideration in such a work after accuracy. As for accuracy, the avowed plan has been to send circulars to the artists who were to be noticed, and, where no answer was received, to print a statement to that effect. It would have been a good plan to have limited the notices to such dry facts as one would naturally furnish in answer to an enquiry about his own career ; or to these with the addition of citations of important works. In this way would have been spared the feeble repetition of such phrases as "displayed a taste for art at an early age," and the like. As to mere errors of statement, it is impossible to avoid them wholly in such a book, and difficult to detect them. Mr. C. C. Coleman's most important contribution to the Paris Exhibition of last year is not named, while his "decorative panel" is mentioned ; Mr. La Farge's "New England Pasture-Land," rightly spoken of as the property of Miss Hooper, is the same picture that went to Paris in 1878, and made a sensation there ; Millais's well-known picture is called by the common and erroneous name, "The Huguenot Lovers." Slight errors all, but of this nature are all the faults of statement that we have marked. Clumsy translations are not uncommon, and reach the dignity of downright errors in some cases, as when Méryon is called a "marine," in obvious misunderstanding of the significance of the word *marin*, and the world-renowned Pont-Neuf, new in Henry IV.'s time, indeed, is called "The New Bridge." The list of names is very full ; the only omissions we have wondered at are the names of some artists best known as illustrators of books, such as Charles Keene, and the architect, Viollet-le-Duc, who, if better known as a writer than as an "artist," at least has the same claim as Mr. Ruskin to be included in the book. It is to be mentioned as creditable to all concerned that the double sirnames so common in modern French society are correctly given : Viollet-le-Duc (the painter), Bastien-Lepage, Albert-Lefeuvre, Feyen-Perrin, Alma-Tadema, and a number more.

So far all goes well ; nobody need avoid trusting the book on account of such faults as have been cited. But we have to warn the public most earnestly against reading the critical remarks which, taken at haphazard out of the books nearest at hand, are added in smaller type to the notices. Some good authorities are quoted indeed, but the worst possible are quoted just as freely. It should be observed that there is no way of indicating a preference, or of letting it be known that the compilers give more authority to one than to another ; the only plan is to exclude the trifling ones, and to cite only those writers who carry some weight. Who is a suggestive and thoughtful writer on modern art ? Mr. Hamerton is, and he, indeed, is quoted forty-six times (as the index states). But so is Mr. Comyns Carr, who is quoted three times, Professor Colvin seven times, Mr. Wedmore not once ! Who has influenced the largest number of persons ? Mr. Ruskin, and he is quoted forty-five times in all ; to be sure, a small allowance in view of the fact that most readers want to know what that author thinks about an artist, whether they follow him or not. But Mr. Jarves, whose vague remarks upon American artists printed many years ago might as well be forgotten now, is quoted fifty-seven times. It is the same thing among the French writers. Mr. Charles Blanc is quoted five times ; Mr. Burty twice ; Mr. Chesneau, Mr. Yriarte, Mr. Gustave Planche, Mr. Paul de St. Victor not once. And it is so with the periodicals : the least critical of all journals concerned with art, the London *Art Journal*, is cited more than two hundred times, or about four times as often as the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* itself and ten times as often as the *Portfolio*. As to the American dailies, there seems to be no attempt to choose between them, and the few which give especial attention to the subject and employ competent observers and careful writers are not quoted so often as newspapers in country towns whose New York or Boston correspondence has a smart twang to it. We have not space to do justice to this part of our subject, and can only repeat the expression of our disappointment that this obvious and tolerably easy way of giving to this book a peculiar value should have been partly neglected and partly abused in this fashion.

Histoire de la Russie, depuis les origines jusqu'à l'année 1877. Par Alfred Rambaud. (Paris : Hachette ; New York : F. W. Christern. 1878.)—This work, the latest of the well-known series published by Hachette under the superintendence of M. Duruy, comes to us crowned by the French Academy. In plan it holds the middle rank between the mere compendium and the exhaustive work of many volumes. It is easy to see that it owes the approval of the Academy not so much to its absolute merit as to its relative superiority. Books about Russia which are neither party pamphlets nor *chroniques scandaleuses* are rare enough to make M. Rambaud's fairness of statement and, so to speak, generosity of view remarkable. Great skill is shown in tracing the development of the scattered communities which were finally united under the grand princes of Moscow, and in defining and making prominent the main current of events throughout the history. The Polish question is treated as one of the secular conflicts of history—as Pushkin called it,

"An ancient household strife, oft judged but still unending."

To this view, unusual enough for a Frenchman, is due much of the commendation which the book has received from the Russians themselves. Equally gratifying to them must be M. Rambaud's account of the events of a later time. It must surprise English readers, who inherit with implicit faith the popular traditions of Wellington, to find how large a share in the overthrow of Napoleon can be attributed to Alexander I. Nor will they easily recognize the "Eastern Question" in M. Rambaud's presentation of it.

It is a pity to have to say of a book of such evident merits that it is withal not interesting. It is a mass of material arranged in good chronological order, but the narrative lacks proportion and relief. The revolt of the Ukraine is told with as much force, and no less, as the sorrows of "the time of troubles." One cannot distinguish between the fall of Kiev and the fall of Novgorod. The very attempt at fairness impairs the author's power. It is indifference, not justice. A certain amount of personal conviction is necessary even for a judicial opinion, but of M. Rambaud one can only make out his doubts about Poland and a somewhat colorless sympathy with Slavophil and Panslavist. So, we say, the book lacks interest. As a work of reference it will have its uses, but no one will be drawn by it to the study of Russian history. Throughout the narrative is too exclusively military. There is scarcely anything about the language. So rare an event as the creation of an alphabet and a written language out of hand is dismissed with a scant allusion of half a line. One could not have believed that a book about orthodox Russia would be deemed complete which contained no mention of the rites or tenets of the Greek Church.

It is not only upon these points of the national speech and the national church that the baffled student will find himself compelled to seek information elsewhere. M. Rambaud's habits, as a writer, are evidently those of the *reviewer*, who writes with the expectation that his readers will appeal to the book he criticises. In this way he permits himself a

host of allusions which at the worst mislead and at the best exasperate. Of the brief phrase about the alphabet we have already spoken. So the burning of the Golden Book has not a word of explanation to account for the consent and co-operation of the nobles in so summary a proceeding, nor to explain its connection with Peter the Great's institution of the *tchin*, in the next generation. "Le jour funeste de Saint-George," "Sophie d'Anhalt." "le droit de Magdebourg," "l'ingratitude d'Autriche," are only stumbling-blocks in the text. Even "la Sainte Alliance" is not familiar enough to the reader of to-day for the bare words to suffice. Nothing about Russia so impressed itself upon the last generation as the revolt of the Guards and the fate of the "Dekabrists" at the accession of Nicholas. Was it a deep and wide-spread conspiracy in which some of the wisest and best of Russia had pledged themselves to wholesale massacre, and to which Nicholas was justified in showing no mercy; or was it the rash scheme of a few daring spirits who availed themselves of the confusion of the interregnum, and brought upon scores of the innocent the terrible vengeance of an outraged autocrat? From M. Rambaud's indistinct and incoherent statements one could never infer any theory about the catastrophe, and much less frame any judgment about it.

His comparisons with more familiar events and personages are often helpful, but the parallels in general terms might be misleading. To compare the wonderful popular uprising under Minim and Pozharski, which put an end to "the time of troubles," with the movement in France under Jeanne Darc is to do it no more than justice; but the use of the term States-General, in regard to Russia, can be only a figure of speech. The Renaissance in Russia, too, must be hard to find. Doubtless the foreigners who went there in the sixteenth century took with them the much or the little of its spirit they had themselves imbibed, but there could have been no such spontaneous intellectual and artistic awakening in Russia as in Western Europe. Indeed, M. Rambaud refutes himself. He says: "La Renaissance se manifeste surtout par le nombre et la magnificence des temples orthodoxes." Mark the *surtout*, and then note, a page beyond, the church of Vassili the Happy at Moscow, the *chef d'œuvre*, which cost the architect his eyes for fear he might repeat the marvel. M. Rambaud calls it "ce monstre polychrome" where "une fantaisie a bravé toute symétrie."

The few paragraphs about literature can certainly make no pretence to be a history of the subject. These names and dates only serve to confuse the little and the great. If as bare facts they are accurate, they are too often grossly wrong by suggestion. Bielinski is curtly described as "the prince of critics, who founded successively the *Observer*, the *Annals of the Fatherland*, and the *Contemporary*." The facts are just as true, and the estimate of the man's position and influence just as inadequate, as if one were to describe Carlyle (the great work of the two men—that of inspiring others—was contemporary) as "the prince of critics, who contributed successively to the *Edinburgh*, the *Westminster*, and the *Foreign Review*." It may be urged in reply to these criticisms that not even seven hundred pages will hold everything. But it is not more that is wanted. The details are too many already. Rather are needed the well-digested statements, the concise summing up of facts, such as M. Rambaud can well make, as any one knows who has read his 'Russie épique,' or the account of the emancipation of the serfs in this very volume. He would, doubtless, insist that he had not meant to write a history of parties, but since he has shown us Slavophil and Panslavist, he ought at least to have hinted that there is an opposing party, one of dignity and not without influence. It is of that party that Mr. Gladstone is thinking when he writes of the Russian *people* as distinguished from the official and military class.

Deutsche Literaturgeschichte. Von Robert Koenig. (Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing; New York: L. W. Schmidt. 1878.)—At the present day, when histories of German literature are so numerous, one is naturally disposed to scrutinize sharply the credentials of each new-comer. Does it clear up for us any doubtful or complicated point, does it enable us to grasp more firmly the general movement of German thought, or to appreciate more fully the character of German thinkers? If not, why spoil good ink and paper in the printing of it? To apply such a test to the present work would be to condemn it at the outset. The author says nothing that has not been already said by his predecessors, and by many of them said more accurately or more forcibly. Nevertheless we take the liberty of commending his book most heartily. We even go so far as to say that no teacher of German literature should be without it, for it supplies a long-felt want.

Whoever is called upon to instruct a class in the history of the literature of a language knows that the task is anything but easy. Whether the instruction be in the shape of lectures or consist in reading a manual, the chief difficulty is to impress upon the pupil's mind a sense of the *actuality* of the persons and events discussed. They are to him little more than names or dates. Hence everything must be of service that will make the persons concrete, and give to the events a "local habitation"—everything, in short, that appeals to the *eye*.

What Kurz undertook, years ago, in his cumbrous four-volume *Geschichte*, Koenig has carried out in one volume of moderate size. We speak within bounds when we say that the profuseness of his illustrations is astonishing. We cannot make even the attempt to classify them. In part first, for instance, there are full-page facsimiles of Vulfila's Gothic Bible, the *Leben der Jungfrau* by Wernher v. Tegernsee, the *Wessobrunner Gebet*, Otfrid's *Evangelienharmonie*, Heinrich von Veldeke's portrait (Manesse MS.), Frauenlob's (same MS.), and numerous vignettes, initials, and other minor pieces. In part second we find—almost everything; full-page portraits of all the great authors, from Luther down to Herder, facsimiles of Luther's New Testament of 1523, of Luther's *Ein' feste Burg* in the original manuscript with the music, the title-page of Fischart's *Bienenkorb*, 1581, of Fust and Schöffer's Psalter of 1457 (from the copy in Vienna), Albrecht Dürer's title-page to Willibald Pirkheimer's Plutarch, and so on, down to the manuscript of Lessing's Minna von Barnhelm. In part first there are some quotations from the Old and Middle High-German originals, and numerous metrical renderings in modern German. Part third, which completes the work (including the present generation of authors) contains, *e.g.*, a facsimile of the title-page of Goethe's first literary venture with some of the notation to 'Einst ging ich meinem Mädchen nach' (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1770); also various likenesses of Goethe and Schiller (see especially the one by Reinhart, depicting the poet on the back of a Karlsbad donkey), and facsimiles of Goethe and Schiller MSS. The portrait of Chamisso (p. 541), and Kerner's ink-blot "developed" into a butterfly, with the accompanying verses, will be found supereminently characteristic.

More surprising even than the profuseness and excellence of the illustrations is the cheapness of the book; the price is only four thalers. One wonders how the publishers can afford to give so much for so little. Doubtless they count upon a large demand, in which we hope they will not be disappointed. Paper and press-work are excellent. As concerns the text itself, we must speak less confidently. It is evident at a glance that the author is no philologist. Thus we read, p. 9, that "Gothic is the mother of our modern High-German speech," a misstatement flagrant enough to arouse Jacob Grimm from his last resting-place. And all through part first, which treats of Old and Middle High-German, are indications that the author has derived his knowledge at second-hand. Yet his views are in the main correct enough, and the mistakes can be easily rectified by the teacher. We shall be glad to see the book introduced in our higher German classes. It will serve at least to teach the pupil something about mediæval diplomatics, and illumination, and the growth of the art of printing. The numerous portraits and vignettes make one feel almost at home with the authors of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1879.

The Week.

THE timely death of a member of the House enabled the "revolutionists," by adjournment, to gain a little time for considering the President's veto informally before facing it in their seats. On Thursday, however, the veto was sustained, without debate, 120 voting for the passage of the bill, and 110 opposing. Congress then resolved itself once more into caucuses, with the result of framing a bill "to prohibit military interference at elections," which was reported in the House on Monday, and passed the following day by yeas 124, nays 90—a party vote, yet not calling out the full strength of the Republicans, who expect the President to sign the bill. A good deal of its value in Democratic eyes appears to lie in the preamble, which declares that the presence of troops at the polls is contrary to the spirit of our institutions and to our traditions, and tends to destroy the freedom of elections. Its single clause makes it unlawful to bring troops to or employ them at any place where a general or special election is in progress, unless to repel the armed enemies of the United States or to enforce Mr. Boutwell's main-stay, Article IV., Section iv., of the Constitution; and repeals so much of all laws as is inconsistent with this. The President may consider the bill as harmlessly redundant legislation, seeing how the use of the Army is already hedged about; but this of itself would hardly furnish him with an excuse for vetoing it, and he probably will not do so unless, with the aid of the Senate lawyers, he discovers meantime in the repealing section some encroachment which he will feel it his duty to resist. The Senate has been enlivened with a debate over a resolution authorizing the taking of testimony by which Kellogg's title to his seat would be once more reopened, in favor of the former contestant, Mr. Spofford. The proceeding is sufficiently extraordinary from the parliamentary point of view to warrant all the deliberation the Republicans demand for it; but it is also pretty certainly the result of nice political calculations as to the balance of power in the Senate of 1881.

The *World* undertakes to show us that we are mistaken in our position about the Army Bill, first, in saying that the Federal Government needs the Army for a police force, and, secondly, in saying that because the Army is small it cannot be dangerous. The marshals and deputy-marshals, and the surrounding males over fifteen years of age, it says, constitute the proper and only police force of the United States, and the smallest Army may be made large enough to be mischievous. But the trouble is, esteemed contemporary, that in many parts of the country the males over fifteen who might happen to be around the polls on election day would often be unable to aid the marshals and deputy-marshals in keeping the peace, owing to their being already engaged in making a disturbance. No man can act as policeman and rioter at the same time. This may be an unpleasant and uncharitable thing to say, but, esteemed contemporary, you know it is true. We admit freely that the Army may be made large enough to be dangerous to our liberties, and threaten us with a *coup d'état* at the bidding of a wicked commander. We also admit that the police force of New York City might be so enlarged and commanded as to overawe the citizens, and compel them to pay blackmail to protect themselves against clubbing; but inasmuch as this is not probable, we view the present size of the force with perfect tranquillity. In like manner we think it so unlikely that the present Army will become large enough to threaten our liberties that we should witness its employment anywhere in saving life or property with a curious absence of anxiety. We will now ask our esteemed contemporary, in all sincerity, to lay its hand on its heart, or thereabouts, and say whether it does not believe that the whole movement to modify the Army Bill was not got up because it was the only subject on which the party could be got to unite; whether, in short, this gallant attempt to protect the people from the "iron heel" had not the same ignoble origin as Bill Chandler's love of the "bloody shirt"?

It is a suggestive fact that one of the most ardent promoters of the Grant movement is the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, whose editors of that day were so seriously involved in the "Whiskey Thieves" prosecutions of 1876, when Babcock tried in vain to get his friends out of their scrape. It now calls on *Harper's Weekly* to "wheel into line and help whoop up the boys for the boom"—advice which the *Weekly*, for the present at least, declines to follow. The singular collection of arguments in favor of Grant's nomination which we present on another page is a striking example of the kind of political talk now current among Republican citizens of the more intelligent and well-to-do class. We venture to assert that it is in no respect superior to what may be heard among the peasants at any ale-house or cabaret in Ireland, Germany, or France, and probably resembles very much the process by which the Bretons brought themselves to vote for Louis Napoleon in 1852.

A so-called Mississippi Valley Labor Convention met on Monday at Vicksburg, and was attended by the leading men of the State, of both colors, who amicably divided the offices between them, and showed equal consideration in giving a hearing to each other. It was, in reality, a sort of treaty conference, in which the blacks were invited to unfold their grievances, and were led to expect from the whites guaranties of security and fair treatment hereafter, as a condition of remaining in the State and discouraging emigration. The Committee on Resolutions represented both parties, and their report recommended changes in the prevailing contract system, and the discountenance and repeal of "laws authorizing liens on crops for advances of articles—other than those of prime necessity, at moderate profits." Mutual concession was shown by the resolution declaring the absolute legal equality of the colored race with the white, and their right to vote without fear of "fraud, intimidation, or bull-dozing on the part of the whites," which the Convention pledged itself to respect and enforce; and by the resolution binding the colored members to contradict the false and extravagant rumors which induced the ignorant to migrate to Kansas, in the expectation of acquiring there, without labor or price, land, mules, and pecuniary assistance. At the same time, the right to emigrate was freely acknowledged for all who had honestly fulfilled their contracts, and it was declared that no obstacle would be put in their way. These resolutions were adopted, however, only by white votes, it being evident that the blacks considered themselves masters of the situation, and were more ready to listen to promises of reform than to put implicit faith in them.

In this they were doubtless not over-prudent. Some part of the good intentions of the whites can be carried out if they are in earnest, such as the proposed modification of the laws, and the adoption of a more liberal policy in the matter of rent-charges and charges for ginning and the like. But the store-keeper, with his extravagant prices and extortionate interest, who by concurrent testimony is the greatest oppressor of the blacks in an economical point of view, is not likely to be affected by the opinion of a class to which he does not belong, is not certain to be reached by stringent usury laws, and perhaps is too important to be driven away in the summary Southern fashion. As for personal security, the judges will doubtless follow closely the lead of the planters, but the dangers to which a colored man is exposed all over the South from malicious molestation on the highway or in his own home, can only

be effectively removed by such reforms and such an opposition between the upper and lower white strata as Southern society is far from being prepared for. The habit of carrying concealed weapons, the code of honor in avenging personal or family wrongs or insults, the general approval of lynch law, and the universal consumption of whiskey, unite the humblest and the lowest in the sanction and practice of violence from which the blacks are the greatest but not the only sufferers. These are factors, too, which, however much fair play at the polls may be promised, seem to defy any guaranty against intimidation. It is very significant that the only practical-seeming measure proposed to secure the political rights of the blacks excited strong feelings of opposition and was suppressed. Ex-Governor Foote offered resolutions providing for a committee of three to carry out the wishes of the Convention (with special reference to political fair play); this committee to appoint sub-committees in every county and parish of the State, and be the guardians of the interests of the blacks, listening to their grievances and endeavoring to redress them, and devising legal expedients if necessary against a recurrence of them. For this he was called a political trickster and a demagogue by a white speaker, and he may be that; but his plan at least "meant business."

The trial of Cox in Augusta for killing Alston in a fight about a contract, and in which at this writing the case has been given to the jury, brought out some curious traits of manners. Alston, before his death, told a friend that Cox drew a knife on him in a private room in order to force him to sign the contract. Afterwards he saw him searching for him with a pistol, and knew he meant to kill him, and in the State Treasurer's office in the Capitol deplored his fate in being "hounded in this way" to other persons present. But it never seems to have occurred to him or to them to seek legal protection against the ruffian. No one suggested his arrest by the police, and it seemed to be acknowledged on all hands that if the fellow chose to attack anybody with deadly weapons in the State House, no means beyond gentle persuasion ought to be used to prevent it. Alston accordingly tried to persuade him not to murder him, but his arguments made no impression on him. Judging from some of the evidence, too, it would appear that the greatest anxiety of the spectators about Alston was not lest he should be killed, but lest he should show any dislike to being killed in the shape of bodily fear. Alston seems to have been a man of far superior type to Cox, but he was nevertheless content—partly, doubtless, because "he came of fighting stock"—to live by a code in no respect superior to that of a pirate's cave. There was much weeping at the trial. Cox wept, the counsel wept, and the jurymen wept also.

The Supreme Court on Tuesday affirmed on appeal the constitutionality of the Thurman Sinking-Fund Act passed a year ago, and which has been separately contested by the two Pacific Railroad companies. By this Act the whole amount of compensation due the railroads from time to time for Government transportation is to be retained by the United States, and one-half applied to the liquidation of the interest on the bonds issued to the companies, the other turned into the sinking fund which the Act establishes for the redemption of the principal of these bonds at maturity. Each road must also pay annually, on February 1, a sum which, in addition to the compensation for services rendered and the 5 per cent. of net earnings payable under the Act of 1862, will equal 25 per cent. of the net earnings of the company for the year ending December 31 next preceding. This measure, it will be remembered, passed the Senate by 40 to 19, and the House with but two negative votes, and it is therefore gratifying to find the United States Circuit Court of California, the Court of Claims, and the Supreme Court at one in sustaining its legality. Justices Field, Bradley, and Strong dissent, however, on three grounds: (1) that the Act changes the contract between the United States and the companies, and between the companies and the holders of the first-mortgage bonds; (2) that the decision declares the United States not bound to keep their contracts; and (3) that the Act "interferes with the right and power of the State of California to control its own corporation." The first two objections are virtually one, and would seem to be met by the express reservation in the Act of 1862, and still more broadly in that of 1864, of the right of Congress to alter, amend, or repeal. As regards the question of State right, it is set forth that the Central Pacific was incorporated under the laws of California before the national railroad acts were passed; that the Thurman Act requires with penalties a deposit as security for the payment of bonds issued by the company to other parties than the United States, who have never required this security, and for whose protection a law of California requires the creation of a fund in another way—a law which has been always obeyed. On this point we defer comment until the full text of the decisions is published.

Talmage will probably be acquitted by a large majority. The curious feature of this is that the court, composed in the main of professional moralists, is divided on facts which are not disputed. The question finally submitted to them was not, in other words, as we understood it, whether certain acts had been committed by the defendant, but whether they were blameworthy. Ten members of the Presbytery, at least, hold that they amounted to untruthfulness and deceit, and the others that they were entirely harmless. One of the charges, let us add, was of having, for the purpose of raising money for the church, resorted to the device of asking a man publicly to set down his name for a sum which, by private understanding with Talmage, he was not to pay, in order to influence others. This is really a modification of the mock-auctioneer's plan of operations; but the majority of a church court have declared that they see no wrong in it, or, at all events, no punishable wrong. Another curious incident occurred on the trial illustrative of the odd notions of morality prevailing in some ecclesiastical circles. One charge was that Talmage had slandered a brother minister named Hathaway. The proof appeared pretty clear, but it was disposed of by a reconciliation between Hathaway and the accused, the notion of many members of the court being that slander was no offence in a minister if the victim did not complain. The two wrote each other buncombe letters of forgiveness, which were read in court, and were intended simply to throw dust in the eyes of the public, like some of the documents with which the public was made familiar in the Beecher trial.

The week was not a remarkable one in the financial world. Money commanded very low rates both in London and New York, and in both cities there was a large demand for U. S. 4 per cent. bonds; in the former the London and Westminster Bank, the leading joint-stock bank of England, took $5,000,000 of these bonds. Here the sales by the Syndicate bankers ranged from $3,000,000 to $4,000,000 per day, and the market price of the bonds advanced from 101¼ to 101⅓ to 102 to 102⅔. All classes of investments were in demand, and there were large speculative purchases of bonds like those of the reorganized Erie and Jersey Central companies. The speculation in the new Southwestern stocks having the word "Kansas" in their title was at times strong, but not continuously so. Silver ruled at 50*d.* to 50⅛*d.* per ounce in London, and the market here was dull.

Sir William Harcourt, whose attacks on the Beaconsfield Ministry are greatly raising his reputation as a debater, and are very remarkable specimens of political fence, has been delivering another of them, this time at Sheffield, and perhaps the most remorseless of them all. He made a most happy use of the Jingo verse—

> "We've got the ships, we've got the men,
> And we've got the money, too,"

against Sir Stafford Northcote's budget, which postpones the payment of the cost of the Imperial policy. The Jingo, he showed, hasn't got the money after all, and will not put his hand in his

pocket to find it. He likes "just as much swagger as he can get for nothing." Equally effective was Sir William's comparison of Sir Bartle Frere at the Cape of Good Hope to the women in the country towns, who only get the fashions three months after they have passed away in the capital. Sir Bartle thought Jingoism was still the reigning mode in London, and accordingly attacked Cetewayo, only, however, to get snubbed by his superiors.

The most effective thrust of all was at Lord Beaconsfield about the Greek-frontier affair. When the Premier came back with "peace and honor" from Berlin, his admirers gave him a huge dinner in the Duke of Wellington's Riding School, at which he declared, in the midst of his boasting, that, "owing to the proposition of Lord Salisbury, Greece had the opportunity of obtaining a greater increase of territory than would be attained by any of the rebellious provinces." This was in allusion to the recommendation of Congress as to the new boundary line. Nine months having elapsed, during which Turkey has refused to pay any attention to this recommendation, and England having done nothing to make her, he rose in the House of Lords on the 3d of April, and calmly said:

"All that was intended by the notice given by the plenipotentiary for France with regard to what should be the materials of a satisfactory settlement was accepted by the Powers in that spirit, and nearly at the end of the Conference the President said that no Power was bound by the suggestion which had been made by the French plenipotentiary, and certainly not Turkey."

Here it has become "the suggestion of the French plenipotentiary," and not "the proposal of Lord Salisbury," and is of no particular moment.

There is still nothing decisive either from Afghanistan or the Cape of Good Hope. The negotiations with Yakub Khan go on, and there are rumors now that he is coming to India to make up personally with the Viceroy; but Sir Samuel Browne's column, in the meantime, keeps ready to push on to Cabul. The great fear in India is, that the advance may have to be made and Yakub Khan run away. In this case some one would have to be set up in his place, as in 1838, and kept up afterwards, which would be a horrible prospect, in view of the present condition of Indian finances, which has already made necessary a loan of $50,000,000 from the Home Government without interest. In the meantime there is more or less disputation as to whether "the scientific frontier" has been achieved or not. Lord Beaconsfield says it has, but then to keep it the troops must hold the passes, to which the mountain tribes object in the strongest manner, and they have already shown that their opposition is no joke. They have been bribed or cajoled into peaceableness thus far in the belief that the British occupation was temporary and for the purpose merely of getting at Shir Ali. As soon as it becomes plain that it is to be permanent they are likely to become very troublesome and cause heavy outlay.

Since the relief of Ekowe and the rescue of Colonel Pearson's force, the operations in South Africa seem to be at a standstill, and according to the last news Lord Chelmsford has asked for another brigade preparatory to a final advance. The recently-arrived troops are naturally sickly, and the cavalry horses in such poor condition that seven miles a day is all that can be got out of them. Moreover, there is no knowing how far it may be necessary to follow Cetewayo, if he holds out, and if followed at all it must be through a most difficult country and with very defective means of transportation. On the other hand, two brothers of the king, Oham and Azeguloo, have surrendered with a considerable body of followers, and other chiefs are said to be desirous of following their example. The fight at Gingelova seems to have been very bloody to the Zulus, who certainly show a courage almost unprecedented in war. There is nothing finer in military history than their repeated assaults on fortified positions in dense masses, and mostly without other arms than the lance and shield, and the sang-froid with which they bear being shot down. They are evidently a fine race, and if it were possible to substitute them at the South for our own colored people they would save the Chandlers and Blaines a world of trouble and sleeplessness. The conquest of their territory by the British arrests midway a most interesting experiment in what Mr. Bagehot calls "nation-making." They have during the past century been engaged in building up an organized political community of great strength, in the very way in which every great nation in Europe made its beginnings.

The news from Russia does not improve, although no fresh victims of note are reported. The *Cologne Gazette* has published a letter from St. Petersburg, written before the late attempt on the Emperor's life, and evidently the production of a well-informed person. He gives the history of the Nihilist organization, as far as it is known to the outer world, and describes with minuteness its mode of propagandism through its paper, *Land and Liberty*, printed no one knows where, and circulated no one knows how. One of the printing offices was betrayed by an informer for a reward, but he was soon after found dead, with his sentence, written out on paper, attached to his breast. The aim of the conspirators, as set out in this and other publications, is the destruction of the higher class of officials who surround the Emperor, and in particular of the "Third Section of the Imperial Chancellery," which is a sort of board of secret police, raised above the law, and armed with unlimited power. The head of this, General Mezenzeff, has been already killed, and everybody else connected with it has been warned. The dismissal of two hundred officials, whose names are published, is demanded of the Government on pain of death. The principal charge brought against them is the inhuman and corrupt use of power, especially towards prisoners. There does not appear, however, thus far to be any aim set out by the revolutionary organ beyond administrative reform.

The French Government has encountered a most perplexing incident in the Blanqui election. Bordeaux is the third city in the kingdom, rich, commercial, and by no means "Red" in its antecedents. At the late election the Republicans put up a Moderate, M. Lavertusson, and felt absolutely sure of electing him. The Radicals, however, nominated Blanqui, the celebrated conspirator and revolutionist, who has passed nearly forty years of his life in prison, is now in prison, and is over seventy years of age. Nobody knows exactly what his political opinions are, for he has headed revolts against almost every known form of government. But he appears to consider it the first duty of the citizen to rebel, and he has made no secret of his belief—though of course, as usual, he is a mild-mannered man, fond of flowers, birds, and little children, and addicted to vegetable diet—that he considers no revolution complete without cutting off plenty of heads. He once opposed in debate a colleague who desired a liberal use of the guillotine, on the ground that public executions by the guillotine excited sympathy for the victims, and maintained that the true plan was to go round and kill the enemies of the people privately in their houses. The Government flattered itself that such a monster would only get five hundred votes. He has actually got seven thousand, and has been elected. The Conservatives are, of course, rejoiced, for they say this shows what kind of thing the Republic is, or rather is likely to become, and the Republicans are filled with consternation. The ministry is greatly puzzled. If Blanqui's election is declared null on the ground of his ineligibility, the danger is that he will be re-elected indefinitely. If he is liberated from prison in order to take his place in the Assembly, it will, apart from the scandal of the thing, point out to the Radical constituencies a ready mode of securing the pardon and rehabilitation of other notorious Communists. And then there remains behind it all the ominous question, What does this mean? What opinion or feeling of the masses, in such a city as Bordeaux, does such a choice express?

SHAM POLITICAL WARFARE.

NOW that the "revolution" in Washington is over, and the Republican press has even confessed that, seeing the extreme facility with which the Democrats have backed down from their position, there never was any danger of a revolution at all, we hope it will not be considered inopportune to call attention once more to the various and, as it seems to us, weighty objections which exist to what may be called the revolutionary mode of meeting Democratic attempts at mischievous legislation. Ever since the Democrats obtained a majority in the House of Representatives, the Republican leaders, followed by a considerable portion of the Republican press, have adopted the policy of treating them as enemies of the Government, seeking by fair means or foul not legislation embodying their own ideas of political expediency, but the absolute destruction of the whole political fabric. During the last Presidential canvass, opened by Mr. Wheeler, the voters were urged to meet the Democrats at the polls in the spirit if not with the weapons by which they were met at Gettysburg. The Republican Secretary of the Treasury even went so far as to predict the repudiation of the public debt in case the Democratic candidate was successful, thus presenting the country to the world, through its highest financial officer, as a revolutionary country of the South American type, in which only one party was capable of the orderly conduct of its affairs. Since then all possible pains have been taken by leading Republicans to represent the presence of the Southern Democratic members of the House as dangerous to the Constitution, and the whole Democratic majority as in some sort an alien and hostile body, bent on accomplishing in the guise of legislation what they had failed to accomplish by open war. The appearance of "Confederate brigadiers" in the House and Senate—that is, the return to the national legislature of the most prominent and representative men of the States lately in rebellion—is constantly pointed to by Republican orators and newspapers as a most alarming and unexpected phenomenon. Indeed, one paper—the *Tribune*—has published songs, in the style of Béranger, showing that their presence in Congress indicates that the war was a failure. Nevertheless it is strictly and literally true that the object of the war, the object for which 200,000 men perished and $3,000,000,000 were spent, was to bring these "brigadiers" back to Congress, and compel them to participate in the working of the Government under the Constitution. This is what the restoration of the Union meant. It did not mean the subjection of the South to the rule of right-minded men from the Northern States. It meant the meeting of representatives from both sections in a common legislature in such proportions as the voters might prescribe. Nor did it mean the return of such representatives and senators by Southern constituencies as Northern men would approve. It meant the return of such men as would represent Southern constituencies just as they were—with manners, aspirations, and ideas widely different from ours, and, as most of us believe, much inferior to ours. It meant, too, that when they came back, embittered by defeat and hating many of the things we most revere, they were to be met and vanquished by the usual weapons of free and settled government—that is, by debate in the legislature and appeals to public opinion out of doors, and not by threats of fresh violence or frequent appeals to the memories and passions of the armed strife.

Forgetfulness of these things, or the wilful attempt to disregard them, is likely to have one of two effects: either it will make all efforts to draw attention to what is really mischievous in Democratic designs wear the air of cries of "wolf," or it will alienate the public from the old-fashioned methods of free government, and diffuse among the rising generation a most dangerous expectation of, if not readiness for, shorter and more summary processes. Take, for instance, the case of the Potter Committee. Nobody who knew much of the ideas and aims of the Democratic majority in Congress really believed that this committee was organized with the view of furnishing an excuse for ousting Mr. Hayes from the Presidency in the middle of his term. In fact, almost as soon as the accusation was made the Democrats hastened to repudiate it formally. That the public at large put no such interpretation on the move was shown by the complete indifference to it of the business men. That it was intended simply to procure materials for a huge campaign document, it needed but very slight observation of the tactics of politicians to infer. Nevertheless, in June, 1878, the Republican address to the voters of the United States, signed by Messrs. Hale and Gorham, declared it to be the first step in a scheme "for the revolutionary expulsion of the President from his office," which would "paralyze business of all kinds," "cast gloom over every household," and, worse than all, "bring the nation into reproach before the civilized world." It was also an attempt, according to the same authority, to "inaugurate anarchy and Mexicanize the Government." When one recalls the subsequent history of the investigation, and then takes up the report in which it resulted, one does not know whether to be amused or astonished by this mode of carrying on political warfare. Of course no American household ever suffered five minutes of "gloom" from the operations of the Potter Committee, and no farmer or trader ever really believed for a moment that his business calculations were likely to be disturbed by "anarchy" or "Mexicanization."

The construction put on the late attempt of the Democrats to procure the repeal of the legislation for the protection of the suffrage, arising out of the war, has been of much the same character. It is easy enough to see why the Democrats seek this repeal. Some of their objections to the legislation are a tradition from the old States'-rights doctrine; others are part and parcel of the hostility to negro suffrage; others are due to a desire to secure the vote of certain places—this city for one—by fair means or foul; others to a belief held by large numbers of really honest and sincere men that the Republicans mean to use the army at the next election, as they are accused of having used it at the last, to keep themselves in power, by overawing their opponents in some parts of the country at the polls. These errors or delusions or evil designs are quite compatible with a desire to carry on the United States Government through party struggles in peaceful and ordinary fashion; and the condition of industry and trade, and of the public credit and of the money market, shows clearly that the body of the people believe they are. Moreover, as soon as the Democratic leaders saw that their threat to coerce the President by stopping the appropriations was in danger of being taken seriously by the country, they made haste one by one to declare they did not mean it; or, in other words, to confess that their threats had been simply a piece of the too common "bluff" of the political game. We have consequently, if the talk of the Republican politicians be correct, just been treated to the somewhat comic spectacle of bloody-minded and open revolutionists abandoning their enterprise on finding that their opponents really believe them to be in earnest.

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the plan of meeting the Democrats by sham preparations for armed hostilities and for attempts to overthrow the Government must result in deepening the average voter's feeling that politics, instead of being the most serious business of the citizen, is simply a sort of game played by professionals, partly for their own amusement and partly to decide who is to have the offices. Such addresses to the country as that from which we have quoted have, read in the light of subsequent events, all the air of a charivari, and the repetition of them cannot but help to banish in ordinary times all real gravity from the discussion of public affairs.

There is another effect of the resort to sham alarms which is even more serious. The whole of the community is not struck by the farcical character of the performance. On the contrary, a very large part of the more earnest people—those, for instance, who gave most to the war and suffered most from it, and therefore hold the Democratic party in deepest horror, and whose sense of humor is but imperfectly developed—even though they may not have been led by the cry of "revolution" to believe that revolution was really impending, have been filled by it with vague alarm. They have been led to believe that if it does not come now it will come next year or the year after, and that they may wake up any morning to find that

the Southern "brigadiers" have called the Communists to arms, and begun issuing paper money. It is the growth of this state of mind which has enabled the office-jobbers and "whiskey thieves," who were the original promoters of the Grant movement, to enlist in its support a powerful and respectable portion of the Republican party, and to diffuse through its ranks that extraordinary loss of faith in popular government, that forgetfulness of the very nature of American institutions, and that readiness to take refuge in the breeches-pocket of a "strong man," of which we furnish some curious illustrations on another page. That any mental condition so closely resembling that in which the French property-holders set up Louis Napoleon in 1852 would grow up among us within a century from the adoption of the Constitution, is certainly a surprising fact. The Stalwarts have of late tried to cover their shame by pretending that their enthusiasm for Grant resembles that which carried General Jackson into the Presidential chair in 1828; but they forget that Jackson won his hold on popular regard in all parts of the Union in conflict with a foreign enemy, and was when elected a politician of solid even if mistaken convictions, and of long civil experience. General Grant, on the other hand, would now be chosen as Louis Napoleon was elected Emperor, in despair over the failure of our institutions, and as a menace of force against nearly half his own countrymen, and in spite of his somewhat marked ignorance of and indifference to all the traditions, maxims, and experiences of statesmanship. Nor must we forget the effect of the oratory and argumentation of the supporters of General Grant on the generation whose political recollections do not go back before the war, and whose notions of the conditions of free government have already been somewhat confused by the abnormal processes of reconstruction at the South. It is useless to provide schools and colleges and handbooks and histories to teach the young the nature of the government which their fathers set up, and the principles on which it rests, and the dangers which threaten it, and the means by which it must be saved, if they hear their elders preaching its failure, and working might and main to get the people to acknowledge that a party has arisen under it too strong to be controlled by the laws, and that there is not among forty millions of people a civilian honest or wise enough to fill its highest office during a critical period. In fact, if there were nothing else to make the talk of the Grantites detestable it would be the poison it is spreading among the future voters of the country. This alone would make it the solemn duty of those who still believe in the possibility of free government on this continent not to allow voters to be shut up in 1880 to the choice between such candidates as Grant and Tilden, with which we are now menaced, or to be confined during the canvass to the task of showing which of the two is the less unworthy.

THE EDUCATIONAL CRISIS IN FRANCE.

THE educational question in France, which is now occupying all minds and filling the press, is probably the hardest nut the Republic has yet had to crack. Nothing which has occurred for a long time has so thoroughly roused the Catholic clergy. Some of the bishops have published fiery pastorals on it, and others have addressed very trenchant letters to the Minister, M. Jules Ferry, who is the author of the obnoxious measure now pending before the Assembly, for the resumption by the state of the sole power of granting university degrees, with which it parted three or four years ago under the old régime. Petitions against the measure are being prepared by the priests all over France, and would probably receive an enormous number of signatures if the Government did not avail itself of the law directing them to be affixed at the mayor's office in each commune. Under this rule, of course, only zealous and full-grown Catholics are likely to sign. A very large number who would sign anything that was brought them will not leave their homes for the purpose of signing, and of course all resort to pious fraud is cut off by the official supervision. The alarm the bill has excited in clerical circles is still further intensified by the probability that the privileges now enjoyed by the ecclesiastical teachers, or "Congréganistes," as they are called, of the communal and other elementary schools will also be cut off. At present all lay teachers have to be provided with a state "brevet," or certificate of competency. The monks and nuns, who are largely engaged in the educational work—out of 58,992 female teachers 37,216 are "Congréganistes"—are, however, exempt from this requirement; they have simply to be provided with a "letter of obedience" or commission of their ecclesiastical superiors. Even with this very insufficient indication of capacity they have little difficulty in defying the competition of the lay teachers. Among the well-to-do classes, whether of the bourgeoisie or of the "monde élégant," the reluctance to entrust the training of children to any lay schoolmaster or schoolmistress, particularly in the case of girls, is very great. Indeed, it may be said that the girls of France, in all but the peasant and artisan families, are taught exclusively in convents; parents refusing to accept any guarantee of character or ability on the part of teachers but those furnished by the Church. This success of the religious orders in keeping hold of the schools is not due to the goodness of their teaching so much as to the peculiar attitude of Frenchmen, in the middle classes especially, towards religion. They are mostly sceptical, but not actively or defiantly sceptical. They will not, in fact, take the trouble to profess infidelity. They all take their "first communion" faithfully at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and mostly entertain through life a vague intention of taking the sacraments at the hour of death, or, as they call it, of dying in a Christian manner (*chrétiennement*); but the cultivation of the religious sentiment they regard as the province of women exclusively, and leave their wives to look after it in their children, and are careful not to interfere with them. The women in choosing schools act under the advice of the clergy and with the result we have named.

The objection of the Republicans to this state of things is partly the result of the traditional association of liberal political opinions with hostility to the Church, which has come down from the days of the Encyclopædists. But it is due in a still larger degree to the fierce and bitter hostility of the Church to the Republic, and its readiness to enter into alliance with whichever of the Monarchical parties will make it largest promises. In the late conflict between the Republicans and the Broglie-Fourtou faction the bishops threw the whole weight of their influence into the scale on the side of the reactionaries. Some of them ordered prayers in the churches of their dioceses for the success of the MacMahon ticket at the elections, and when the Marshal visited Bordeaux on his electioneering tour the cardinal-archbishop received him in the cathedral with a fulsome eulogy, in which he declared him to be the last hope of religion and social order in France.

The Republicans have accordingly come into power in no very placable temper towards the clergy, and with a very fixed determination to strike at the roots of what they call "clericalism," or the opinion that the Church is superior to the state and ought to enjoy in the management of its affairs exemption from state control. The principal root of this is, of course, the predominance of the clergy in the education of the young. It is accordingly proposed to take from them the exceptional position they now occupy as teachers, and subject them to the common law, as regards Government certificates and inspection, and to deprive them altogether of the power of granting university degrees. The bitterness of the fight the bishops are making in defence of this will be better understood if it is remembered that a university degree is in France necessary for nearly all professorships, for admission to practice in most of the professions, for a large number of the best places in the Government service. What the probable effect of the proposed legislation on public opinion will be it is hard to say. It undoubtedly excites fierce hostility among the women of the middle class, and among both the men and women of the fashionable and wealthy circles. In the University Bill the peasantry take less interest, and they are perhaps prepared in a greater or less degree in many districts for the removal of the schools from the charge of the "Congréganistes," by the rather frequent cases of immorality which show themselves in the rela-

tions of the teaching Brothers with their pupils. But, after all, it is not the proposed change in the educational machinery which frightens the Conservatives so much as the belief that it is but the first of a series of changes of all sorts. Every French conservative is a Stalwart, and cultivates as a duty the Stalwart state of mind. Now, the Stalwart state of mind is not one of sorrow so much as foreboding. He is not altogether dissatisfied with the present; it is the future which causes him anxiety. The French Stalwart will acknowledge freely enough that the Republicans have done no great harm thus far, but he is sure they mean infinite mischief, including "anarchy," attacks on property and family, and the destruction of religious worship. Out of this nothing will reason him, because a prophet cannot be refuted. To him, therefore, the Ferry Bill is but the beginning of the destruction of everything respectable in French institutions, and nothing will bring him to reason but the non-realization of his anticipations.

A movement which has been attracting a good deal of attention, and promises to assume respectable proportions, has been lately set on foot by way of putting an end to this feud between religion and liberal politics. It consists in nothing less than secession from Romanism to Protestantism on the part of a number of thoughtful men who are troubled by the existing situation. They are unwilling to face the future without any religion at all. They see its necessity for their families if not for themselves, and at the same time see no chance of bringing the Catholic Church into hearty sympathy with liberal institutions. They see, moreover, or think they see, that the obstinate adherence of the Latin races to Catholicism is throwing them hopelessly into the rear in the march of modern progress, and they propose frankly to get out of the difficulty by adopting the only creed which has been found compatible in our time with the fullest political and intellectual as well as material development. They are ashamed of the weight which the Catholic clergy still possess in French politics, and are ashamed of the kind of education they give their children, and they are growing more and more sensitive to the fact that the girls sent out from the convents by the nuns cannot be trusted for five minutes alone with the boys turned out by the Christian Brothers; or, in other words, with the training and position of Frenchwomen. Of course, the movement is still in its infancy; but if it simply results in attracting more attention to the necessity for more lay attention to religious questions in France, it will do a world of good.

HOOSIER NOTIONS OF A REPUBLICAN CHIEF MAGISTRATE.

THE Indianapolis *Journal*, bettering the example of the New York *Times*, has lately (April 23) reported the preferences of a thousand Indiana Republicans, in all parts of the State, for the next Presidential candidate. The name of each person whose opinion is quoted is given, and generally his occupation. Almost all are business men not actively engaged in politics. The result is, to use the *Journal's* own summary, "that about seventy-five per cent. of them are for Grant, about fifteen per cent. for Sherman, and the remainder equally divided between Garfield, Blaine, Conkling, Washburne, and Harrison, and with some mention of Zach. Chandler."

We have had the curiosity to tabulate the reasons advanced for the renomination of Grant by his supporters, and have not been disappointed in the instructiveness of this analysis. In the first place it appears that a third term is with many Republicans a fatal objection to Grant, with some an objection which may be waived at a critical moment; but those who mention it at all with scruple generally regard it as the one serious defect in a title otherwise flawless. A few make their adhesion conditional upon "certain contingencies" of which there are "present indications." Thus, they will vote for him—*

if he is the only man that can beat a Democrat;
if the country is unsettled;
if the rebels continue as they are doing;
if the rebels keep stirring things up;
if the rebels come too much to the front;
if those infernal rebels in Congress persist in their course and show up too strong;
if those fellows down at Washington get obstreperous;
if the South doesn't accept the issues of the war;
if we have to whip Southern rebels again;
if we are to have another war;
in case of revolution by the Democrats, etc.

The Stalwarts who qualify, however, are in a pitiful minority, and scarcely more numerous than the expressions just cited. The rest are in varying degrees positive, if not "all 'booming' for U. S. Grant." There is the red-hot Grant man; the through-and-through Grant man; the deputy-sheriff who is "teeth and toe-nails for Grant"; the man who is for him from the word "go"; and a large number who are for him every time, or "first, last, and all the time." Between these and the class who give no reasons at all for their preference the range is very great. We meet with the postmaster who is "unreservedly for Grant on general principles," and the admirer who thinks his good qualities too numerous to discuss. In detail the candidate's portrait is about as follows: He is without a spot on his personal character, and the smell of the fires of corruption was never on his garments; he is consequently an honest man, and his integrity is unquestionable and unimpeachable. Moreover, he is a good and pure man, a man among men. His fidelity is eminent; he sticks to his friends; as a true man he has gained the confidence of the whole world. Hence we ought not to be surprised that he is reliable, and will do to trust. He will do (and the South knows it) what he says he will do, though he is rather a man of deeds than of promises. When he takes hold of a thing he don't let go; another Andrew Jackson, he can accomplish anything he undertakes; he means business, gets right down to business, and is the best man for "the business." He has solid sense, good common sense, and good judgment; he loves fair play and justice, and will do what is right. He is a man of fixed principles, whose actions are dictated by his own conscience, and who can't be ruled by outside influences. Nor is this odd, seeing that he has a head of his own, a mind of his own, and a will of his own, the last being of iron, determined, and indomitable.

That General Grant will not budge is repeated in divers ways. He is firm and experienced, firm and true, sound and firm; he is stanch, he has grit, he has stability in him, he possesses great stamina, he has (inestimable gift) backbone. As for his courage, it is enough to say that he "has the nerve," though some explain that he is a great soldier and a good fighter. He is, withal, a thorough and true patriot, a true American, loyal to the core; a No. 1 Union man, who believes that this government is not a rope of sand, that it is a nation and not a confederacy, and who keeps before the people the fact that the nation triumphed in the war. His character in this particular is summed up in the sentence, "No rebel need apply." If we concede further that he is least ambitious among all the candidates for the Presidency, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion so comforting to many that the best interests of the nation would be safe in his hands.

But we have not exhausted the list of his good qualities. He is thoroughly Republican, the embodiment of old Republican ideas to a greater extent than other man; in fact, the representative man of the party. What more likely, then, than that he should unite the party, poll the most Republican votes North and South (being, indeed, the only man who can get any considerable support from the South), create enthusiasm, and beat any man the Democrats can put up. It is clear to not a few that he is the man to oppose Tilden in particular. This alone should settle the question of his availability, a consideration which has prime weight with his supporters. He is, in their parlance, the strongest man, the man to win in the race against the Southern Confederacy; he has "political strength." They assure us, quite consistently, that he is a man of immense popularity, the most popular man in the country; that he has the necessary popularity with the masses, who favor his election; that he is a man of the people and the people's man; the people want him—he is the people's choice. He is a friend of the soldiers, and will get the soldiers' vote; he is also a friend of the colored race, and would command the votes of young men. He has been just to all sections of the country, and is the only man who has offered full protection to the people of the South; his policy is better than Hayes's or any other man's. He will enforce the laws without fear or favor (forcibly if required). He was the best organizer the nation ever had, with more sense and executive ability; the only man since Lincoln able to successfully preside over the destinies of our country; the best President since Washington; the best we ever had. Not to put too fine a point on it, he is the greatest man America has produced; the greatest living American, therefore, who has done more for the country than any other man. His

* The citations throughout this article are verbatim, but for typographical reasons we omit the quotation-marks except in a few cases.

voyage around the world will but add to his already peculiar fitness for the Presidential office: his thorough knowledge of foreign affairs will ensure our relations with other countries being satisfactory in every respect; his administration record procured him flattering attention and high respect among the nations through which he has been travelling, and he is recognized by all nations as the leading man of the world. Naturally, since his visit to Europe he has taken a stronger hold on the affections of the people.

We approach the crowning merit of General Grant in the eyes of his Indiana friends, which makes him emphatically the right sort of man, and the right man in the right place as next President. They want him, with marked unanimity—

because he saved the country once;
because he licked the rebels;
because he taught them a lesson in 1861;
because he wasn't afraid to burn powder, and will do it again if necessary;
because he can whip rebels in the field, and can do it again at the ballot-box and in Congress;
because of late rebel speeches in Congress;
because of the recent actions of the rebel Congress;
because the men who now have control of Congress are lawless;
because the revolutionary tendency of the Democracy demands a stern President;
because he is the only tried man who can nip a revolution in the bud;
because his election would be understood by the revolutionists;
because the present Congress would subside if they saw him going back to the White House;
because he would clean out the Confederate Congress;
because he held the Government and particularly the South with a steady hand;
because he can do more with the South than any other man;
because he can best manage Confederate brigadiers;
because he knows how to handle the people of the South;
because he is the only man who can control Southern rebels ("he done it in time of war, and can do it as an Executive");
because he is the only man that can keep those rebels quiet in the South;
because he can best straighten out Southern affairs;
because he rattles these Southerners and keeps the Government straight;
because he would hold the South in submission;
because he would keep down those Southern chaps;
because those Southerners would behave themselves;
because he would hold the rifle-clubs level;
because he would hold the brigadiers level;
because he is the man to hold those fellows level;
because he will enforce Union doctrine on rebel brigadiers;
because he has the will and the power to treat the rebels as they deserve, and will stand no nonsense;
because he will not compromise with rebels;
because he is a wet blanket on the fires of rebels and traitors;
because he would oppose the Solid South and rule vigorously;
because he is some one the d——d rebels would be afraid of;
because the Solid South is afraid of him;
because he is the only man the Johnnies are afraid of;
because the d——d Confederates and their Northern allies are afraid of him;
because his name is a terror to Southern rebels;
because he will strike terror to the Democracy;
because the Indiana Republican is opposed to rebel supremacy;
because he is tired of the bull-doze air of the Southern gentry, and thinks Grant would sit down on 'em;
because—"Grant, by God, sir; can't bull-doze him";
because he will make it lively for the rebels, etc.

The forms of expression are endless, the idea is the same. Our Hoosier fellow-citizens believe that hostilities have not yet ceased, or are about to recommence, and frankly admit that their choice of Grant is "on the war-issue account." They want him, if we may be pardoned a few more elegant phrases—

to beat the Confederates;
to whip the Johnnies again;
to put his foot on the South unless they behave themselves;
to bring the rebels to terms or to unconditional surrender;
to quiet the disloyal elements;
to settle the rebel hash;
to mash the d——d rebels;
to teach rebels where they belong;
to rebuke the rebel yell;
that rebels may take back seats;
that treason may be made odious, etc.

These expectations are not incompatible with this other, that Grant will "ensure the Union," in the sense at least in which he did so by his military services during the rebellion; but they hardly inspire confidence that he will "bring back things somewhere near an equilibrium," or "by his stability and firmness settle the country without any conflict," or "bring the country to that Governmental order and active prosperity the people long for." Less than half a dozen of his Indiana adherents remember him gratefully for his "resolute devotion to sound currency" and his "paving the way to resumption by vetoing the first inflation bill." When they declare him "the man to master the situation," the "emergency man," "time-tried and fire-tested"—"we know him," "we know where he is"—it is not as a great civil administrator that they are thinking of him. Still less do they pin their faith to him as a constitutional ruler. It is simply the hero of Appomattox, continued in the President who proposed that Congress should overturn the state government in Arkansas; who allowed Federal troops to determine the qualifications of members of the Louisiana legislature; and who accused Governor Hampton of "impertinence" in apprising him of the South Carolina Supreme Court's confirmation of his (Hampton's) election—it is this historical character who is regarded as "the best man on American sod" and "the best man on earth to serve a free people."

THE FINANCES OF PARIS.—II.

PARIS, April 18, 1879.

I HAVE not exhausted the subject of the budget of the city of Paris, as I have only spoken so far of one of the resources of this budget, the *octroi*. I said that this *octroi* gives in the budget of the receipts a sum equivalent, if not superior, to the annuity of the debt. The sum inscribed for the present *exercice* (we call *exercice* the budgetary year) amounts to $25,340,620. I come now to the other items of the budget of receipts:

1st. Communal centimes—special imposts—tax on dogs; the whole amounting to $4,915,220. These receipts are taken directly from the proprietors and the tradesmen by the "perceptor" (this is the name of our tax-gatherer). The name of *communal* centimes arises from the fact that we have a series of laws allowing the imposition for specified purposes of a certain number of centimes per franc of the great state taxes, called land tax, personal tax, *mobilier* tax. Our land tax is called *contribution foncière*, as it applies to houses as well as to land; the personal tax is levied with the tax called *mobilière*, which is levied on the amount of furniture supposed to be in a house or apartment, and also supposed to be in proportion to the rent. We use often in our budget the expression "the *principal* of the land tax," or of the personal and furniture contribution.

You will now better understand the detail of the communal taxes of Paris. In the year 1879 the inhabitants of Paris will have to pay 690,000 francs for five centimes additional to the principal of the land tax; 452,300 francs for five centimes additional to the principal of the personal and furniture tax; 1,767,000 francs for eight centimes additional to the principal of the *patentes* (the special tax paid for every trade); 42,000 francs as additional to the tax on horses and carriages.

These first centimes are called ordinary, as there is a law (of May 15, 1818) obliging all municipalities to levy them every year. There are other centimes which the municipalities are at liberty to levy, called special or extraordinary; but the law gives them the option to levy as many as they choose, provided they remain within a certain maximum limit. The Parisians will have to pay in 1879 under this head of special and extraordinary centimes 1,531,000 francs, amounting to three centimes additional to the principal of the four direct state taxes (land, personal and furniture taxes, and doors-and-windows) for the expenses of primary education; 2,041,800 for four *extraordinary* centimes additional to this same principal; 3,965,500 for ten extraordinary centimes additional to the principal of the land, personal and furniture, doors-and-windows taxes, and for five centimes additional to the principal of the *patentes*; 5,943,900 for seventeen centimes on one side, and five on the other, similar to the preceding ones; 7,532,800 for seventeen centimes on one side, and twelve on

the other, similar to the preceding ones. In all we have therefore to pay, 1st, fifty-three additional centimes to the land tax, or a little more than half that great state tax; 2d, fifty-six centimes additional to each franc of the personal and furniture tax; 3d, fifty-one centimes additional to each franc of the doors-and-windows tax; 4th, thirty-seven centimes additional to each franc of the tax on the *patentes*. It may, therefore, be said, *en gros*, that besides the *octroi* the Parisian has to pay half a franc to the city of Paris, while he pays a franc to the imperial treasury.

The whole machinery of our departmental and municipal taxes is built on the foundation of what we call the principals of the great imperial taxes. The Government tax-gatherer classifies all the taxes he receives under these items: land tax, personal and furniture, doors-and-windows, *patentes;* the general items for these imperial taxes are fixed every year in the Chambers, and determined by law; the municipal and departmental taxes are then established on the principle of the centimes additional to the francs of the imperial taxes. Of course the departmental and communal centimes are not the only resource of the departments and of the communes, but they form one of their considerable resources. I have said that Paris will receive under this head $4,915,220 in 1879. One of the advantages of the system is this: the Government tax-gatherer receives the communal taxes; he has only to add so many centimes to each franc; he pays back to the treasury of the city what he has received as centimes, and he pays the francs into the imperial treasury. We have, therefore, no perceptors special to the city; the perceptor does the work of the Government as well as the municipality. This is the chief reason why we stick to our system of additional centimes, which seems very odd and almost absurd to many foreigners.

The city of Paris will derive in 1879 the sum of $1,977,331 from letting the water of the city to private houses. The city of Paris had no other water for a long time than the water of the Seine, which was pumped by very antiquated machines. Only a few years ago the old and quaint Pompe Notre-Dame could be seen at a little distance from the Pont Royal. Aqueducts were built afterwards; the aqueduct of Arcueil brought to the city the water of the nearest wells. The canal of the Ourcq was a great improvement, as it allowed the cleaning of the streets by water. The artesian wells of Grenelle and of Passy were bored. As the population constantly increased, the water of the Seine and of the Ourcq became insufficient, and immense works were made in order to bring to Paris the water of two rivers, the Dhuis and the Vanne. There is now a large amount of water in the immense reservoirs built in Ménilmontant in 1865, and at Montsouris in 1875; but more money will have to be spent in order to increase the number of water engines on the Seine, to tap a river called Cochepié, lately bought by the department of the Seine, and especially for great changes in the canalization of the water in the city. It is very necessary to separate more completely the water which is used for domestic purposes (the Dhuis, the Vanne, the Seine water) from the water merely employed for the streets and the public services (the Ourcq, the Marne, the artesian wells, and the Seine below Paris). In a very short time the drinking water will be completely distinct from what may be called the municipal water, used for monumental fountains, fires, streets, etc. Under the Second Empire the city of Paris sold its own water; it derived an annual income from the sale of water at the public reservoirs to the *Auvergnats* (the water-carriers were chiefly from Auvergne), who took water in little casks, and carried it from house to house in some quarters and from story to story in each house. There are still some Auvergnats of this sort to be seen; but we are getting more civilized. A company has been formed which has farmed the water service, and sells the water it receives in the municipal reservoirs, and makes arrangements for the distribution of the water in the houses. The company has introduced the water into 40,000 houses at every story; at the present moment its work is still unfinished, as it must introduce the water into 30,000 more houses. The company remits its receipts to the city, after having paid its expenses, of course, and given a remuneration to its own capital, according to certain conditions accepted by the city and embodied in a contract.

The city of Paris will receive under this head in 1879 the sum of $1,977,331. The city will receive also a sum of $1,700,000 from our great gas company. All our ancient gas companies of Paris found it to their advantage to unite, and the powerful company called "Compagnie parisienne d'éclairage et de chauffage par le gaz" has made contracts with the city, the last dated 1870. The city, in exchange for the monopoly in gas conceded to the company, has reserved itself the right of making a double tariff for each cubic metre of gas: one price is fixed for all the Parisians; another price, and of course a lower, for the gas of the city, streets, boulevards, municipal buildings, etc. Besides, the city of Paris receives from the company a certain sum for the lease of the parts of the public streets occupied by the canalization of the gas, and a certain sum of *octroi* duty for each cubic metre of gas burned in Paris; and the excess of profit over a fixed amount it shares with the company. The city has besides reserved itself the right to try and to authorize any other mode of lighting, such as electric light. The prices fixed in the contract are the following: 30 centimes the cubic metre for private individuals, and 15 centimes the cubic metre for the city. The company pays $40,000 yearly for the municipal land which it occupies for its canalization. It pays 2 centimes of *octroi* for each cubic metre burned in the city; after having paid 10 per cent. interest and dividend, which amounts to $2,280,000 francs, it divides the surplus of the profits with the city. This half of the surplus amounted in 1869 to nearly $1,000,000. In 1870 it was only $270,000; and in 1871 it was *nil*. The amounts have since increased: we find in 1872, $1,000,000; in 1873, $1,020,000; in 1874, $1,200,000; in 1875, $1,600,000; in 1876, $1,660,000; in 1877, $1,700,000.

We know there is a great outcry among economists against monopolies; but I would invite all engineers to visit the gas-works of our great Parisian company, to see how well the city is lighted, with what punctuality, what excellent gas. There remains, I know, the question of price; but the price is a matter of discussion between the city and the company; after the expiration of the contract the price will certainly be lowered; the contract can always be rescinded under certain conditions.

Paris derives $1,389,180 from the lease of places in its markets, halls, and slaughter-houses. I will merely give a list of its other receipts: Contributions of property-owners to the expenses of the streets, cleansing of the streets, lighting of the streets, $1,198,319; license for stands of public conveyances, $866,100; product of the slaughter-houses, $590,000; tax of *balayage* (sweeping the streets), $520,000; receipts of various establishments of public instruction, $502,786; leases in the entrepôts (city docks), $420,000; concessions of land in cemeteries, $344,340; exploitation of the sewers (that is, the leasing of the sewage to various companies, and the waters of the sewers to the farmers of the plain of Genevilliers), $318,600; rent of communal lands and houses, $257,834; leases on the public streets and promenades (such as seats, kiosks, portable shops, tables before cafés, etc.), $180,963; funereal taxes, $171,429; licenses for shooting, $126,540; *droits de voirie* (paid by builders, by all those who work on the sidewalks or in the streets), $120,000; public scales, $68,800; cessions of parcels of the public land, $40,120; tax on the copying of official documents, $51,600; divers items, $228,253.

Correspondence.

THE CHINESE QUESTION.

[THE following extracts are from a private letter bearing date San Francisco, April 16. The writer, not a native of the United States, though long resident on the Pacific Coast, is an impartial observer, whose views are entitled to entire respect.—ED. NATION.]

"The articles in the *Nation* on the Chinese question show that the writer has considered it in more than one of its phases, and is conscious that he is not in a position to settle the rights and wrongs of the matter authoritatively. This is more than can be said for most of the independent editorialism of the Eastern press during the discussion. Still, he made a great mistake in assuming that the cry against Chinese immigration was a hoodlum cry, or even that the demand for the passage of the Blaine bill was a hoodlum demand. I do not boast of a very extensive acquaintance, but still I know people here of most classes of the community, except hoodlums; and yet I could hardly name one who was not disappointed more or less at the veto. For myself, I may say that I all along regarded the bill as an outrage on decency and international comity, but the feeling against Chinese immigration is so general that I have found hardly any one to agree with me. No doubt there are many who agree with me, but I have not the pleasure of knowing them, and they are without a newspaper organ in California, so far as I am aware. It therefore seems to me that it is a great mistake to treat the question as if it was one of ignorant spite or industrial jealousy.

"I have now had to do with California, more or less, for fifteen years, and I have found it very hard to make up my mind about the Chinese. For a long time I held to the idea that the cry against them was an unreasonable one, and that either their presence was no evil or that the evil

would correct itself in time. Gradually I have come round to the opinion that the country would be better without them—socially, if not industrially—and that under certain contingencies the presence of the Chinese might become a gigantic evil. No doubt there has been a great deal of nonsense talked by those who oppose the Chinese ; there has been a great deal of false political economy, and the Chinese have been blamed for evils that are merely the result of the hard times that prevail throughout the civilized world. But, on the other hand, it is a very shallow view of the matter to say that because the Eastern States have never winced under the pressure of immigration from Europe, and because the Chinese in New York trouble nobody, therefore the movement here must be due to the wicked and stupid perversity of the people of California. There is no comparison whatever. The Eastern States have never been exposed to an immigration of masses of men of an alien and unassimilable race. The social and political institutions of the country have grown up under a system of free immigration of people of our own race who have come to stay, and who begin to assimilate from the day of their arrival. Nothing could be more absurd than to say, as has often been hinted, that the reason the Chinese do not assimilate is because they are persecuted.

"It seems an anomaly that whereas people are always complaining that the Chinese prevent the employment of white people, the wages of white labor are still higher than elsewhere throughout the country, while the prices of necessaries and the conditions of life are very little less favorable on the average. There seems to be no doubt that California is avoided by white laborers on account of the presence of the Chinese. I have sometimes thought whether a comparison might not be instituted between the state of things here and that which existed in the South under slavery. Then, if I am not mistaken, what white laborers and mechanics there were (at least in the cities) were better paid than in the North, and yet the South was avoided by white laborers. One of the strongest complaints against the Chinese is that they interfere with the employment of boys and girls, and their being trained up in habits of industry. It is difficult to know the full extent of the evil. No doubt the presence of the Chinese makes it more difficult for boys and girls to get work ; but a large and increasing number of white boys and girls are employed at good wages, and there can be no doubt that a great deal of idleness is due to the carelessness of parents and the want of the pressure of necessity to compel them to work.

"I have glanced at only one or two phases of the Chinese question very cursorily. It does not lie in a nutshell. For the moment it is dormant, and all minds are occupied with the sand-lot constitution. As time goes on I feel less and less fear of its adoption. The article in the *Nation* of the 3d on the subject has been extensively copied, and I hope has done good. It seems as if the interests attacked were too various for there to be much danger of its passing. But the ideas of the people on the subject of taxation are very crude, and the plan of taxing solvent debts and stocks is very tempting."

FURTHER ABUSES OF THE PARDONING POWER.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : The letter of your correspondent "M. C. L.," in a late number of the *Nation* (January, 1879), entitled "Abuse of the Pardoning Power," suggests the mention of two similar instances which have recently occurred in this district.

In one case a mail-agent in the employ of the Post-Office Department began, within a few weeks after having taken the oath of office, a systematic course of pilfering money from letters. After some months of watching he was arrested, pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. At the end of a year application was made for his pardon. His petition was referred to the district-attorney and judge who tried the case, and both reported against it. He was pardoned, however, upon the ground of his previous good character and because his father had refunded the money stolen. His pardon was signed the day before Christmas, and so regardful was the Attorney-General of the sentimental features of the case that he *telegraphed the marshal to release him in advance of his pardon*, that the excellent young man might eat his Christmas dinner among his sympathizing friends ! It is obvious that in cases of this kind if previous good character be accepted as sufficient excuse for a pardon it would result in the release of every defaulting clerk in the country, as it is fair to presume that no man of notoriously bad character would be appointed to responsible positions of this description. The fact that his father was able to replace the stolen funds argues nothing to the credit of the young man, and affords very slight ground for executive interference.

In the other case, a teller in a national bank, a man of mature age, embezzled funds of the bank to the amount of $15,000, by a series of defalcations extending through several years, was arrested in his flight to Canada, pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to five years' imprisonment—the minimum punishment allowed by law. He was pardoned at the end of nine months upon the petition of the officers of the bank, and the certificate of the prison physician that his confinement was undermining his health and might endanger his life. In this instance the usual form of a reference to the district-attorney was entirely dispensed with, out of consideration for a friend of the prisoner, who had gone to Washington with the petition in his pocket and was in a hurry to return home ! He, too, like every other defaulting bank officer, had previously borne a good character. It is needless to add that both these pardons were obtained through the influence of prominent members of Congress.

The moral of these cases is that every defaulter of previously good character who is able to refund the money stolen or to obtain a certificate that his health is imperilled by confinement, is deserving a pardon. It is said to be a fact that not a single application for Executive clemency from this district has been denied by the present Administration. With this fatal facility in escaping the consequences of crime what wonder is it that each week reveals a new embezzlement, or that civil-service reform is making but slow progress ? Is President Hayes envious of the closing days of Mr. Johnson's Administration ? Quaere.

Detroit, April, 1879.

MR. STORY ON LATIN PRONUNCIATION.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : It seems to me that Mr. W. W. Story's articles on Latin pronunciation in the January and April numbers of the *North American Review* ought not to be allowed to pass without protest. Mr Story's well-deserved reputation as an artist and writer, and the admission of his views into a periodical like the *North American*, may give to his utterances on this subject an importance which in themselves they are far from deserving. Persons who think that Mr. Wendell Phillips's great services in the anti-slavery cause have made him a good financier, or that Mr. A. C. Swinburne's mastery of poetic form makes him an authority on the Eastern Question, may think that Mr. Story's statues and poetry entitle him to speak with authority on Latin pronunciation. How well entitled, the most cursory examination will show.

Mr. Story's first argument shows his lack of acquaintance with the Latin alphabet, his last betrays his ignorance of Latin syntax, and the arguments between do not shine by way of contrast. This is pretty harsh language ; but what else can be said of an argument which attempts to prove the soft sound of the Latin *c* before *e* and *i* from its accidental resemblance to a well-known form of the Greek sigma, never found in Latin inscriptions ? What else can be said of the attempt to prove the non-pronunciation of final *s* from the Virgilian expression, *cui nomen amello*, which he finds in the 'Æneid,' and prints with a large *a* ? What shall we think of a writer who is "tempted to ask" why "Caius" is spelled in Greek *Γαιος (sic)*? What shall we think of the weight attached to spellings of Latin words such as no inscription earlier than the fourth century contains ? What shall we think of a writer who considers *j* (or *y*) and *w* "only" vowels ? It would be useless and wearisome to complete the catalogue of errors ; but one point of a different character may be properly mentioned.

There may perhaps be a difference of opinion as to the taste of Mr. Story's numerous slurs on the Germans ; there can be none as to the extraordinary character of some of his statements. That he should confuse two entirely different questions—How the Romans pronounced, and How we should pronounce Latin—is not very strange ; that so practised a writer should not succeed in making clear what he wishes to say is hard to believe ; that a gentleman like Mr. Story should designedly convey a wrong impression is still harder ; and we are reduced to supposing him ignorant of what five minutes in any German gymnasium would show him : that the Germans do not pronounce *c* hard before *e* and *i*, nor *v* like *w*. Though Ritschl was a German and a philologist, Mr. Story would doubtless recognize the truth of his remark : "Der Welt Heil hängt nicht an diesen Dingen, aber . . . ordentlich oder gar nicht."

Mr. Story's articles furnish another good illustration of the ease with which men persuade themselves that genius is better than wretched art—*ingenium misera fortunatius arte*—and Mr. Story is not the first man of

talent to whom the careful reading of Pliny's 'Natural History,' xxxv. 36, 12, ought to be affectionately recommended by judicious friends.

W.

[The plain truth is that Mr. Story has taken hold of a question which is beyond his scholarship. Such an extraordinary collection of blunders has not been printed since the Portuguese 'New Guide of the Conversation.' In the older days of the *North American* this production would hardly have been published.—Ed. Nation.]

THE LATE JUDGE BARNARD AND THE BAR.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the mention of the late George G. Barnard you speak of the bar as submitting to him in court without courage to denounce him. This is an error. Barnard as a judge was on daily exhibition before audiences of whom not one-tenth part were lawyers. During his reckless and abominable conduct, in an office to which the people twice but the lawyers never called him, while he made property, person, and character unsafe, the body of citizens most exposed to injury made no movement. The first and only attack upon him came from the bar; and those who began persevered until his final overthrow.

The idea of rising in court to denounce or appealing to the public against him is now suggested. But such a performance would have been as useless to check Barnard as it would have been sure to send the incautious zealot to prison.

The bar, having less interest in the matter than men of commerce and property, yet boldly undertook the labor of chasing from the bench the corrupt judges. The Bar Association of the City of New York took up the matter, and assumed the great labor and expense of collecting evidence, framing charges, and presenting and urging the prosecution through a long period of enquiry and trial. Every lawyer who engaged in the work, either by furnishing information and proofs, by working up the case as attorney or counsel, by consenting to give his own testimony, by contributing to pay the heavy expenses, or in any way promoting and sustaining the prosecution, put in peril his license to practise and exposed himself to the total ruin of his professional business. Yet the risks were taken, and the war was maintained; and in the end three judges were cast out, not by the hands of those citizens whose property and business were thus protected, but by the bar, those whom you flatteringly style "hundreds of upright, able, religious lawyers," who did have the courage and also the wisdom and sagacity which the crisis demanded.

It is not amiss to recall those scenes. The memory of them will assure the timid that if another day is announced when bad men must be stripped of the ermine for the public safety, there will not be lacking at the bar worthy successors of those who once volunteered so freely and fought so bravely and with so great effect.

Charles Tracy.

[Barnard first mounted the bench of the Supreme Court in 1861. He was re-elected in 1868. During his first term his character was perfectly well known to the bar, although his misconduct did not become glaring until his second term. But his administration from 1868 until 1871 was a series of shocking scandals, in which he showed increasing audacity. The Erie litigation, in fact, began in 1868 and lasted until his downfall in 1872. Consequently the bar was acquainted with his character as a judge for ten years, and witnessed his ruffianism on the bench for at least three years without giving any sign. In July, 1871, the New York *Times* crowned its attacks on the Ring by publishing the accounts, and this roused the fever of indignation which culminated in the election of that year. The Bar Association then, when this indignation was raging, in the winter of 1871–2, began to take measures for Barnard's impeachment, and he was accordingly impeached in March, 1872. These facts, we think, entirely sustain our position that the Bar bore with him for years until the press had overthrown his confederates. We, of course, had no intention in our remarks of belittling the efforts of those who began the impeachment proceedings and carried them to a successful issue; far from it. Nor did we mean the words "rise in court to denounce him" to be taken literally. This would have been simply a *coup de théâtre*. We meant manly and proper criticism, at the proper time, of his illegal conduct, followed by his exposure to the legislature and the public with a view to his punishment.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

MACMILLAN & CO. will be the publishers this season of a 'Dictionary of London,' compiled by Mr. Charles Dickens, and intended to contain "an intelligible epitome of every kind of practical information about London." The design is novel, and so, it is said, the arrangement will be.——The Society for Photographing Relics of Old London have resolved to double their annual publications together with the subscription. Twelve permanent prints will now be issued each year for one guinea. The present is the fifth year, and the subjects selected are Canonbury Tower, Barnard's Inn, Christ's Hospital, Churchyard of St. Lawrence Pountney, and some old houses. All the previous issues are obtainable at half a guinea the set. Mr. Alfred Marks, Long Ditton, Surrey, continues to receive subscriptions.——Sidney S. Rider, Providence, has in preparation for his Rhode Island Historical Tracts: No. 5, "Memoir Concerning the French Settlements and French Settlers in the Colony of Rhode Island," by Elisha R. Potter; No. 8, "Account of the Colonial Currency of Rhode Island," by the same writer; and No. 7, "Journal of a Brigade Chaplain in the Campaign of 1779 against the Six Nations," by the Rev. William Rogers, D.D. He will also shortly publish, by subscription only, and in an edition of but seventy-five copies, an "Alphabetical Index of the Births, Marriages, and Deaths, Recorded in Providence from 1636 to 1850, inclusive," by Edwin M. Snow, M.D.——G. P. Putnam's Sons announce 'Roman Days,' by the Swedish author, Viktor Rydberg.——The Managers of the American Bible Society inform us that hereafter they will cease to rely exclusively on their auxiliary societies for the sale of their publications, and will resort to the usual trade channels. They send us a specimen twenty-five cent Bible and five-cent Testament, which, being both substantially bound, would seem to be the *ne plus ultra* of cheapness.——We have received the first number of the *Century*, a weekly eclectic journal, depending for its contents on European periodicals, and differing only in typographic form from its predecessors, whether defunct or flourishing. It is published at 335 Broadway. The *Library Table* has terminated its brief "reorganized" existence.——The *Art Amateur*, a monthly journal devoted to the cultivation of art in the household, will shortly make its appearance in this city under favorable auspices.——The growing extent and importance of our export trade are forcibly suggested by two monthly publications before us, the *American Mail and Export Journal* (Howard Lockwood) and the *American Exporter* (Root & Tinker), both of this city, and both in their third volumes. They correspond to the English periodicals devoted to the colonial or foreign trade, and, like them, must have a very stimulating effect on commercial relations. Each of them is well supplied with consular information, and with advertisements calculated to instruct even American readers.——Dr. S. Austin Allibone entered last week upon his duties as librarian of the Lenox Library in this city. Mr. George H. Moore continues to be the Superintendent, and furnishes tickets of admission on application.——The Council of the Society of Arts, of which the Prince of Wales is President, has reported in favor of printing a catalogue of all printed books in the British Museum from 1450 to the present year. They estimate that 2,500,000 entries would fill 45 volumes, blue-book size, of 1,000 pages each, and that the work could be completed in five years. This they think, very justly, would be "laying a solid foundation" for the proposed Universal Catalogue of English Printed Literature.——The Belgian Société Bibliographique has offered a prize for the best complete systematic bibliography of works published from 1830 to 1880, on the history of Belgium from the earliest times to the death of Leopold I. The society considers that the chief merit of such a work must lie in a judicious and scientific classification, which shall give the enquirer as quickly as possible the materials he needs, whatever the special point he is engaged upon. For such an object the society would do well to add the phrase "with an index" to its requirements.——It is at Brussels, by the way, that is to be held the third International Congress of Americanists on September 23–26, 1879. Its object is to promote ethnographic, linguistic, and historic studies relative to the two continents, especially prior to their discovery by Columbus. For particulars as to the subjects appointed for discussion at the approaching session, the conditions of reception, of membership, etc., application may be made to the Rev. B. F. DeCosta, 15 West Twenty-sixth Street.

—We have received from the Hydrographic Office at Washington a meteorological chart of the North Pacific Ocean, also a copy of "Revised Instructions for Keeping the Ship's Log-Book and for Compiling the New Meteorological Returns," and a blank Meteorological Journal [Log], all of which are furnished free to such captains as shall promise in return to forward the above-mentioned journal when filled to the Meteorological Bureau. This bargain seems useful because likely to stimulate some captains to greater care in keeping their logs; though, as we have before remarked in speaking of meteorological observations at sea, the value of such records would probably fall short of scientific recognition, on the score of inaccuracy necessarily resulting from the mobility of the viewpoint. It is undeniable that no cosmic generalizations can have value unless evenly distributed—*i.e.*, unless they include oceanic observations; but the importance of such observations should not blind us to their unattainability. The revised instructions appropriately commence with illustrations of errors in logs already forwarded. The directions which follow these illustrations are clear and efficient. It is unfortunate that the unity and practicalness of the work are marred by the interpolation of explanations of ocean currents. Grammatical errors also occur.

—One of the most remarkable of the many remarkable things connected with the present controversy about the negroes is that though their political condition has been frequently enquired into and reported on by Committees of Congress, no official investigation of their social and economical condition has, to our knowledge, ever been made. Another very remarkable thing is, that those writers and speakers at the North who have most to say about their condition, and say it with most vehemence, are, as a general rule, persons who have either never visited the South in their lives, or have never visited it since the war. If they were to talk with similar heat and positiveness and appearance of authority about the land question and labor question in Ireland, or Russia, or Hungary, where these questions are not nearly so complicated as they are in the Southern States, it would excite either pain or anxiety among their friends, but it seems to be a peculiarity of the Southern problem that the less minute a man's knowledge of it the more weight he carries in descanting on it. Another peculiarity of the subject is, that if a Northern man of proper experience and equipment examines it on the spot, and reports that freedom is doing for the negroes what before emancipation we all expected and most of us predicted it would do, the inference is drawn by many of our papers that he must have been flogged or otherwise abused physically before he made his statement, and ought to submit his person to examination for bruises in order to entitle him to a hearing.

—Looking at the matter from this point of view, Mr. Edward Atkinson, the well-known economist and cotton manufacturer of Boston, must, though he will probably deny it for obvious reasons, have received an unusually severe and brutal beating. He has been travelling in Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia, and reports, since his return, that in Savannah he found the best negro laborers working for good wages, saving money, and buying little places around the city. He found the rice plantations in the neighborhood in good order, and the laborers comfortable and contented. He found the colored schools in Charleston in a very satisfactory condition, and saw evidence of "large ownership of real estate by negroes," and was much impressed by "the vast extent and admirable cultivation of the market gardens for several miles" around Charleston, "thoroughly drained and scientifically cultivated," and all by negroes. In travelling through Georgia and South Carolina he found "marked signs of improvement and progress" within two years even, because he was down there two years ago, and was then also, doubtless, well whipped and made to tell a somewhat similar tale. In Columbia, S. C., he found a "new suburb, built up principally by negroes." In Lynchburg, Virginia, he found negro families earning from $40 to $50 a week and owning their houses "by the hundred." They are building a church to cost $25,000, and the minister receives $1,100 a year. In South Carolina he found no evidence of any feeling adverse to the negroes "except as to the control of the Legislature." In short, his conclusion as to the state of things in four States was that "the main difficulties with respect to the relations of the two races had been surmounted, and that the colored population is rated according to the ability and industry of individuals." He confirms what has been reported, however, as to the enormous profits made on credit accounts with the negroes by the cross-roads storekeepers, who are largely Germans. The wickedness of spreading these stories at a most important crisis in the history of the Republican party we need not comment on. Mr. Atkinson is nearly as bad as Dr. Cooke.

—The third of the Wilhelmj chamber-music concerts was another disappointment. With the exception of Svendsen's string quartette in A minor, which is a very bright and melodious composition, and was excellently well played by Messrs. Wilhelmj, Damrosch, Schwarz, and Bergner, there was hardly a single number that would require special attention. The second movement of the quartette, a graceful andantino, was particularly well rendered, and afforded Mr. Wilhelmj an opportunity of displaying all the beauty and fulness of his tone. Signor Tagliapietra was altogether unequal to the first two numbers of his selection, Schubert's "Wanderer" and Wagner's "Abendstern" from "Tannhäuser." He sang these two beautiful songs without intelligence and artistic feeling; he was more at home in a very tame and insignificant song by Mr. Wilhelmj. Mme. Carreno played Chopin's great Ballade in G minor, one of the most difficult works of this composer, and took the pianoforte part in the Thema with variations from Beethoven's Kreutzer Sonata, and in Mendelssohn's Trio in C minor, which terminated a weak and unsatisfactory performance.

—The concert in aid of the relief fund for the sufferers by the Szegedin inundation was in every way a success. The programme was of a miscellaneous character, and presented several features of interest. The opening number was Rubinstein's octette for piano with wind and string instruments, Op. 9. This composition, though one of the master's earliest works, shows all the best features of his style: striking and vigorous ideas, delightful melodies, and entirely original phrasing and instrumentation. Mr. Rummel played the pianoforte part with uncommon brilliancy and power, and was ably supported by the New York Philharmonic Club. The same artist gave afterwards an excellent rendering of Liszt's great Polonaise in E major, and of Chopin's Nocturne in F sharp. Mr. Wilhelmj played Ernst's "Airs Hongrois," and Bach's air from the orchestra suite in B major. The vocal part consisted of an air from "I Puritani" and of songs by Schumann, Jensen, Abt, and Knight, which were sung by Mrs. Granger-Dow, Miss Henne, and Mr. Frederick Steins. Messrs. Wilhelmj and Damrosch played the same duo for two violins, by Bach, which they gave at one of the Friday chamber-music concerts; and two movements of Mendelssohn's quintette for string instruments in B flat brought a very pleasing entertainment to an end. The hall, which Mr. William Steinway had kindly placed at the disposal of the committee, was well filled, and as all the artists had volunteered their gratuitous services, we have no doubt that a satisfactory result has been obtained for the benefit of a noble charity.

—"Boulevard journalism," an extraordinary product of the literary activity and cheap printing of our day, has lost its founder and master spirit by the death of M. de Villemessant, of the Paris *Figaro*. It is very doubtful whether this noted editor left the world the better for his labors, but the impress of his mind upon the last thirty years has been deep, and he exerted a strong influence upon the journalism of this country and England, as well as upon that of France. His aim was simply to please the public, never to guide or instruct it. To this end his whole life was devoted, and a great fortune and an extended reputation were the rewards of his success. He haunted the boulevards and cafés to catch the interests and opinions of the hour, and reflected them faithfully and wittily in the columns of his journal. The *Figaro* was steered by the ever-changing vane of popular feeling, and any writer who failed to suit the momentary taste of the boulevard was instantly dismissed. A word of commendation or of disgust carelessly uttered over an ice by a reader of the *Figaro*, and overheard by the vigilant editor, was sufficient for the advancement or disgrace of the literary aspirant whose article had excited comment. Under this system the staff of the *Figaro* were but birds of passage. A new man with something new to say was eagerly welcomed, to be soon supplanted in his turn. The phrase "exhausted by the *Figaro*" was proverbial. M. de Villemessant believed that every man had at least one idea to ventilate, and that idea he skilfully appropriated. On this principle he once installed a chimney-sweeper in the editorial chair, who justified his theory by a few lines which excited the laughter of the cafés. M. de Villemessant insisted that the true Parisian preferred to learn how the Princesse de Metternich's poodle had been run over in front of Tortoni's to news from London or Berlin, and to this taste for trifles and gossip he catered with unparalleled assiduity and success. He found many imitators in France, and his methods have been followed in England by Mr. Yates and Mr. Labouchère. M. de Villemessant was much liked and much hated, and both for good reason. He was a faithful friend, an affectionate father, and a man of unlimited generosity, but he was also a bitter and powerful enemy, and the weapon of ridicule, of which he knew the power so well, was employed to sell his paper rather than

to soothe the political passions in the midst of which his life was largely spent.

—The change of feeling in France towards Germany has recently been illustrated by two different but almost equally significant incidents. One is the bestowal of a prize on Dr. Julius Schmidt, director of the Observatory at Athens, for his published work on the Moon, by the Académie des Sciences: the first scientific recognition of a German since the war of 1870. Dr. Schmidt's merit is conspicuous and the honor entirely deserved. His map of the Moon, the labor of many years, has even been held up as a reproach to New York, whose territory is far from being as thoroughly or accurately surveyed as that of the earth's satellite. The other incident we referred to is the first contribution by an eminent French littérateur to a German periodical since the war. It is M. Émile Augier, of the French Academy, who has broken the ice, and *Nord und Sud* which he has favored. In the April number of that daintily-printed magazine will be found a metrical fragment from an unpublished comedy by M. Augier, beginning:

"J'ai connu dans ma vie un seigneur très-charmant
Qui n'a jamais voulu se laisser voir dormant,
Parceque, disait-il, c'est la seule attitude
Qui ne puisse asservir la nature à l'étude."

This gentleman's fastidiousness is justified on the ground that in sleep we lose our free-will and relapse into a state of nature, and that sleep is the only function of man which is indocile and cannot be improved upon. We have tutors in everything except the art of sleeping:

"Et l'on ne trouve pas pour se donner des charmes
Des maîtres de sommeil comme des maîtres d'armes."

Nature being in this respect without appeal, concludes the "Fragment," every prudent and tender father who desires to know his son-in-law undisguisedly should endeavor to "catch him napping," as our English phrase is. This trifle is rendered rather indifferently into German on an opposite page by E. Dohm (and no wonder, considering how much of its felicity resides in the expression), and is followed by a somewhat elaborate *étude* of its author from the competent pen of the editor, Paul Lindau, who prefaces an account of the dramatist's career with an instructive enquiry into the reasons for his want of popularity in Germany in comparison with Sardou and Dumas. An admirably etched portrait of M. Augier serves as a frontispiece to the number.

—The March and April numbers of the *Deutsche Rundschau* contain a most interesting account of Count Moltke's wanderings through Rome and the surrounding country during 1845–46, when the great strategist was major in the Engineer Corps of the Prussian army, and temporarily attached as adjutant to the suite of Prince Henry of Prussia. After a short introductory remark, the article consists entirely of extracts from Moltke's own manuscript journal, which, as the editor informs us, has been placed at his disposal by the general's courtesy. To this day Moltke's two maps, *Carta Topografica di Roma, etc.*, and *Carta Topografica dei Contorni di Roma*, are most desirable guides for the visitor to the classic ground of the Roman Campagna. This early work of the great general is the fruit of the abundant leisure which his position afforded, and which led to the peaceful conquest of a solitude which had been until then, for strictly scientific purposes, an almost unexplored desert. "Not one reliable map," says Moltke in his journal, "based on geometrical measurements, existed. A host of talented artists had painted excellent pictures of the majestic solitude of the Campagna; a crowd of scholars had written learned works on the ancient roads and ruins, but no one had ever entered it with the theodolite and the sextant." Moltke went to work with all the enthusiasm of his profession, and in less than six months he finished a complete survey of more than ten German square miles. His keen eye foresaw a project which has become the aim of Italy's greatest statesmen and most patriotic citizens, and which in these days seems to be approaching realization: the colonization of the Roman Campagna by an agricultural population. We quote a few extracts from his journal to show with what bright spirits and cheerful disposition the Prussian major entered upon his survey:

"The labors of my task have been more than compensated by the pleasure it has given me. To you, my unknown successor, I prophesy great enjoyment in this splendid country. How delightful it is to drive in the fresh morning hours through the slumbering streets, to leave the narrow walls of the city, to enter into the vast open plain and begin with renewed strength the day's work. You chose your point of observation, your delighted eye surveys the magnificent panorama. Profound stillness reigns over the lonely land, the sound of the bells of the three hundred and sixty churches of the Eternal City does not reach your ear. No human being, no dwelling-place is visible; only a bright-colored lizard stares at you curiously from an old wall with his intelligent eyes. Now the sun rises over the Sabine mountains: a gentle breeze murmurs through the pines; in clearest outlines you recognize objects at a distance of more than fifteen miles—the villas that dot the wooded hills of Frascati, even the white, shining sails on the blue sea."

In this effusiveness it is difficult to recognize the stern conqueror of Sadowa and Sedan.

—The historical recollections of the country made a profound impression on Moltke. He considers the *locality* the only remaining reality of the great events of the past. It is the fossil from which the skeleton of the action may be reproduced, and the picture which history gives us in half-effaced lines appears through it in bright, sharply-defined form. Thousands of years have left unchanged the ocean, with its ever-moving waters. We see it in its colossal simplicity as the Argonauts saw it. The Bedouin to-day waters his horses and camels at the same springs which Abraham and Mahomet knew; the valleys around Jerusalem are the same to-day as when Jesus taught his disciples. On the other hand, past events give a character and dignity to localities which they would not otherwise possess. Who would care to look at the barren hill of Bunarbashi, at the sandy shore of Kumkaleh, if he knew not that here arose the proud walls of Pergamos and here the ships of the Achæans lay at anchor? Whether the Greeks ever stormed Ilion may be doubtful; but it is certain that the blind poet of the 'Iliad' was thoroughly familiar with the country east of the Dardanelles. Hercules and Romulus may be myths, but what has been sung about them is perfectly accurate as regards the description, in its minutest details, of the scene of their actions. "A narrative," says Moltke, "may be historically untrue, but can be quite correct as far as local descriptions are concerned." There is no spot on the face of the earth where so many great and important events have taken place as the narrow circle encompassed in Moltke's map. In a few brilliant and spirited strokes he passes in review the leading events of the city and its environs, from its foundation to the days when he saw it. The past of this small patch of land is so great that it overcomes the present. Every step leads us to monuments rich in memories. A few yards separate a battle-field of the republic from a mediæval castle, the Nymphæum of a water-god from the chapel of a saint; a few minutes divide the localities of events which are separated by centuries. The remaining portion of Moltke's journal is taken up with a scholarly account of the geological features of the ground, a most ingenious description of the aspect of the country in the earliest days of the city, and finally with climatological and meteorological observations. Whoever admires Moltke's genius as a soldier will be glad to become acquainted with him as one of the most brilliant and vigorous masters of German prose, and as a traveller whose keen eye and artistic taste lend a peculiar charm and interest to everything he describes.

HAECKEL'S REPLY TO VIRCHOW.*

GREAT was the excitement produced in certain quarters by Virchow's address against Haeckel's methods and doctrines at the fiftieth assembly of German naturalists and physicians at Munich. Here was a learned German professor, distinguished no less for his contributions to medical science than for his political activity, who suddenly came forward, with an air of infallibility, to announce that the theory of Development, which the vast majority of scientific men have now adopted, does not yet rest on a sufficiently secure basis to be introduced into any of our schools. It would have been prudent, however, to have enquired whether the Berlin professor is really the proper person to pass a final verdict on the theory of Development. Virchow is not a naturalist. The original work to which he owes his fame as a man of science belongs chiefly to a special branch of medicine—to pathological anatomy; and even here his best work was done before the appearance of Darwin's new methods of research. During the last twenty years—that is, ever since the appearance of the 'Origin of Species'—most of his time and his best energies have been given to politics, which, especially in Germany, is such a complicated affair that it leaves its votaries little leisure to attend to other matters.

On these and various other grounds Haeckel accuses Virchow of being incompetent to act as supreme judge in a matter of such great moment. After repeatedly perusing all the writings of Virchow, he has come to the conclusion that his former teacher has never read even the works of Darwin with sufficient attention to realize the proper import of the arguments therein advanced. Bold and almost comic as this reproach may

* 'Freie Wissenschaft und Freie Lehre. Von Ernst Haeckel.' Stuttgart: Koch; New York: L. W. Schmidt. Pp. 106.

appear, a careful examination of Virchow's Munich lecture leads to the conviction that Haeckel is not altogether mistaken in his suspicions. We recently had occasion in these columns to refer to the absurd discussion at present carried on in Germany regarding Darwinism and Social-democracy. For this discussion no one is to blame but Virchow, who, in his address, first called attention to the fancied alliance between these two doctrines, which in reality have about as much affinity with each other as oil has with water; Darwinism being highly aristocratic —socially, politically, and morally—while Socialism is in every sense ultra-democratic. As Virchow has for many years been one of the foremost politicians of his country, and Socialism one of the questions most constantly under discussion, we must assume that he knows pretty well what Socialism is. By confounding it, therefore, with the theory of Development he showed that his confusion of thought arose from his unfamiliarity with the second term of the comparison.

We see from this instance how crude the notions of a distinguished German specialist can be on topics outside of his immediate sphere of activity; and the case ought to serve as a warning to those people whose mental *vis inertiæ* leads them so easily to accept ready-made opinions on authority, instead of investigating facts for themselves. In his Munich address Virchow laid particular emphasis on the phrase: "That which most adorns me is the knowledge of my ignorance." But Haeckel regrets that he must question this arrogant modesty, and insists that Virchow does *not* know how ignorant he is in morphology. And, indeed, it is almost incredible that, had he been more familiar with the literature of Darwinism, he would have advanced in such a pompous manner, and with such exclusive stress, the stale argument of the missing link—an apparent difficulty which Darwin himself was the first to call attention to as a break in the chain of evidence. All men are liable to the weakness of exaggerating the importance of their hobbies; and Virchow's conduct is explained by the fact that for some years he had given a good deal of attention to anthropology, or rather to a comparatively unprofitable branch of it—craniometry. It is natural, therefore, that he should have attached undue weight to the absence, hitherto, of the fossil remains of the semi-human progenitors of man. But Lyell, Darwin, and others have offered so many cogent reasons why the palæontological record is, and must remain, imperfect, that we have as yet no rational grounds for despair or scepticism on this point. Virchow is greatly mistaken in supposing that the scientific truth of the theory of Descent depends on the discovery of a few skulls or bones. The strength of the theory lies in the vast number of biological and zoölogical facts which it explains and harmonizes, and which without it are utterly inexplicable, *e.g.*, the facts of embryology, of morphology, of comparative anatomy, and especially the rudimentary organs, "eyes which do not see, wings which do not fly, muscles which do not move," etc. (Haeckel's Dysteleology).

All these things, however, Virchow ignored in his Munich address. He was disconsolate because he could not find his bone, or add a new skull to his collection; and until that bone has been produced he denies that we have a right to open the doors of our schools to the theory of Development. It was this, the pedagogic, part of Virchow's lecture, which gave most gratification to the enemies of modern science and progress; and it was precisely in this part that he was most seriously mistaken. Virchow practically demands that only those sciences should be taught to our youth which rest on an objective, or absolutely certain, basis, secured by the experimental method. The theory of Development has no such basis, hence it only constitutes a problem of research, and not material for instruction. Had he given a little closer attention to Haeckel's lecture, he would have seen that Haeckel himself points out in emphatic language that the theory he advocates is not capable, nor ever will be capable, of exact or experimental proof. The human mind knows no such thing as absolute truth. Even mathematical axioms, as Helmholtz correctly maintains, have only an infinite degree of probability for us. All knowledge, all science, is a matter of greater or less probability, and we must accept and teach that which to the best informed appears to be most probable. Provisionally we must adopt those theories which are most in harmony with facts. It is for this reason that our chemists teach the atomic theory, our physicists the undulatory theory of light, our astronomers the nebular hypothesis, although they are fully aware that the very existence of atoms and of an ethereal medium is as yet unproved. According to Tyndall, the foremost men of the age accept these theories because thousands of isolated facts are accounted for by them, and because they "trace out illuminated paths through what would otherwise be the most hopeless jungle of phenomena in which human thought could be involved." The same is true of Development, only that the phenomena here are so much more complicated than in the theories just mentioned that more time and labor will be required before they can all be properly classified and reduced to order. If some facts still remain unexplained, it must be kept in mind that they do not contradict the theory in any case. Amid all the countless and complicated details of comparative anatomy, the distinguished Carl Gegenbaur discovered not one fact opposing it. Biologists assure us of the same thing. Is it possible that this should be so were the theory false? Or is it probable that all those best informed in such matters should have adopted it, not as a traditional opinion, blindly imbibed in youth, but as an independent opinion based on a personal examination of facts bearing on the question, and even involving in most cases the very disagreeable process of unlearning hosts of false doctrines? If under such circumstances our leading naturalists have adopted the doctrines of Lamarck and Darwin, as not only one step, but a hundred steps nearer the truth than any opposing theory, then must these doctrines also be taught in schools, or else natural science must be altogether excluded from them.

Let us not be misunderstood. We do not advocate the introduction of text-books on Darwinism into primary or even secondary schools. Professor Oscar Schmidt, one of the first of the German Darwinists, rightly insists that the appreciation of these modern theories explaining the origin and development of living organisms requires more mature mental faculties than are to be found in such elementary institutes of instruction. What we do insist on is that as soon as natural science *is* taught, it must be taught on the basis which is now accepted by the best authorities. But it must always be taught, not as absolute truth, but, as in the case of the atoms and the ether, as the nearest *approximation* to the truth. Nothing is more injurious to the development and growth of the human brain than the overloading of it at an early age with dogmas, be they scientific or religious. The great object of education is to preserve the brain in a plastic condition, capable of receiving or originating new ideas and impressions; and this can best be accomplished by informing it at an early age of the relativity and uncertainty of human knowledge, not in a one-sided manner, as Virchow has done by singling out the theory of Development, but in a more just and comprehensive manner, by showing that the uncertainty also extends to the physical sciences, and still more to history, sociology, psychology, and so forth. With this understanding it will even be safe to teach the theories of spontaneous generation, and of Haeckel's "Plastidul soul" and his "genealogical romance," without injury to young men or women. The scientific value of such brilliant efforts of the imagination much more than neutralizes the evil effects which Virchow fears will accrue to science by a loss of faith in it, should any of these speculations turn out to be incorrect.

No one can deny—and Virchow would be the last to do so—that Darwinism, as the only satisfactory method of accounting for organic development, has during the last two decades acted as one of the strongest ferments which have ever put life into stagnant human thought. The comparison between Newton and Darwin has been so often made as to have almost degenerated into a commonplace. The analogy, however, is closer than is commonly supposed. Newton annihilated space, Darwin time. Newton pointed out that the laws which guide a falling planet can be ascertained by studying the laws which guide a falling stone. Darwin showed that by observing the stages through which an individual passes in his embryonic growth we get an epitome of the lower forms of animal life through which his ancestors have passed in their generic development in the course of ages. He, moreover, traced out and formulated the laws of nature by which this development was brought about—variation, heredity, adaptation, use and disuse, correlated growth, selection, etc., and thus supplied a new method of studying nature, "a new genus of thought," as a hostile witness, Max Müller, calls it, which it would be as irrational to keep from our higher schools as it would be to exclude from them microscopes, telescopes, and spectroscopes. That fatal indifference with which American students are so often reproached can best be overcome by plunging them at once in this strong current of modern thought, and teaching them how to swim without being blindly carried along by the force of the current, as they certainly will be if they are not taught to swim in time. The great extent to which all modern literature, periodical and non-periodical, is spiced with evolution ideas will bring them into daily contact with these doctrines anyhow; and the only way to guard them from excesses in any direction is to afford them intelligent and systematic instruction in these matters.

Haeckel's brochure, which we have used as the text of our "lay sermon," is to appear shortly in an English version, with a preface by Prof. Huxley. A French translation is also in preparation. But those who are familiar with German should read the original text, as Haeckel is one of the best prose writers Germany has at present. Were he a Frenchman his style could not be more clear, vigorous, and pointed. Although some will find this last work of his somewhat too personal and exuberant, it must yet be commended to all who are interested in the scientific movement, and who wish to hear the latest words of the high-priest of German evolutionists.

RECENT POETRY.*

'ZÓPHIËL; or, The Bride of Seven,' the most important work of Maria del Occidente (Mrs. Maria Gowen Brooks), was published nearly fifty years ago in London, and had the fortune to be praised by Southey and left unread by the public. The editor of this reprint apparently trusts to the treacherous critical power of Southey, and ventures to go beyond him. He had called her "the most impassioned and most imaginative of all poetesses," but the editor has allowed her enthusiasm to betray her into saying that the music of "Zóphiël" surpasses Moore's, that its description of an oriental bower is more thoughtful and warm in feeling than Tennyson's "Lotus Eaters," that Swinburne and Byron are outdone in parts, that Milton is equalled in quality and his "Satan" distanced, and, to crown all, that "the soul-current vitalizing" this epic and Dante's "Inferno" "is the warm and brilliant, passionate and profound tide of a like inspiration." Such a sense of the value of "Zóphiël" is a sufficient excuse for the forcible resurrection of a forgotten book, always a somewhat melancholy spectacle; for usually it means a second and a speedier death. The story of the "epic" is founded on that of Tobias in the Apocrypha, and is told musically and vigorously. Fancy rather than imagination, and felicity of natural description rather than force of characterization, are displayed in it, and the interest it awakens is that which inheres in the strange, the unearthly, and the superstitious, rather than in human thought or power. Zóphiël, the fallen angel who wooes the heroine, is an original creation, and is attractive because nothing of sin seems to adhere to him; he defies the devil and seeks only the good; essentially he is an incarnation of love which finds all its efforts foiled. But, except this, there is nothing peculiar to the poem, while the absence in it of strong appeal to human interests and its unreal and visionary machinery must make its audience small. It will not raise its author to the first nor yet the third class of poets, it will furnish a new count against Southey's critical power, and will disappoint those who have expected to find it a treasure. Much power, some lyrical music, some fine descriptions of the beauty or the splendor of the luxury of the East are enough to excuse the publication of a new work, but not enough to warrant the uncalled-for reprint of a book once rejected. The editor promises another work of the same author—an autobiographical story.

The scene of 'Constance' is also laid in the East, and begins with a description of the mountain scenery of the Himāla. It was written in 1831, but apparently is now first published with other miscellaneous poems previously privately printed. It has the touch of Byron's influence in it, and comes like a breath from a distant literary past. The hero, the son of an exiled English lord who won an Indian kingdom of which England despoiled him, is a dark, beautiful, melancholy man, whose extraordinary powers are concentrated for years on avenging his father by overthrowing the Indian Empire. He stirs up a great revolt, and finally dies from a lightning stroke. With this is woven a graceful love-story, and a happy dénouement compensates for much horror. The workmanship is even and faithful, and while its human interest belongs to an earlier literary age, its natural description is impressive. Among the miscellaneous pieces is another version of Whittier's poem on Lucknow, and the prose story from which both are taken is printed in full.

Of the lesser things 'Thorns and Flowers' is likely to afford most amusement, for the author has thrown off all restraints and has written verses which some might think ill-bred, it is true, but which have the charm of novelty. We doubt if James Russell Lowell was ever apostrophized before in such fashion as this:

> "I love thee, for thy sins are like my own."

We remember that Mr. Lowell has been attacked by English critics for his profanity in the 'Biglow Papers,' but certainly he never dreamed of equalling this poet's "sins" in that line, for an oath comes as easily to his verse as a rhyme. In this mood he writes many political sonnets, usually on the French crisis, nor would it be an inexcusable conjecture if we should guess his morning newspaper frequently furnished the text for the forenoon's labor at the divine art. He exhausts the subject when he touches it; here, for example, are sonnets to his lady's hair, mole, nose, ear, feet, and mouth. He is irreverential toward the Pope, he tries to fire the heart of Sitting Bull, and suggests the difference between the touch of Midas and that of General Grant:

> "if all that you uphold
> "Should turn to steel, 'twere not astonishing,"

and thus apostrophizes those who caused "In God we trust" to be put upon the coins of the United States:

> "Is there no shame that thus ye dare disgrace
> The fleeting winter of a poor old god?"

Connoisseurs in the eccentric would be pleased to look over the volumes for a short time, and it must be confessed that the author, although without poetic taste, would be witty if his brightness were cleansed of vulgarity, but in that case nothing of this book would be left.

'Modern Rhymes' is as free from metrical restraint as 'Thorns and Flowers' from taste. Much of it is written in harsh prose printed in verse, and the author's discoveries in grammar and word inventions frequently obscure the sense. He might follow with profit Coleridge's early advice to Tennyson to write only in one or two well-known and strictly-defined metres, such as the heroic couplet or the octave stanza, and this is the more necessary as there is nothing in the contents of his verse to improve or amuse the reader. 'Humanity and the Man' is a poem of one hundred and thirty pages of equally bad verse, describing the history of the world through remarks of a guardian seraph to Adam. 'A Dream of Arcadia' and 'Drift from York Harbor, Maine' are, by comparison, collections of graceful verse, but one might read both without a line from either remaining in his memory, unless we should except four short stanzas "To a Belle of Six Summers." 'A Voyage with Death, and Other Poems' comes to us from California, and possesses a local flavor. It is unpretentious, and the author's first publication; it shows care and strength, and here and there are good lines direct and vivid, but the poems are of very uneven merit.

Mr. Payne is a disciple of that poetic school which has in recent years illustrated a wrong theory with such brilliant talents, and frequently with such fine artistic work, that it has obscured the fundamental canons of poetry. This poem is its last utterance, and while it would be unjust to hold any school responsible for the peculiar aberrations of individuals whose moods and methods attach them to it, the extravagance of this poem throws a good deal of light on the character and tendency of some of the common sympathies which unify the group of men who follow art for art's sake. The author has absorbed more of the French influence than his companions. He is the translator of Villon, his book is dedicated to Leconte de Lisle, and all his work has been highly praised by Théodore de Banville. In emulation of the example set by Baudelaire, he has attempted in 'Lautrec' to make a horrible and revolting subject attractive by artistic treatment. It is the confession of a vampire, one of those dead women "into whom has been infused an unholy and nocturnal vitality, by dint whereof they break sepulchre, and, wandering over the earth in the full splendor of the moon, fearsomely feed on the blood of sleeping folk." She tells the tale as she lies shut within her bier and hears the working of midnight charms setting free the black souls and upleaping hell-hounds:

> "I know them all—ghost, witch, and beast;
> I hear them hurtle through the gloom;
> The glad ghosts scatter from their room;
> The ghouls fare forth unto the feast—
> Still I lie fast within the tomb."

As she lies thus, waiting for the moonlight to come and set her free to go upon her own errand of foulness, she tells how Lautrec, a simple knight, won her love; how he went forth to the Crusade, and news of his loss by

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* 'Zóphiël; or, The Bride of Seven. By Maria del Occidente (Maria Gowen Brooks). Edited by Zabel Barnes Gustafson.' Boston: Lee & Shepard; New York: Chas. T. Dillingham. 1879.
'Constance: A Tale.' London: Smith, Elder & Co.
'Thorns and Flowers. By Louis Belrose, jr.' Philadelphia: Published for the author. 1879.
'Modern Rhymes. By William Entriken Bailey.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.
'Humanity and the Man: A Poem. By Wm Sharpe, M.D.' London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.
'A Dream of Arcadia and Other Verses. By Lawrence B. Thomas.' Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers. 1879.
'Drift from York Harbor, Maine. By George Houghton.' Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1879.
'A Voyage with Death, and Other Poems. By Adair Welcker.' Oakland, Cal.: Strickland & Co. 1878.
'Lautrec: A Poem by John Payne.' London: Pickering & Co. 1878.

capture or death came, and she died of sorrow, to wake in the church and find her soul spellbound by the moonlight streaming on her bier, and filled with "passion of strange hunger," "longings tiger-like," yearnings "upon some fearful thing to feed." Thither soon after comes Lautrec, and she is made sensible of his presence. In some way, which we fail to unravel, she "felt his eyes" summon her "soul back from the deep of death," and fell asleep in his arms. They appear to have been married like ordinary mortals, and on the wedding night, when the moon rose and worked its charm upon her, she set her lips, "the bright blood spouted," and she took her fill, saw Lautrec dead, fell dead by his side, and woke to find herself once more shut within her bier in the church.

Such a story can only be saved by the most wonderful skill, if at all. We confess to having laid down the book with a shudder of disgust. Still, the workmanship shows great power of vivid fancy, great resource in verbal beauty and verse harmonies, and is ornate with all the elegance of which the artificial is capable. The mannerisms of the school are everywhere, it is true. We have "flower-soft" and "star-soft" things in profusion; burning mists, bloody moonshot mists, year-mists, and the like; and such words as ness, treen, ywis, halidame, wherethoroúgh, fiendis, allegresse, and phrases like "but how me knoweth not," occur with oppressive frequency. Notwithstanding all this, the work is from a poetic mind of much vigor and fineness, and of a remarkable pictorial power—lost, it seems to us, in the mazes of a theory.

Life of Richard Fuller, D.D. By J. H. Cuthbert, D.D., pastor of the First Baptist Church, Washington, D. C. (New York: Sheldon & Co.)—The familiar burst of melody in the line "Massa Fuller a-sittin' on de tree ob life," as sung by the black Jubilee Singers, is, perhaps, the most enduring monument of the clergyman whose biography is here written. The line would seem to be a memorial rather of the good nature than of the affection of those who sing it; for nothing vanished more utterly during the war, or disappeared more completely beyond all bounds of discovery, than the supposed emotion of love on the part of the former slaves towards their masters. There was little of vindictive feeling, but on the other hand there was absolutely no visible feeling of regret or tender longing. When Parson Fuller stood among them once more after emancipation, beneath the live-oaks of Beaufort, there was a general good-natured wish to look at him again, and even take him by the hand; a wish only intensified, no doubt, by a general chuckle of satisfaction in the thought that they were their own masters, and that their hands were now their own property.

The memoir itself carries us back to that singular confusion of moral right and wrong which existed in the ante-bellum times. It is claimed, for instance, as a peculiar honor for Dr. Fuller, that during twelve years of parish service he devoted his salary to the spiritual instruction of his slaves (pp. 157, 287). "His private income," says his biographer, "was sufficient to his support"; and this income, it seems, was derived from the unpaid labor of the slaves themselves—two or three hundred in all! There seems now something almost incredible in the state of mind which could regard this as an attitude of generosity; and, to do Dr. Fuller justice, he seems at times to have had glimpses of the inconsistency. In a very manly and courageous address before the Colonization Society in 1851—a society, by the way, which represented much of the timidity of the North and much of the anti-slavery impulses of the South—he declared slavery to be "not a good thing, or a thing to be perpetuated"; and frankly conceded some of its most obvious evils. "I think I may well appeal to every Christian," he said, "whether when God says, 'Search the Scriptures,' the human mind ought to be shut out from reading the Scriptures; whether, when Jesus Christ says, 'What therefore God has joined together, let not man put asunder,' husbands and wives ought to separated; whether labor ought to be received without compensation" (p. 195). It was this last honest doubt, let us hope, which led Dr. Fuller to devote his salary to the service of his slaves.

He had foreseen and deprecated the rebellion; at its outbreak he resided in Baltimore, and tried hard to avoid being involved; but by taking part at Savannah, during 1861, in a Baptist Convention which passed a vote of sympathy with the Confederacy, he was credited with having drawn up the obnoxious resolutions, and was pronounced by the New York *Tribune* "the most dangerous rebel in Baltimore." He was not, however, arrested; and he doubtless tried, during the war, to soften the bitterness of the feud. After the war he accepted its results frankly, visited Port Royal with Secretary Chase, and gave excellent counsel to his former slaves. He told them that many at the North were predicting that they would be idle and dissolute, and asked if they were going thus to bring shame upon those who had befriended them (p. 110).

Dr. Fuller was a man of imposing physique, and had the voice and mien of an orator; he had distinguished himself in his early days at Harvard College and during a short career at the bar, and his life was undoubtedly devoted to doing good, subject to the limitations and inconsistencies of a slaveholder. Yet his memoir fails to be interesting, partly from a confused arrangement, and partly because much of it is occupied with those clerical details which have little attraction for the general reader. Of all religious controversies, that carried on by the Baptists is probably least impressive or important to the outer world. When we find Dr. Fuller and his biographer rejoicing over a converted Episcopalian as over a sinner saved, it is impossible not to reflect that there were also devout Episcopalian clergymen just then rejoicing, no doubt, over some converted Baptist; and in view of an actual wrong like slavery, for instance, this petty game of mutual proselyting seems child's play. Then the book is written in that strain of adoring enthusiasm with which almost every clergyman is described by his biographer; and this soon wearies. An occasional touch of humor comes as a relief, and there is one of those racy but rather irreverent anecdotes in which sound divines often seem to delight, bearing in this case upon a pious deacon in Georgia whose house and buildings had been laid waste by Sherman's raiders. He had always given much religious exhortation to those in trouble, and his neighbors now rallied round him with similar comfort—a task of some difficulty, as he was old and deaf. When their loud-voiced consolations had at last reached his ears he quite refused to accept their suggestions. "I don't remember," said he, "ever supposing a case like this; and I am tempted to think that Providence went a little too far this time" (p. 183).

Wild Life in a Southern County. (Boston: Roberts Bros. 1879. 16mo, pp. viii. 344.)—This is a book of contemporaneous animal interest at least. It brings us late news of our furred, scaled, and feathered connections' doings, whether in field, stream, or forest, in a wild region in the south of Wales; for the "Wick" here described can be, according to our gazetteer, no other place than the parish of that name in Glamorgan County. The fox's ambush, snake-trapping, rook-shooting, the trials of the heron when fish are scarce, the rabbit left in dolorous case by the weasel, blackbirds at their bath, the cuckoo's return, the thrush smartly cracking the shell of the live snail upon the sarsen-stone about lunch-time, the oratory of the starlings, the crakes' ventriloquism—the entire gabblement and transactions, in short, of the "parliament of foules"—these are chief among the subjects of which this agreeable observer has written, and written so minutely that little remains, one would almost say, for the future observer in his county. One is struck by the great variety of visible animal life in that corner of Wales (as, indeed, in most parts of Western Europe); it far outdoes that of this country, which, in popular belief at least, is much "wilder" than the old world:

"The farmhouse, garden, orchard, and rickyard at Wick are constantly visited by about thirty-five wild creatures, and, in addition, five others come now and then, making a total of forty. Of these forty, twenty-six are birds, two bats, eight quadrupeds, and four reptiles. This does not include some few additional birds that only come at long intervals, nor those that simply fly overhead."

Upon plant-life our author's notes are less full, but charged with detail. Here is a passage on nutting which will recall, by contrast, the procedure of the boy Wordsworth among the hazels "tall and erect, with milk-white clusters hung," when he "dragg'd to earth both branch and bough, with crash and merciless ravage." Our author proceeds more gently:

"When they will 'slip udd' is the proper time to gather them—*i.e.*, when the hood or outer green covering slips off at a touch, leaving the light-brown nut in the palm; it is a delicately-shaded brown. Cut off just the tip of the nut with a penknife; insert the blade ever so slightly, and a gentle turn splits the shell and shows two onyx-white hemispheres of kernel. With a little care the tallest boughs may be pulled down uninjured; if dragged down rudely the bough will be 'sprung' where it joins the stole below, and will then wither and die."

About the human animal and his ways "R. J." tells us less in this than in his earlier volume, 'The Gamekeeper at Home' (see *Nation* of March 20, 1879), thus omitting, *pace* H. D. Thoreau, a source of interest. We especially miss the character of "the judicious poacher" in these pages; but our author notes the country-people from time to time, and records their views, scientific and other, as here:

"Some of the old cottage-folk are still positive that it is not the lightning but the thunder that splits the trees; they ask if a great noise does

not make the windows rattle, and want to know whether a still greater one may not rive an oak. They allow, however, that the mischief is sometimes done by a thunderbolt."

One fault we have to find with our author—namely, that he has added another unsuccessful attempt to the many that have already been made to express in "lower-case" type the songs of birds. It cannot be done; and the sooner the matter is relegated to Mr. Xenos Clark, of the *Naturalist*, and to the musicians the better. For the rest, the book is an enjoyable one. Whether or not it belongs on the same shelf with 'The Natural History of Selborne,' "R. J." has only to "write out" his name to enter into his distinction.

Miscellanies, Literary and Religious. By Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. In three volumes. (London: Rivingtons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1879.)—These three bulky volumes of the Bishop of Lincoln display much varied learning upon a multitude of topics. Apparently all the less important literary work of the voluminous author has been collected, for, while we have long essays upon the inspiration of the Bible and like matters, some things have been included of which the earthly interest to any one except the author is not obvious, such as a letter to the Archbishop of Cyprus introducing the Rev. Josiah Spencer, and so the volumes have been swelled to a size which we fear will seem oppressive to the worldly. What is of most curious interest is the treatment of the prophets, for their words are applied to modern times and are interpreted in a *bona-fide* manner which is rare in this century; the essays "On the Destiny of Mohammedanism" and "The Decline of Mohammedanism a Signal for a Greater Spread of the Gospel, which will be to some a Woe," may be cited in illustration. It is impossible to do more than indicate what these volumes contain, for a criticism would carry us into too many fields of research; but classical scholars will be interested in the author's discoveries detailed in "Pompeian Inscriptions" and in his discussion of what Horace would have been had he known Christianity; the notes of travel are of very varied interest and cover entertaining subjects, but the larger space is occupied by purely clerical matters, discussions of confirmation, confession, and absolution, the Holy Sacraments and the Holy Communion, or pastoral letters, hymns of no extraordinary merit, and collections of aphorisms, selected and original. In this collection we observed some sayings which were tinged with a facetiousness uncommon in the author's other work, of which an example or two may not be out of place: "God *foresees* all things, but *forces* nothing," or "Μὴ βλέπε τὰ ἴδια, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀίδια"; these "are designed specially for the use of students in training for holy orders." The contents of the volumes, as will be seen, are removed somewhat from the interests of the American public, but the structure of a modern bishop's mind and the character of his interests are here revealed with extraordinary lucidity for those whom it may concern.

Fourteen Weeks in Botany. By Alphonso Wood, A.M., etc., and J. Dorman Steele, Ph.D. (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1879. Pp. 318, 18mo.)—Professor Wood, as we know, has been more than fourteen weeks in botany, being a veteran popular author of botanical text-books. Dr. Steele may be as new as that to the subject, and this may account for some curious statements in a book which has in many respects a good deal to recommend it. Here are a few points which we have noticed in turning over the pages: "The cryptogams are numerous and minute beyond conception." "By a wise provision the albumen is deposited [in a seed] in the form of starch, which is insoluble in water, or else the first rain would dissolve and waste the young plant's inheritance." On the same page "*æstivas*" is given as Latin for summer. The context shows that this is no misprint for *æstivus*, which means pertaining to summer. "On account of their hypogynous stamens and the entire freedom or distinctness of all their floral organs, botanists have assigned the buttercups and their order to the highest rank in the vegetable kingdom." Apropos of buttercups, the analyses in the letterpress on p. 46 do not really represent the species of early crowfoot they are ascribed to, nor does the full-page figure of the bulbous crowfoot on p. 51 represent that species or agree in foliage with what is said of it in the letterpress immediately following. The fluid secreted by the fly-trap of Dionæa is said to be "forced out." Trifoliolate leaves are everywhere said to be "trifoliate." Leaves of pines are said to last "through the winter, until those of the next season are full grown"; and—about as near the mark—"Herbs fruiting after a long term of years only once and then dying, are said to be *monocarpic*." "The common oat is said to be a native of the Island of Juan Fernandez." Yes, Anson, the circumnavigator, said it, but we did not expect it to be said in our day, nor to have to consider how the ancient Germans contrived to procure from thence their principal breadstuff. On page 221 we come upon a more modern geographical puzzle, a "View in Calaveras," showing some of the "big trees," with El Capitan of the Yosemite Valley in the background! It is a good two days' journey from the one to the other. But our authors have visited this grove, and state that they counted the layers on the stump which is figured in the picture. They ought to know if the view is correct. The most notable discovery in the volume is recorded on page 162, that of dimorphism in the flower of Dodecatheon. But in reading the account of it a suspicion arises. The description does not agree well with Dodecatheon, but does agree with the primrose, and with the species which bears in England the popular name of cowslip. Now, in this book, Dodecatheon is called the American cowslip. Can it be possible that the dimorphism of the one is assumed for the other through an identity of popular name? If so, then the preface rightly declares that "The plan of this work differs from that of the ordinary Botany."

The plan—which is said "to introduce the pupil at once to the study of the plant itself, by means of elaborate illustrations and living specimens"—is in this respect wholly commendable, being that adopted by all competent and right-minded teachers. The particular method of the volume—that of teaching by a series of studies of certain selected common plants—is essentially the plan of Lindley's 'Ladies' Botany' and of Le Maont's 'Leçons Élémentaires.' The latter is the best book of the kind we know. The present book is better on the whole than our extracts would lead one to expect.

The Fairy-Land of Science. By Arabella B. Buckley. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.)—This is a graceful attempt to take advantage of the fascination which stories of genii and fairies have for children, and to make the various manifestations of energy play the rôle of fairies. In the story of the "Sleeping Beauty," at the fairy's touch the whole palace goes to sleep—the princess in her chamber, the butler and the dog, the horses in the stalls, and the doves upon the roof. In the fairy-land of science Frost is the fairy, at the touch of whose wand all flowers and plants are wrapped in slumber until another fairy, Heat, comes to awaken them to life. It is a pretty conceit, and well worked out. There are ten lectures, in which cohesion, gravitation, chemical force, light, heat, and sound are treated, together with the history of a piece of coal, the growth of plants, and the habits of bees. The author takes every occasion to point a moral, and inculcates the good lesson that science should be studied not merely for its facts but for the love of it. In the study of botany the method of investigation can be carried out from the first, and we should have been better pleased with the part of the book which treats of that science if this method had been more emphatically enforced upon the mothers' minds. We take it for granted that most children will prefer to hear 'The Fairy-Land of Science' read to them, and will not desert the account of a real out-and-out encounter between genii in 'The Arabian Nights' Entertainments' for the description of a struggle between the manifestation of cohesion and heat.

An evanescent interest in science can be easily created in children's minds. The problem is to train their growing perceptive faculties in the right way. This book hopes to create an interest in the study of science by a direct appeal to the imaginative power. There is no doubt that science should be made attractive in this way; but this method must be supplemented by another far more efficacious in producing permanent results, and which consists not in making the pupils passive recipients, but in guiding them to observe nature for themselves. This method in botany is ably illustrated by Prof. Goodale, in one of the series of guides for science-teaching published lately by the Boston Society of Natural History. While Miss Buckley's book makes us wish that she had given such methods that the mothers' minds could maintain the interest excited in children by her treatise, we confess to have been absorbed by its perusal. The chapter on bees is especially fascinating. The book is quite exact in its statements; in one case, however, too much prominence is given to the part which osmose plays in the circulation of sap.

Dress. By Mrs. Oliphant. (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1879.)—We are disappointed in this book. It is one of the "Art at Home" series, but it gives neither first principles nor any good range of suggestion. The treatment of the subject is historical, and the essay is in great measure devoted to proving that men have been as absurd as women in their dress, which needs no proof and does not advance the matter a step.

The subject deserves a master hand—so large a portion of the toil and the expense of common life are bestowed on dress, and there is such helpless drifting in what people are pleased to call their thoughts on the subject, the viewless tyranny of fashion is so unresisted by nine hundred and ninety-nine people in a thousand, that any one who could help men and women at least to have a notion of what they are about would be a great benefactor. It is no simple matter: the claims of health, fitness, and beauty are to be reconciled with the question of expense, and the enormous variations of our climate bring in a farther complication. Independence, a harmonious individuality, and good taste are prerequisites to any reasonable thinking on the matter, and these qualifications are so common! The only book which we remember as applying principles to dress is a thin volume by Pugin, who, being satisfied that "all cathedrals are Christian; all Christians are or should be cathedrals," applies his theories of construction and ornament to dresses and draperies.

Decisive Events of History. By Thomas Archer. Illustrated. (New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin. Large 18mo, pp. 178.)—The sixteen events of history selected by Mr. Archer as "decisive" deserve that name perhaps as well as any that could be chosen; such a choice is of course to a certain extent arbitrary, and it would be easy to find others that would seem to present as strong a claim as some of those here given—some incident, for instance, in the life of Julius Cæsar or of Clovis, the capture of Constantinople in 1453, or the discovery or colonization of America; at any rate no exception can well be taken to any of those here included. The plan of the book is simple and is well carried out. Each event is illustrated by a full-page picture of great merit, and the story is then told in a graphic style and at moderate length. There is a little monotony in the narrations, which always begin, like Thackeray's novels, with a description of the decisive event represented by the picture, and then go back to narrate the events that preceded it. The style is generally good, although not so good in some chapters as in others. The most common fault is that of stringing along a number of relatives one after another, as in the following extract, in which also there is a clumsy use of tenses: [Gregory VII.] "hearing that Henry IV., whom he has excommunicated, has appeared in Italy, where he has been welcomed by the Italian princes and bishops, who are also under the papal interdict, he was afraid to pursue his journey, and therefore sought safety in this stronghold [Canossa] of his powerful adherent" (p. 91). There is, by the way, in this passage an error in the use of the term *interdict*, which is properly applied not to the excommunication of individuals, but to a ban laid upon an entire kingdom or community.

Such books as this are on every account to be recommended to young people, for, whatever may be our opinion as to the real importance of individual events and persons in the great current of history, it is just these, at any rate, which make the best general introduction to historical reading. They inspire interest, they exercise a salutary influence on the character, and they help to bring into prominence series of events which, in any point of view, are worth remembering.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1879.

The Week.

THE President's veto of the Military Interference Bill is shorter, and on the whole stronger, than the first. The bill, as passed by Congress, provided that "it shall not be lawful to bring to or employ at any place where a general or special election is being held in a State" any part of the army or navy, unless it be required "to repel the armed enemies of the United States," or to enforce that clause of the Constitution which authorizes the use of troops on the application of the legislature or executive of a State. It also repeals any statutory provisions inconsistent with these. The President's objections to the bill are, that it will seriously impair the efficiency of the Executive; that from the beginning of the Government there have been laws on the statute-book authorizing the use of the military forces in case of opposition to the authority of the Government, not coming within the two excepted cases in the bill; that it was under these enactments and the fundamental necessity on which they are based that the Pennsylvania "Whiskey rebellion" of 1794 was suppressed, that the Burr conspiracy of 1806 was broken up, that Jackson brought nullification to an end, and that Lincoln issued his proclamation for troops in 1861. The bill, moreover, discriminates in favor of State and against national authority. Under it the use of troops might be lawful to secure a peaceful State election against domestic violence, while it would be unlawful to secure a peaceful national election at the same time and place against the same violence. Besides all this, there are many important statutes relating to extradition, to crimes against the election laws, to quarantine regulations, to neutrality, to Indian reservations, to civil rights, etc., all of which the bill repeals by implication. These objections appear to be unanswerable, and are made all the stronger by Mr. Hayes's again professing his entire readiness to sign a properly drawn bill to prevent interference with elections.

It is difficult to make out from the press despatches what will be the consequences of this second veto. The Republican papers say that "the people" approve the veto, and the Democratic papers declare that the people approve the bill; so that there ought to be a good deal of popular rejoicing over the present condition of affairs. Moreover, it should be observed—and it is singular that this point has escaped attention throughout—that there is a substantial unanimity of all parties on the subject of the use of troops at the polls. The President is perfectly ready to sign any measure which the Democrats may pass to accomplish this end; so that if the Democrats make a few more experiments they are nearly certain in the end to succeed. The simplest way would seem to be to submit a draught of a bill in advance to the President, or have Mr. Evarts "compare views" with the committee having the matter in charge. This is what is always done with appropriation bills, and by adopting the same plan in this case a great deal of time might be saved. It is only fair to say, however, that, according to the *Times*, the situation is regarded by the Democrats as so serious that "even the most far-sighted and sagacious leaders are unwilling to advise as to what action should be taken."

On Wednesday week the Senate, by a vote of 26 to 17, ordered an investigation into Kellogg's title to his seat, and by the same resolution permitted his contestant's election to be also enquired into. On Friday Mr. Edmunds delivered a long and notable speech on the Military Interference Bill, which was very closely followed in its line of argument by the message accompanying the President's veto. He took what we believe to be impregnable ground as to the right of the Government, at all times and in all places, election days and the neighborhood of the polls not excepted, to execute the laws with all the force that may be requisite, and to preserve the peace. "The peace of the United States" he very happily defined as "that order and tranquillity which is found in the due execution of its laws without forcible and violent obstruction." The bill none the less passed by yeas 33, nays 23, and so went to the President. On Saturday, the Legislative Appropriation Bill being under discussion, Mr. Hill replied effectively to Mr. Conkling's recent statistics about the contributions of North and South respectively to the Government revenues. The House has been discussing the Warner Silver Bill, a measure fraught with infinite mischief but little likely to become a law; on Thursday it killed an eight-hour bill, laying it finally on the table by a large majority; on Monday refused to suspend the rules to pass an income-tax bill, by yeas 108, nays 94, and only refused to pass an Army Appropriation Bill pure and simple by eight majority, all but one of the Greenbackers voting with the Republicans. The veto of the Military Interference Bill was sustained on Tuesday.

There appears to be continued confusion in the minds of some Republican papers about the late attempt at "revolution" in Washington. The *Evening Post* maintains that although it may be true that the Democrats did not contemplate an armed revolution, they did contemplate "a peaceful revolution," which also was dangerous. We must point out to this esteemed contemporary that a "peaceful revolution" is never dangerous, because no such thing can happen or ever has happened in a free country without the consent of the great majority of the people. In fact, the United States Constitution itself provides for "peaceful revolution" by amendment. In this way the President might not only be stripped of his veto but confined to the duty of copying papers. The horrors of a "peaceful revolution" are, therefore, the figments of the esteemed contemporary's own imagination.

The Boston *Journal* in like manner asks us what does all the late legislation and attempts at legislation of the Democrats mean if "not to deprive the Federal Government of its authority and supremacy"? They mean undoubtedly the practice of a theory of the relations of the Federal to the State Government known as the State-rights theory. But these attempts are part of the usual working of party government. They are to be witnessed to-day in England, France, Italy, and Germany. They are doubtless mischievous, but they are not necessarily revolutionary. They are to be met not in arms but on the stump and in the newspapers, and if the people do not like them they will punish their authors at the polls next election; just as in 1874 they punished the Republicans for carpet-baggery and whiskey-thievery. The humor of the situation lies in the fact that the esteemed contemporaries and the thundering Stalwart orators secretly agree with us in all this. At Washington the Stalwarts may be seen any day laughing and joking with the revolutionary "brigadiers," and those of them who have any money privately invest it, as do the esteemed contemporaries, on the shameless hypothesis that their own talk about "revolution" is all gammon, and that the future of the country is unclouded. They expect confidently to knock the Democratic theories on the head at the next election.

The Grant movement during the past week has shown signs of waning, and the anti-Grant Republicans have cheered themselves with the prospect of a "Sherman boom" in Ohio. The supporters of Grant, however, deride this, saying that it is not a big enough "boom" for the Presidency, but will do only for a governorship, or at most a seat in the Senate. It is not at all reassuring to know, as appears from an interview with Mr. G. W. Childs, of Philadelphia, published within a few days, that the subject of another Presidential

term is never discussed or considered by General Grant, even in his intercourse with his most intimate friends. He has occasionally been heard to declare that he is glad to be rid of the cares of office, and that he cannot conceive of any circumstances which would ever induce him to accept office again, and when he left Washington in 1876 he was, it seems, "as gay as a boy" who had escaped from school. If, however, the people should come to the conclusion that "they really need him" he would not be at liberty to refuse a call to the White House, and the good Mr. Childs is pained to hear that there are Republicans who, under such circumstances, could not feel it to be their duty to support him. This sounds altogether too much like Tilden. The aversion of all our great men to office, increasing as it does with the chances of nomination, is one of the most mysterious traits of their character.

The Stalwart Republicans will have it that the pangs they have been experiencing during the last two years are caused by the Hayes lemonade having disagreed with them. A writer in the Philadelphia *Evening Telegraph*, signing himself "J. W. F.," and whose figures we have already quoted, erroneously supposing him to be Colonel Forney, keeps, however, showing them in the most remorseless way, by mathematical demonstration, that it is the old Grant whiskey which has disordered their system, and that it will be little short of madness for them to take another pull at the bottle by way of relieving themselves. In a recent letter he shows that from 1872 to 1874 the Grant régime kept handing Republican States over to the Democrats or cutting down Republican majorities with the most deadly efficiency. In 1872, for instance, the Republican majority in Massachusetts was over 74,000; in 1874 the Democrats carried the State by 7,032 majority. In New York the Republican majority in 1872 was over 51,000; in 1874 the Democratic majority was over 50,000. In Pennsylvania Hartranft was elected in 1872 by over 34,000 majority; in 1874 the Democrats elected the lieutenant-governor by 4,679 majority. In Ohio the Republicans carried the State in 1872 by over 34,000 majority; in 1874 the Democrats carried it by 17,202 majority. In Illinois the Republicans carried the State in 1872 by 53,420; in 1874 the Democrats carried it by 30,506. Like results were reached in all the other States North and South in spite of "the steady hand at the helm." So much for the effects of whiskey.

Now let us see what the lemonade has done. In the first place, as "J. W. F." points out, the first two years of Mr. Hayes's administration have passed without a single scandal. No breath of suspicion has overtaken the President or any of his advisers or friends. The result is that the Democratic force in the House from the Northern States fell in the elections of 1878 from 97 to 50, and the Republican rose from 90 to 125. In other words, the Democrats lost nearly 50 per cent. and the Republicans gained nearly 40 per cent. Now, this seems to show pretty clearly that the people of the North do not like "a steady hand at the helm," and we trust will bring home clearly to all Stalwarts, who are not gone clean daft, that what they need is more cooling drinks and an absolute abandonment of the black bottle. "J. W. F." complains that he cannot get them to read his figures, but we advise him nevertheless to ply them with them vigorously. They will bless him yet for his kindly pertinacity when they get over their debauch.

The adoption of the California Constitution has brought the people of that State face to face with some very serious questions, and, as might have been predicted, the vote has produced a feeling in all the centres of population little short of dismay. The majority seems to have come from the agricultural portions of the State, the farmers being misled partly by the Granger features of the constitution and partly by the provisions with regard to the taxation of mortgages. The plan of taxing only the difference between the assessed value of the property and the amount of the mortgage is one eminently calculated to catch the popular fancy, and is abstractly more just than the barbarous method pursued in many of the Eastern States of taxing the land at its full value and the mortgage in addition. Of course the provision is not likely to produce the effects its framers intended, inasmuch as the mortgagee will exact in the shape of increased interest whatever he is likely to become liable for in the way of taxes. A more serious evil appears to be the complete change introduced in the taxation of corporations. The San Francisco *Price Current* has published a list of banks in that city whose taxable property under the new constitution will by its operation be at once increased from six to *seventy-two* millions. The railroads will be handed over to a commission of three, which will have almost despotic powers. Under the pressure of the present popular excitement a good commission may be elected, in which case the day of reckoning will be postponed. The election of a good judiciary also would go far to make the new system endurable, as good judges would no doubt, by a liberal and rational system of interpretation, deprive the instrument of some of its terrors. But to obviate the danger of this the reformers have, by Article VI., Sec. 10, made judges of the Superior Courts removable at the pleasure of the Legislature, by a two-thirds vote, on a summary process wholly unlike that of impeachment.

A National Colored Conference, gathered from all parts of the South, has been in session during the week at Nashville, where the hall of the House of Representatives at the State capitol was opened to it. It had been called before the recent migration, for a general presentation of the condition of the race at the South, but the new movement was the absorbing topic and greatly divided the conference. The presiding officer, Mr. J. R. Lynch, formerly a member of Congress from Mississippi, where he was emancipated by the war, and a man of force and character, deprecated leaving the South unless for the best of reasons, and this sentiment carried the day when the address came to be reported from Committee by ex-Governor Pinchback, of Louisiana. Still, it was declared that "the disposition to leave the communities in which they feel insecure is an evidence of a healthy growth in manly independence, and should receive the commendation and support of all philanthropists"; and the National Emigration Aid Society at Washington was "heartily endorsed." The Vicksburg treaty was regarded favorably as a mode of settlement between blacks and whites, but ex-Congressman Rainey insisted that white promises could no longer be trusted, having been so often broken; and Pinchback's prediction that Grant would be renominated was received with great enthusiasm.

We estimated the majority for Mr. Talmage's acquittal too high last week. Twenty-four of the Presbytery voted for his acquittal and twenty for conviction on some or all of the charges. The laymen, curiously enough, stood nine to three for conviction, so that the main body of his defenders and apologists were found among the ministers. The excuses for his conduct put forward in the judgments rendered were absolutely worthless, and in many cases very disgraceful, showing apparently that the inferences drawn of late as to the general morality of the churches from the misconduct of prominent members have not been by any means unwarranted. Falsehood of various degrees was covered by members of the court by references to Talmage's usefulness in saving souls and arousing religious interest. The lachrymoseness of the court, too, considering that the members of it are Presbyterians of the Scotch branch, usually considered hitherto an austere and stern sect, was very singular. The witnesses, counsel, judges, and accused all wept with more or less copiousness, and the tears often came into their eyes when they merely looked at each other. Nothing has occurred for a long time so likely to bring discredit on religion as the whole proceeding. In the Beecher case there was some dispute about the facts; but here the facts were substantially admitted. Talmage made an insolent and contemptuous speech to the court, in the style of a "Bowery boy," before leaving. We are glad to hear that the case is going up to the Synod. No church can afford to let such a judgment as this stand. It shows what inroads the Catholic dread of scandal, and readiness to swallow doubtful things to avoid

scandal, has made on Protestant morality. Some of the casuistry of the defence was worthy of the Jesuit fathers in their worst days.

An article was published in the *Nation*, on the 18th of December, 1873, consisting in the main of a résumé of a pamphlet published by Mr. T. S. Paffard, one of the English stockholders of the Emma Mining Company, in which Mr. Silas Williams, the superintendent of the mine at the time of the sale, was accused of having "occupied himself in plastering and engrafting silver ore on to the limestone rock." Mr. Williams fully denied this charge at the time, but we considered ourselves unable, with the knowledge then at our command, to treat his denial as conclusive, or make him reparation in the terms he desired. He accordingly soon after commenced an action for libel, which has ever since been pending. In the interval, the sale of the Emma Mine has been made the subject of judicial investigation in another suit, and an examination of the evidence therein taken, as well as of that taken by ourselves, has satisfied us that the charges made against Mr. Williams in the article in question had no foundation in fact. We, of course, regret very much that he should have lain under them so long; and we may add that we have not, in the course of extensive enquiry, met with any imputation whatever on his honor or integrity.

There were no extraordinary changes during the week in the trade or financial markets. In London money was 1 to 1¼ per cent. and in New York the quotation was 2 to 3 per cent. Further progress was made in marketing the U. S. 4 per cent. bonds, and it is said on authority that of the $160,000,000 of these bonds taken by the Bank of Commerce and the First National Bank Syndicate in April less than $70,000,000 remain unsold, or only about $20,000,000 more than the amount of called bonds held by the Treasury to secure National bank-note circulation, which called bonds must be replaced by the banks before July 1. Notwithstanding the large sales the price of these bonds has advanced to 102⅝. The foreign demand for them is not large enough to offset the return of called 5-20s and 10-40s, and the result is that sterling bills have been in better demand and rates have advanced to near the gold-exporting point. The market for silver bullion in London was rather firmer and the price advanced to 50¼*d.* per oz.; the bullion value of the 412½-grain dollar here advanced to $0.8469. General trade throughout the country is fairly good, and, although the season is backward, fully average crops of cereals are looked for in the Western States. Much comfort has been taken from the reports of the bad outlook for English crops.

The French Cabinet has been reported during the week to be divided over the question of returning to Paris, as well as over the Ferry educational measures; but it is now declared that the differences were not serious and have been settled, owing to the personal influence of President Grévy. The difficulty about the return of the Assembly is not so trifling as it seems. The only buildings in which it could sit in Paris are surrounded by great open spaces, in which it is the custom of the people to assemble in vast masses in times of political excitement, and the crowd is apt to become so great by the time attention is called to it that its dispersal without opening on it with artillery becomes impossible. Troops can make no impression on it, and, indeed, are apt to be swept away by it, and if it is let alone "an invasion" of the chambers is almost sure to follow, and invasion means revolution. For these reasons a great many good Republicans, even, are not willing to go back to Paris, and a good many more, if willing to go back, are not willing to leave the management of the city police in the hands of the Common Council. The Government appears to hold firm about Blanqui, with whom the correspondent of the London *Times* has had a curious interview in his prison at Clairvaux, and obtained from him a slight sketch of his opinions. He said "he had no theory, and was not a professor of politics or Socialism; he was a man of action." "What exists is bad; something else must take its place, and gradually things will become what they ought to be." He would "unchristianize France," tax capital heavily, and abolish armies; but this was as near a distinct programme as he could come.

Yakub Khan has come into Gundamuck to negotiate with Major Cavagnari, but there is no truth, it is announced, in the story that he had conceded everything. On the contrary, nothing is settled. If he concedes everything he will undoubtedly need assistance to keep on the throne, and this is what he neither likes to ask for nor the Indian Government to give. From South Africa there is no further news. Lord Chelmsford is making preparations for "a general advance," as Cetewayo shows no signs of yielding; but following him into his fastnesses will be no light matter, owing to the enormous difficulties of transportation, and the difficulty of meeting the Zulu tactics on open ground. In the meantime the Cabinet hangs on and refuses to dissolve Parliament, although the sixth year of its existence has been reached, because it says it would never do to let the enemies of England suppose there was any danger of a change of policy when so many important operations and negotiations are on foot. The Opposition, on the other hand, is equally confident that the real obstacle to dissolution is the fear of meeting the constituencies in their present state of mind, and the hope that by waiting another year something will turn up. In the meantime the Ministry has been helped somewhat by another injudicious Liberal attack in the shape of a resolution by Mr. Rylands, which both Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington condemned, accusing the Government of unconstitutional conduct in withdrawing important matters from the control of Parliament and carrying them out under the Queen's name. In fact, the motion seemed to strike directly at the Queen, and roused a great deal of opposition therefore on both sides of the House.

The affair has derived most of its importance from a growing feeling of sensitiveness about the alleged interference of what is called the "Court set" or "Court circle" in politics. This set, which consists of all the Royal family and their friends, attendants, and followers, has been growing very large of late years, owing to the number of the Queen's children who have reached maturity and set up establishments of their own. Since George the Third's family grew up the Court has, in fact, never formed so important an element in English society, and it is hard for a circle so composed to be thoroughly discreet. A curious illustration of the touchiness which it is creating has been furnished by a savage letter of Sir Robert Peel to *Vanity Fair*, in reply to an announcement made in that paper that, owing to some unpleasant allusions of his in the House to George the Fourth, none of the Princes would take any further notice of him. This was untrue, as the Prince of Wales took occasion to say, but on the supposition that it was true Sir Robert wrote a letter, which *Vanity Fair* published, expressing in very strong language the contempt he felt for the Court and courtiers. The incident has caused a deep sensation all over England, a man of the upper class who declares himself indifferent to Court favor or recognition being looked upon as a desperate or slightly deranged person.

John Henry Newman has at last formally received the cardinal's hat, the Pope in bestowing it expressing in strong terms his sense of the service he was rendering to the Church, to society, and to the College. The fact is that Newman is not only perhaps the most distinguished Englishman of his time—that is, the Englishman whom all other Englishmen most delight to honor—but the most serviceable Catholic the Church has had to show within the present century. That he should have been forty years in her ranks without receiving any signal mark of favor is a curious illustration of the nature of the Papal régime since 1848. No one has done so much to make Catholicism attractive, and no one, we might add, of modern theologians has done so much to make faith and devotion respected by the sceptical. Not the least powerful of the instruments by which he has charmed two generations of his countrymen is his English style, which in simplicity, purity, clearness, and grace may fairly be called matchless.

WHY ARE REPUBLICANS HOPEFUL?

THAT the prospects of the Republican party have greatly improved during the past two years is a fact so patent to every close observer of the political situation as to need no formal proof. It may be questioned, however, whether many of us now realize how seemingly hopeless the situation of the party was when President Hayes assumed the reins of government. For ten years it had given its countenance and support to a reign of fraud and corruption in the Southern States such as can hardly be paralleled in any enlightened country during the present century, even using the military to keep in power the very men who were politically associated with that fraud and corruption. So intense had the public feeling even of the North against the Grant policy become, that when Governor Hampton visited this State in 1877 he was greeted as a public benefactor by great numbers of men who never had the slightest sympathy with the Democratic party. Had President Hayes not abstained from military interference in South Carolina and Louisiana, the fate of his party would have been doubtful in most of the Northern States. The worst of the matter was that the party could do nothing to help itself, since it was itself the doer of the very mischief which now had to be undone. The accession of its candidate to the Presidency was accomplished under circumstances which only added to its demoralization. How cogent soever the arguments by which we may persuade ourselves that the action of the returning boards was entirely legal, they are emasculated by the fact that the agents were the political associates of the men who had made carpet-bag government a by-word of reproach, and belonged to a class whom every well-informed person knew to be ready to commit any fraud to keep themselves in power. The cry of fraud needed no evidence to enforce it, for the simple reason that all non-partisan men were ready to believe, or at least to suspect, it without any other evidence than the reputation of the actors.

Suppose, now, that the Democratic leaders had secretly determined that the Republicans must be kept in power, and had placed this problem before themselves: How shall we arrange our policy in such a way that while outwardly showing, on all occasions, the greatest zeal on behalf of our party, everything we do shall practically tend to Democratic defeat and to Republican success? Would their course have been in any way different from what it has been? To answer this question let us see how, as sagacious and far-seeing men, they would have reasoned on the subject if they had determined on being relieved from the responsibility of power. The most comprehensive view they would have taken of the situation would have been about this:

"It is evident," they would say, "that our policy cannot be one of inactivity, because, unless we take active measures to prevent it, the election of a Democratic President in 1880 is inevitable. Should we carry only as many Northern States as in 1876, our candidate will be elected. But the whole tendency of things is to tempt recruits from the Republicans into our ranks. These recruits are of three classes, each of which must be warned away from us by such a course on our part as shall best conduce to that end.

"There are, first, the reformers who are disgusted with the corruption of the Grant régime, and believe the experiment of reform within the party to be a failure, and who are ready to vote for a change merely to punish the corruptionists of their own party, if they are only allowed to believe that we will not make things positively worse. Then, there are plenty of pure and simple-minded Republicans who believe that Tilden was honestly elected, and who are ready to stay away from the polls, or even to vote for our candidate next time, just to secure fair play. There are also large numbers of country people who think it is time we had a change, and who cannot be induced to vote for keeping a party in power more than twenty years without some cogent reason.

"This last class is the one it will be most difficult to keep away, because its members have no very definite ideas of public policy, and therefore look upon the work of government as little more than a matter of routine. The other classes may make up their minds that the cause of reform will be best promoted by keeping the existing party in power, and that the members of the Returning Board were not so bad as they were supposed to be. But the last class cannot be reached by Republican arguments at all, because their conclusion is founded not on reasoning but on an instinctive sense of fairness. The whole class of conservative men, who take little interest in the conflict of party, can be reached only through the sense of fear. We must, therefore, adopt such a course that their minds shall be filled with a vague apprehension that something very serious may happen if we are allowed complete control of both the legislative and executive departments of the Government. It is not necessary that this apprehension should assume a well-defined form, or that we should convince them that we are going to pursue some particularly reckless policy, because it is not necessary that the exact nature of an object should be known in order that it may excite apprehensions. An indefinite dread of an unknown and ill-defined object is more difficult to appease than that of a well-known and clearly-perceived object. The excitation of such fears is very easy, because not having been in uncontrolled power since a majority of our party attempted to overthrow the Union, it is very easy to persuade timid people that we are ready to do something very reckless as soon as we have an opportunity. We must, therefore, do all we can to keep the public mind in a state of ferment, and supply the Republican managers with materials for deluding people into the belief that we are all ready to do some dreadful thing without letting them know exactly what that thing is."

We may readily imagine the proceedings of the Potter Committee and the contest over the Army Bill to have been organized with this sole end. It cannot for a moment be maintained that the result of either of these acts conduced in any manner to the success of the party which demanded them. Everybody had fully made up his mind that the politics of Louisiana were a mass of corruption which it was beyond the power of any investigating tribunal to fathom, and the most that the committee did was to show this belief well founded. Nor can it reasonably be supposed that a single electoral vote will be gained for the Democrats by requiring the 500 soldiers who are scattered in the military posts of the Southern sea-board to keep away from the polls. But the Potter Committee did succeed in making great numbers of excellent people fear that they meant to oust Mr. Hayes from the Presidential chair, this fear being founded not so much on the simple organization of the Committee as on the extraordinary manner in which the investigation was ordered after nearly every leading Democrat had declared himself opposed to any such investigation. This made it comparatively easy to maintain that the whole party was completely under the influence of unknown and possibly reckless leaders, who would be guilty of no one knows what excesses should they once acquire power. The most instructive illustration of the liberal way in which the Democratic Congress has supplied its opponents with ammunition is afforded by the curious reasons quoted in our last number why Grant is supported for re-election by the Republicans of Indiana. Those who will only support him on certain contingencies define those contingencies in such terms as "the country is unsettled," "the rebels keep stirring things up," "those fellows are getting to be obstreperous," "we are going to have another war," etc. The scores of reasons given by those who support him unconditionally are all founded on the idea that the past and present Congress have been trying to do things inimical to the public tranquillity. Now, however ill-founded this idea may be, it can hardly be denied that it derives its vitality largely from the political excitement which the Democrats in Congress have stirred up, first on one question and then on another. When men labor under the apprehensions that a party may possibly do something inimical, all excitement and activity on the part of such a party necessarily tends to strengthen the impression.

The Democrats had a great deal to expect from the temporary or permanent accession of reformers to their ranks. Suppose that, in pursuance of the idea we have been following out, they had de-

termined to let slip no opportunity of showing that they entertained an entire contempt for reform, would their course have been in any manner different from that which they have actually pursued? Let us take, for instance, the recent Democratic action in rescinding the rule which requires the assent of the Vice-President to the removal of certain of the minor employees of the Senate. We here make no reference to the removal of the Secretary and Sergeant-at-Arms, at least one of whom held his office as a political worker for the other party, but to those whose offices had no political significance whatever. If the Senate majority had been awaiting such an opportunity as we have supposed, a better one could not have been found. We do not for a moment assert that no good reason could be assigned for the action referred to, or that this action was prompted with the intention of making wholesale or improper removals. But, granting that it was not intended to make a single removal, the case becomes all the stronger in favor of our supposed theory that the sole object of the measure was to disseminate the belief that the Democrats were determined to make more use of the public service as a political engine than the Republicans had ever done. The case is not dissimilar to that of a New York candidate for office, strongly suspected of burglarious instincts, choosing the night before the election to cut a hole in the party-wall between his own dwelling and the money-vault of his next-door neighbor. He may prove his act perfectly innocent, and yet find it admirably adapted to secure his defeat.

The party which is to profit by the moral effect of suspected fraud on the part of its competitor must be scrupulously careful not only to keep its own skirts clean, but to show the public by its actions that it is incapable of the act with which it charges others. The decisions of the contested election cases which came before the last Congress have been such as to neutralize all the moral advantage the Democrats might have enjoyed, while the tissue ballots of the late elections may be left to speak for themselves. Again, the repeal of the election laws can hardly be pressed on the ground that these laws are productive of crying evil, yet the agitation of the subject under the circumstances is well adapted to excite among a million of voters the belief that the only object of the repeal is free fraud.

It is becoming more and more common among Republicans to admit that their chances of success depend more on the bad management of their opponents than on their own merits. It is undeniable that their prospects have improved greatly without their having done or being able to do any especially meritorious act, or proving in any way that they have especial fitness for governmental management. We commend to thinking Democrats, as an instructive subject for reflection, the question how far this change is due to themselves, and how far the Republican theory just cited is correct.

THE LAST ATTEMPT AT MUNICIPAL REFORM.

IF people had not such very short memories in politics the newspaper accounts of the present crisis in the city government would furnish them with very entertaining reading. Ever since the foreigners began to form a large element in the city population the Democrats have had the city majority on their side; the Irish and Germans both, for reasons not necessary to examine here, never having taken to the Republicans to any great extent. That the result has been atrociously bad government there is no denying. Even as early as 1857 the working of universal suffrage in the city had excited so much alarm that the Republican Legislature sought to counteract it by putting one department of the city government —the Police—in the hands of a commission appointed at Albany. From that time the theory of the Republicans has been that the root of the city troubles lay in the fact that the city patronage was in the hands of bad men, and that if they could be in some manner deprived of the appointing power, or forced to share it with good men (who were, of course, *ex vi termini* Republicans), all would be well, or as nearly well as the imperfections of human nature would permit. The plan of bringing about this result by means of annual alterations in the charter, and the appointment of commissions by the State government, was tried for a good while with varying success. As soon as the Democrats began to recover themselves in the State after the war, and the charter-tinkering began to be ludicrous, and a consequent reaction in public opinion in favor of municipal self-government set in, the plan of dividing the Democratic vote and making an alliance with the minority began to find favor, and received a great stimulus from the successful overthrow of the Ring by a combination of honest men of all parties.

The state of things on which this new plan was tried, and indeed the normal state of things in city politics, is this: the Democratic majority is ruled by a Boss, who is the chief man of the Tammany Society, holds one important office himself, and distributes the others among his most active political workers. As the number of offices is limited and that of the workers very large, one office is often made to satisfy two or three, by compelling the man who does the work to pay a percentage on his salary to one or two others, who simply loaf in the City Hall or new Court-house and converse with bystanders on "politics." For a while after a new Boss comes in all goes well, and "harmony" reigns in the ranks. But after a short period many workers who have "claims" discover that there is no chance of their being satisfied; that, in short, there are not "enough offices to go round," as the saying is, and that there is no chance of their getting anything without a "new deal." There then arises a great cry about the corruption and villany of Tammany Hall, in which the regular Republican press eagerly joins, and very soon reports are seen of combination meetings in which Republican workers confer with the Democratic malcontents as to the best mode of relieving the city of the tyranny of this abominable organization. By and by the municipal election draws nigh, and a plan of joint operations is agreed upon, based of course on an equitable division of the offices in case of success, and the "Reform Ticket" speedily makes its appearance. The task which then devolves on the Republican papers is one which must excite the pity of gods and men. The ticket has in the nature of the case to contain the names of several notorious rascals as candidates for important places, who differ from the Boss simply in being his inferior in dexterity, and have in the bottom of their hearts nothing against him except that he has not dealt "on the square" with them. These men have nevertheless to be in some manner presented as the friends of purer manners and better laws. The labors of the Republican editors in drawing their portraits as "reformers" are among the most amusing *tours de force* in modern literature. The election which follows is then made to bear the character of a popular "uprising" against the corrupt régime, and the result of success is treated as final. The blow is always one from which Tammany will never recover. The Boss's followers, having discovered his weakness, which they had never before suspected, are to desert him in great numbers; the good men, having discovered the secret of their strength, are thereafter to go promptly to the polls, and the Boss system will become a mere name and memory.

This description applies with almost literal accuracy to the uprising against Tammany last fall by which Mayor Cooper was elected. The New York *Times*, representing the Republican managers, assured the public that the downfall of Kelly was to mean "better government, purer politics, and a higher standard of public life." The new Mayor was to give tone and character to the city government "for half a dozen years." "An opportunity of ridding New York of the incubus of incapacity and corruption which was working its ruin," at last had presented itself. It added, with a burst of indignant eloquence: "The Republican who hesitates about voting for Edward Cooper, the candidate of the people, in preference to Augustus Schell, the candidate of John Kelly, because the election of the former might help the prospects of Samuel J. Tilden, while the election of the latter might hinder them, debases partisanship to the level where it winks at corruption and apologizes for fraud." There would be nothing worth quoting in this if it had been an unfamiliar sound; but the fact was, the city had heard it or something like it a dozen times in the previous

twenty years, and there was no more familiar sight in city politics than "partisanship" on "the level where it winks at corruption and apologizes for fraud." Indeed, few city residents had for many a long day found it doing anything but "wink" and "apologize" as aforesaid.

We need hardly add that the glowing anticipations in which our hopeful contemporary indulged and wanted its readers to share have not been realized. In fact, it has taken its place in the pulpit within a day or two to explain to the bewildered congregation that, owing to circumstances over which it had no control, the great uprising against the Boss has left things pretty much as they were before, and the cause of the failure it describes as follows:

"Sometimes the people become more than usually indignant with the men who abuse their trust and waste their money, and make such effort as they can to place some one at the head of affairs whom they think capable of getting a little more than fifty cents' worth of service out of every two dollars of taxation. His election is hailed as a triumph of reform, and the people, assuming that they have done their entire duty, calmly wait for results. But the new manager no sooner proceeds to set in order the various departments of public business which are slovenly or wastefully conducted than he finds that his hands are tied. He must consult with certain other elected agents of the people, whose concurrence is necessary to his new appointments; he cannot safely ignore the wishes of the nominal representatives of the political organizations to whom he owed his own nomination; and if he attempts to conduct the business entrusted to him without reference to the men who have the power to make laws for the State, he will be sharply reminded that the same authority from which he derives his powers can also take them away."

In other words, no matter how good Mr. Cooper's intentions may be, the system he has to work is such that he cannot carry them out. Finding, as he has found, that he has to make appointments for political reasons, he calls on the managers of the two parties to supply him with the reasons, and they are very simple. To all outward appearance, the Democrats suggest the men who will do most to promote the nomination of Mr. Samuel J. Tilden at the next Presidential Convention, and give him the vote of the State of New York afterwards; so that the solemn adjuration of the *Times* last year to the voters to disregard the rumors that Cooper's election would be "a Tilden move," has unhappily not been supported by the course of events. The city of New York, if well managed, may give the Democrats the State, and the State may give them the Presidency, and in view of this the merely municipal interests of course have an insignificant and paltry look.

There are, however, certain boards which are divided between the two parties, and some simple-minded people, perhaps, suppose that the Republican contribution to their composition does something towards that reign of "better government, purer politics, and higher standard of political life" which we were promised last fall from the downfall of Kelly. Nothing of the sort. Mr. Cooper leaves it to the Republican Committee of which Mr. Arthur, the late collector, is chairman, to nominate persons for the Republican vacancies, and they supply precisely the same sort of men as the Democrats, and with probably a similar end in view. That is to say, neither from one side nor from the other does there come the slightest sign of a desire to infuse a new spirit into the city government, or to bring men of more competency into the administration of its affairs. The city charities, for instance, including the care of the paupers, criminals, lunatics, and destitute sick, are a vast undertaking, making the highest demands not only on the morality of the community but on its skill in this field of benevolence. There are plenty of men and women among us more than willing to devote themselves to the work for its own sake, and to bring to bear on it the fruits of much experience and observation in this and other countries. But we believe we are within the mark when we say that the appointment of any such person on the Board of Charities and Correction would be treated by the managers on both sides as an absurdity. For that place the Republicans present, we believe, an obscure German butcher of considerable political ambition. The nominations for all the boards are made from the ranks of the working municipal politicians, of whose names few people outside political circles have ever heard, and who make no pretension to any special fitness or equipment for the places, and who will be relied on to get out of them all the electioneering advantage possible.

It is true, as the *Times* says, that the Mayor is not by any means wholly to blame for this state of things. He can defend his poorest nominations by saying that he must make nominations which the Board of Aldermen will confirm. But it can hardly be said that in confining himself to such nominations he is doing the work expected from a reform Mayor, elected by an "uprising." What the friends of "better government, purer politics, and higher standard of public life" have a right to expect from such a Mayor is an appeal to the better sentiment of the community through nominations of the very best sort, divested of partisan aims or associations, thus throwing on the Aldermen the responsibility of rejection, and making clear to the public what is meant by the separation of municipal government from politics. A mayor who did this faithfully, and kept at it until he had made the proper impression, would probably at last rouse the better class of voters, who live by other things than politics, to the need of a reform which would put the charter out of the reach of the Legislature and concentrate responsibility. As matters are now going, Mr. Cooper will probably leave office with the usual reputation of failure, and the old hurdy-gurdy of "reform" will be got out again next year to stir up the faithful to one more final and definitive overthrow of the corrupt politicians.

THE STRATFORD MEMORIAL AND THE ENGLISH STAGE.

LONDON, April 26, 1879.

ENGLAND cannot be said to have been very deeply interested in the memorial performances at Stratford-on-Avon, which have been going on during the past week. They did not rise above the level of a provincial and local celebration. A munificent family, whose energy and business qualities have earned for the town in which Shakspere was born and died a reputation for good ale which Shakspere would have been the last to despise, and an enterprising and energetic countrywoman of yours, have been the chief agents in the festivities of the past few days. Great credit is due to Miss Field and to Mr. Flower—the names have a country freshness in them which combines them well together, and suits the poet of Nature in whose honor they have been associated—for their intentions and for their exertion; but the most sacred spot of English earth has been rather profaned than honored by the well-meant revelries of the week. The place where Shakspere first saw light, where he breathed in those earliest impressions of nature and of life which form and color all the rest; the place to which he retired in his maturity, to brood over those treasures of observation and reflection which he had amassed in his intercourse with the world and with his own soul, is full of associations on which the noise and bustle of crowds jar. There Shakspere lived before he entered the great world. From that quiet shelter he looked out on it with the eagerness of youth. To that shelter he turned in his meditative age. It was his cradle and refuge. Thither he made his escape from the stage. To follow him there with a memorial theatre is not to honor the genius of the place, but to do it violence. The place, as Shakspere saw it, as it was when he moved about in its streets and among its people, is what men of English speech and blood in his own island or from beyond the seas desire to have before their eyes and in their thoughts. The ugly Memorial Theatre breaks the charm. It recalls not Shakspere and the Globe Play-house, but the Messrs. Flower and their brewery.

So many Americans visit Stratford-on-Avon that it is probably better known on your side of the water than on ours. It is best seen by solitary pilgrims, or in friendly groups. There are few old towns which have undergone so little change. Apart from the staring red brick abomination and innovation of the Memorial Theatre, it is to a very large extent such as it was when Shakspere looked upon it. The natural landmarks are of course there. The church, the grammar-school, the river, the old house of John Shakspere faithfully restored, in which Shakspere's infancy and boyhood were spent, the garden and the relics of New Place; in the neighborhood the hall of the Lucys and the cottage of Ann Hathaway, carry the visitor back over more than three centuries. Even the very faces of the people, some observers have fancied or perceived, recall the image of Shakspere. This may be to consider too curiously, but the thing is not impossible. In out-of-the-way nooks and corners of Eng-

land, where the population is stationary, from which there is some emigration, but into which there is no immigration, and in which a limited number of families marry and intermarry, a sort of local type of face and figure establishes itself. From some such causes as these the Shakspere head and bearing are recognizable, physiognomists contend, with more than ordinary frequency, and with a good deal more than accidental resemblance, in the streets and country roads and lanes of Stratford and its neighborhood. Comparison is easy with the bust in the church, the authenticity and resemblance of which rest on good grounds of probability and evidence. An eminent English sculptor has, I believe, expressed the opinion that the face was carved after a cast taken from the face of Shakspere himself after death. There is a drawn look about the lips and a pinched look about the nostrils which suggest this. The explanation for which technical reasons appreciable by experts are given is acceptable on other grounds It partially accounts for an expression in the face which one would willingly think was not that of Shakspere as he lived. There is a sort of supercilious look as of a too self-consciously prosperous citizen about it. It suggests a man who, having left Stratford a ne'er-do-well, has come back to be the great man of the place. You can suppose him condescendingly holding out a couple of fingers to some less fortunate acquaintance with a few words of patronizing recognition. The attitude of the figure, which, with pen in hand, seems to be writing an autograph, or, if the anachronism be allowed to the imaginative beholder, a check, confirms this idea. There is an indescribable air of self-importance about the bust which is the more annoying from the fact that it fits in only too plausibly with the outline of Shakspere's external life. After seeing the bust it is desirable to read "The Tempest" or "As You Like It." There, at any rate, in spite of Miss Delia Bacon, you may feel sure that you have the real Shakspere. The church, John Shakspere's house, and Anne Hathaway's cottage are the true memorial. The two old ladies who act as the custodians of the cottage in which Shakspere was born ought not to be forgotten. Their explanation of their real position in life, and of the altered circumstances which have led them to take the office they now discharge, with their allusions to their cousin, the former Vicar of Stratford, would have commended them to the chronicler of Dogberry's losses and his two gowns. They are performers much more interesting than any of those very meritorious ladies and gentlemen who have lately been displaying their zeal for Shakspere in the Memorial Theatre.

The fact that it was necessary to revive Miss Helen Faucit for the performance of *Beatrice* in "Much Ado About Nothing," and to associate Mr. Barry Sullivan with her as *Benedick*, is a proof of the low point to which the poetic drama has declined in England. Miss Faucit would have been an admirable if a somewhat mature *Beatrice* five-and-twenty years ago. Mr. Barry Sullivan, who has been the *Hamlet* as well as the *Benedick* of the Stratford Memorial performances, is, I believe, known to you in America. Here he splits the ears of the groundlings in country theatres, visiting London at long intervals and for short periods. The Memorial Theatre at Stratford was absurdly intended as a school of acting ; a school in a place to which it would be impossible to attract either teachers or pupils, and in which it would be difficult to get an audience, is an idea which could have occurred only to a practical people like the English. The Memorial Theatre at Stratford is simply a cenotaph. The spirit of Shakspere is as little there as his body. Formerly there used to be schools of acting in the provinces. The York and Bath circuits, and more lately the theatres in some large towns, such as Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, and Dublin, performed this office for the London stage ; but all that has ceased now. Mr. Macready in the two great theatres of Covent Garden and Drury Lane, Mr. Phelps at Sadler's Wells, and Mr. Charles Kean in the Princess's, had under them thoroughly trained and disciplined companies. The acting was often based on absurd conventions and traditions, but the performers had an intention in all they did, and understood the ends at which they aimed, and the means for realizing those ends. The contrasts, however, between the schools and nature were often extreme, and the reaction from the unreal conventions of the serious stage produced the era of burlesque and extravaganza on the one side, and of what has been called the blue-china or teacup-and-saucer school on the other. The former caricatured the prevalent absurdities of the legitimate style of acting ; the latter strove in its own fashion to reverse them. Instead of creatures unlike any human beings who had anywhere or ever existed, or who could anywhere or ever exist, an attempt was made to represent people of the day literally in their habits as they lived, both those furnished by Poole and Worth, and those moral dispositions in which men and women are clothed as in a garment. An imitation of manners as close and as clever as that which you get in the sketches of Leech was often the result. In default of the ability to study and portray character, it was something to be able to study and exhibit clothes and deportment, and to delineate the mannerisms of the age. The dramas of the late Mr. Tom Robertson and his imitators were, in their rather poor way, a return to nature and life—such second nature, it is true, and such artificial life, as existed for him to paint, or as he could penetrate to and they could recognize, in the class of and for whom he wrote. That there was a deeper nature and a truer life even in them than he exhibited or than they knew may be admitted, but he was not the prophet to penetrate to these hidden sources of life, or to reveal men to themselves. Nevertheless, within the limits of his powers and opportunities he made a return to faithful perception and accurate delineation. In the companies of the Prince of Wales's Theatre, and more recently of the Court Theatre, he and his school have had almost perfect interpreters. The acting of modern manners, and of such emotions as the conventional restraints of society allow men and women to display, could not be more finished or delicate than it is in the personations of the two Bancrofts, the two Kendalls, and Mr. Hare. This return to the nature of prosaic and conventional life has prepared the way for a return to the higher nature of poetry and of those elemental passions with which the poetic drama, and especially that of Shakspere, deal. Of this Mr. Henry Irving is the chief interpreter, and, except as he impresses his spirit and aims upon his colleagues, the only one upon the English stage. Of course the nature of *Hamlet* and *Richard* is not the nature of the man in the streets, the drawing-rooms, and the clubs—the actor of ideal character and poetic passion cannot have the conventional naturalness of the actor of modern manners. Often he shelters himself from it in a conventional unnaturalness which is painful. Mr. Irving cannot always be acquitted of this fault ; but, through his mannerisms of accent, of gesture, and deportment—some of them strange to the verge of whimsicality—an original and poetic mind appears. This is the source of his great power over his audiences—a power which many of his critics are unable to understand. They have derived their canons of acting from a school which, with the mutations of fashion, is passing away. When a performer arises who breaks loose from them they follow him with hue and cry. The prosaic naturalness of Miss Ellen Terry, who justly shares Mr. Irving's successes at the Lyceum, is within the range of most critics' ken. Her graceful and touching performances, just because they lack the nimble air and pure fire of poetic genius, suit the prosaic school in which modern theatrical criticism in England has been trained. No acting can be better which lacks wings and never rises from the ground.

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THE ELECTION OF BLANQUI.

PARIS, April 25, 1879.

THE Blanqui question is taking serious proportions. A little more than three weeks ago the organs of the Left Centre side of the Ministry were unable to see a speck of any kind on the horizon. They predicted that, at the outside, five hundred of the most extreme Radicals of Bordeaux, which is by no means a "Red" city, would vote for the Clairvaux prisoner. M. Jules Ferry about that time, in giving to a journalist materials for a leading article in the *Temps*, rejoiced at the Blanqui candidature because he thought it would give the Waddington portion of the Cabinet an opportunity to win a brilliant victory.

"It is," he said, "the greatest piece of luck that has fallen in M. Waddington's way since he accepted the presidency of the Ministerial Council. Blanqui will, at the outside, poll five hundred. We have received from the Prefect of the Gironde the most positive assurances that this candidature will be an absurd failure, and when it turns out as we expect our hands will be considerably strengthened in the Chambers and everywhere else. Diplomacy affects not to trust in the solidity of the Waddington Ministry, and pays an amount of attention to Gambetta which is not flattering to the least advanced portion of the Government. The triumph of M. Lavertujon at Bordeaux will put an end to this situation. He has, in his journal, indirectly attacked Gambetta by sustaining with as much warmth as discretion the claims of M. Jules Simon to the Presidency of the Senate."

A few days subsequent to this communication the ballot-boxes were opened in the Department of the Gironde. When the bulletins were counted in the evening it was found that Blanqui had polled 3,700 votes. No candidate having obtained an absolute majority, there was, last Sunday, another trial of electoral strength, out of which the Blanquists emerged the victors. The news that the aged and captive revolutionist had behind him 7,000 Bordelais caused no small stir in political circles

here. Many earnest Republicans saw in the great majority in Blanqui's favor the hand of the Jesuits, who, they rushed to the conclusion, aimed at throwing over a Ministry which is for the greater part composed of Protestants. The clericals—so they reasoned—were particularly anxious to get rid of M. Jules Ferry, whose bill, even though mutilated in the Senate, would deprive them of the advantages secured to them by the legislation of the Versailles Assembly on public instruction. Feminine influence is a power in the world which is used with marvellous address by the disciples of Loyola. Now, Mme. Jules Ferry—an accomplished, beautiful, and high-souled young woman—belongs to the most liberal section of the Lutheran community, into which she has brought her husband from nominal Catholicism. M. Edmond About and M. Charles Chassin, who manfully under the Empire bore persecution for the sake of his political flag, took this view. The former publicist is a man of keen penetration and strong intellect, brightened up with the finest wit. But he sometimes—for he is of a warm temper—allows his anger to override his judgment. He proposed to the Government, as the best means of getting rid of the Blanqui difficulty, which took him by surprise, to direct the Prefect of the Gironde to treat as null the 7,000 votes, and to declare Lavertujon elected. There are three eminent jurists in the Cabinet—Leroyer, Lepère, and Cochery—who at once saw the impracticability of the course suggested by M. Edmond About. Unfortunately, his idea was taken up by M. Tirard, Minister of Public Instruction, who is on the staff of the *XIXe Siècle* and a jeweller by profession. By French law the Chamber alone has a right to decide who is or who is not eligible to sit in it. M. About's article had, therefore, no other effect than to give the Radical prints of an advanced dye occasion to cry out that a breach of privilege was meditated. These journals treated the defeat of Lavertujon as an affront offered to the Government by the third city of the Republic, and the least Red of any of the great towns. *La Marseillaise* jeered at M. Waddington and his Left Centre colleagues for bearing on their cheeks the marks of the slap given to them by Blanqui's seven thousand electors. That was what they got by not granting a full amnesty ; and they would meet with a worse humiliation if they did not at once kiss the rod and liberate the prisoner of Clairvaux. The organs of the different monarchical parties naturally rejoiced in the agitation arising from Blanqui's election, and gave prominence in their columns to the Radical onslaught on the Cabinet. *La Révolution Française*, which passes for being inspired by M. Ranc, considerably added to the turmoil by a leader headed, "La Question Grévy," in which it was shown that if the President did not without delay exercise the prerogative of mercy in Blanqui's favor he would fall along with his ministers. The head of the French Republic, it so happens, is extremely sensitive. Perhaps in Europe there is no more thin-skinned public man, unless Mr. Gladstone. M. Grévy has the pride of a Spaniard, and would prefer living in a miserable garret to remaining in a palace where daws are able to peck at him. It is, therefore, very possible that, if he is involved with his ministers in the "Question Blanqui," and shaken about in their frail bark, he may resign next May, when the Chamber validates, as I believe it will, the Bordeaux election.

On legal grounds it would be hard to do otherwise than admit Blanqui to the Legislature. Universal suffrage reigns in France, and its delegates govern. Ever since the Revolution of '48 its prerogative to wipe out political transgression has been admitted. The two articles of the electoral law of '49, in which this prerogative is formulated, were not cancelled by any subsequent legislation. The sovereign people can, therefore, elect Blanqui to represent them at Versailles, as they elected Henri Rochefort to represent them at the Palais Bourbon ten years ago. To render M. Ranc, who was the arch-wirepuller in the Bordeaux election, ineligible, care was taken by the De Broglie Government that he should be charged before the court-martial which tried him *par contumace* with being a party to the massacre of the hostages in the civil war by the Commune. He was accordingly found guilty of a common-law offence and sentenced to death. M. Leroyer, the actual Minister of Justice, in drawing up the Amnesty Bill took care to blot out effectually the judgment recorded against M. Ranc, which had no analogy beyond its injustice with the last sentence passed on Blanqui.

Bismarck called the Celtic races the women of the Caucasian stock, and France the lady of the family. His figure of speech is a correct one. This nation is capable of the heroism of a finely-organized woman. Its generosity is unreflecting ; moved by enthusiasm, it is capable of accomplishing very sublime or very foolish actions. In its every-day mood it is governed by the sober sense and practical shrewdness which we find in ladies who have children to bring up, and households to govern. Like them, it is also subject to fits of nervous irritability, and liable to be panic-stricken for a few moments, if a danger suddenly presents itself. Another feminine quality in the French nation is elasticity readily depressed or terrified ; it soon recovers pluck and good spirits, and makes light of obstacles which had appeared "lions in its path." We are at present suffering from irritated nerves, and from fears which no reality can justify. Blanqui in the Chamber will not be a public danger. It has been well observed that it is the safest place in which to keep him.

I am at a loss to think on what grounds the *Débats* persists in declaring the Government will not amnesty the elect of Bordeaux. The ministers are all in the provinces attending councils-general. No doubt some of them may be in communication, by post or telegraph, with the journal of the Rue des Prêtres, which is not in the habit of making rash assertions. If MM. Léon Say and Waddington correspond with M. John Lemoinne, and the *Débats* echoes what they tell it, a ministerial crisis is inevitable at the beginning of the session, Gambetta having declared for the validation of the Bordeaux election.

You may ask, in case M. Waddington decides to fall upon the Blanqui issue, who will take his place ? This question nobody, not even Gambetta himself, can answer. Gambetta is called upon by *La France* to prepare to assume the cares and responsibilities of office. His intimate friends, on the other hand, entreat him to remain at the Petit Bourbon. Personally he would be glad to stay there for many more sessions. It is a delectable haven, the quiet of which is grateful to him after the agitated life he led from the day on which he revealed himself a tribune in the Baudin affair to the accession of M. Grévy to the Presidency. If Gambetta were sure that the actual chief of the executive would remain in office to the end of the term of years for which he was elected he would not lend so willing an ear to those members of his *entourage* who say to him, "Do not as a minister use up your popularity ; reserve it for the next Presidential election." Owing to M. Grévy's extreme touchiness, his retirement is to be looked forward to. Why should he retire, it may be asked, since he admits the constitutional theory of ministers being responsible to the Chambers. Does he not consider himself the servant of Parliament, both houses of which elected him ? He does. But there are conditions under which he would deem it beneath his dignity to serve. He said not long ago :

"I far prefer going back to the Rue St. Arnaud to wearing at the Élysée the livery of M. Gambetta. I will never suffer him to come here to find fault with my Cabinet, and if the Chamber at his bidding overturns M. Waddington, I shall hold it unfaithful to its mandate, which was not to take orders from any one in particular, but serve the nation and the Republic according to the best of its ability."

Gambetta is well aware of the extreme sensitiveness of M. Grévy, whom he respects and appreciates according to his great merit, without liking him. He is careful not to let his hand be seen in the bureaux of those ministers who are attached to him, and count upon his assistance to come again to the top in the event of M. Waddington's retirement. For the present his policy is an expectant one. M. Ranc forced his hand in the Bordeaux election, and committed him to side with Blanqui's electors. An article written by that remarkable man in the *République Française*, and posted in the Gironde on last Sunday morning, helped to swell the majority which was for releasing the Clairvaux prisoner. Indeed, I think it may be safely alleged that were Ranc, whose influence on Gambetta is unbounded, still in exile, there would not be now an embarrassing "Question Blanqui."

The fall of the Cabinet will not interfere with the passing through the Chamber of M. Jules Ferry's bill on Public Instruction. I do not anticipate the passage through the Senate of this measure without some of its clauses being lopped off or profoundly modified ; but I look forward to the one on the conferring of degrees being carried. M. Paul Bert, the probable successor of M. Jules Ferry in the event of a Cabinet crisis in May, will bring with him a reforming spirit into the Ministry of Public Instruction. He is a bright light of science, in the prime of life, a man of open nature, warm sympathies, quick and solid intellect, and energetic will. Though a *savant* he is an *homme d'esprit*. His conversation is adorned with those light graces which disarm opposition and seduce adversaries. M. Spuller has been talked of as the coming Minister of Public Instruction. He would be an excellent grand master of the University, but not the man to carry reform into the schools and colleges of France and to defend the rights of the state against clerical reaction. The power of this reaction has been shown at the meetings of the councils-general which in the name of "parental authority" have attacked the Ferry bill.

C.

Notes.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. have in press 'The Great Living Men of Our Country,' a biographical dictionary; 'The French and Belgians,' from a domestic point of view, by Phœbe E. Gibbons; and 'Instructions in Rifle-Firing,' by Col. T. T. S. Laidley, Ordnance Department, U.S.A.——Houghton, Osgood & Co. will shortly publish 'Color-Blindness: its Dangers and Detection,' by Dr. B. Joy Jeffries. The author makes this announcement in a letter to the *Railroad Gazette* of May 9, discussing some recent English and American railway accidents attributable, if not attributed, to this defect. He remarks that among men color-blindness prevails in one out of twenty-five, "while it is a very rare occurrence among females." An English authority whom he cites refers to the fact that color-blindness may be acquired as "well known"; but this must be true of scientific circles only. — The stitched quarto, without paper covers, to which the Harpers have been driven rather than resorted, in their "Franklin Square Library," has just been adopted also by A. K. Loring, of Boston, who sends us in that form Florence Marryat's 'A Lucky Disappointment.' "Loring's *Hub* Library" is the symbolic title adopted.——Col. John G. James, Superintendent of the Texas Military Institute at Austin, will receive subscriptions for a semi-centenary edition of Mr. Paul H. Hayne's complete poetical works. It will be elegantly illustrated with portraits on steel and wood and original designs, and appropriately bound. The edition will include the contents of previous volumes from 1854 to 1875, and subsequent uncollected pieces. The profits of the work will go to the poet.——A selection from the fugitive poems of Caspar Butz, a "Forty-eighter," is announced to be published in handsome style by A. Uhlendorff & Co., Chicago.——A. S. Barnes & Co. publish immediately a 'Manual of International Law,' by Prof. Edward M. Gallaudet.——A. Williams & Co., Boston, have nearly ready a 'History of the Town of Hollis, N. H., from its first settlement to the year 1879,' by Samuel T. Worcester, brother of the lexicographer.——A biographical 'History of Medicine in New Jersey,' from the settlement of the Province to the year 1800, by Stephen Wickes, M.D., is in the press of Martin R. Dennis & Co., Newark.——The April *Bulletin* of the Boston Public Library contains for its principal feature a list of individual genealogies, both belonging to the Library and yet to be acquired. Bibliographical lists of works and articles on the Indian Question, and on Mountain Railways, are also given.——By the will of the late Mr. W. B. Howes, of Beverly, Mass., the Boston Athenæum has fallen heir to $150,000 for the use of the library. The largest gifts which the Athenæum has previously had were, in 1821, Mr. James Perkins's mansion-house, valued at $20,000; $25,000 from Mr. John Bromfield in 1846; and $20,000 from Mr. George Bemis, received in the present year. The new donation is apparently unrestricted, which greatly increases its value.——Mr. J. H. Emerton's fourth summer course in Zoölogy (Peabody Academy of Science, Salem, Mass.) will begin July 7 and continue four weeks. It is especially intended for teachers and students of High and Normal schools. The fee is $10, and for a fee of $5 non-attendants at this course will be admitted from June 1 to Sept. 1 to a sea-shore laboratory for the study of marine animals.——The Woodruff Scientific Expedition round the World has been again abandoned for want of support, and we hope this is the last we shall hear of this preposterous undertaking. The endorsement of it by prominent clergymen, and even by prominent scientists, who had not properly informed themselves in regard to it and its projector, happily failed to enlist the necessary complement of "students" and tourists. But the spectacle ought not to be repeated.——*Nature* for April 24 contains an engraved portrait of Agassiz, with the usual biographical sketch, in its "Science Worthies" series. It is to be regretted that the admirable artist has just failed to catch the likeness.——Recent English announcements which we find in the *Academy* are a 'History of India,' by Mr. Talboys Wheeler (Macmillan); 'Round the World in Six Months,' by Lieut.-Col. E. S. Bridges, and 'Holidays in Eastern France,' by M. Betham-Edwards (Hurst & Blackett); 'Life of Bishop Wilberforce,' by the Rev. A. R. Ashwell; a 'Life of Jonathan Swift'; a 'History of Ancient Geography,' by E. H. Bunbury; and 'The River of Golden Sand,' a narrative of a journey through China to Burmah, by Capt. W. Gill (Murray).——Mr. Christern has received the 'Atlas graphique et statistique du Commerce de la France avec les Pays étrangers' which was awarded a diploma at the Paris Exposition of 1878. It was officially prepared by M. Ferdinand Bonnange, and shows in graphic tables the movement of exports and imports, by country, of live stock, cereals, wine, sugar, textile fabrics, leather, coal, metals, machines, etc. Intelligent merchants ought to find their account in studying it, especially now that we seem to be on the eve of a reciprocity treaty with France. The respective series are sold separately as well as together.——"A Study of Mme. de Staël" is the title of a lecture to be delivered this evening at Association Hall, corner of Twenty-third Street and Fourth Avenue, by Mr. John Foster Kirk, the well-known historian and present editor of *Lippincott's Magazine*. The entrance of so careful a scholar and excellent a writer into the lecture-field deserves favorable public recognition.

—A monograph has been written on the Wisconsin tornadoes of May 23, 1878, by W. W. Daniells, Professor in the University of Wisconsin. There were, in fact, three simultaneous tornadoes, almost completing a single straight line of devastation, "extending nearly across Wisconsin, surpassing in extent and violence any storm before recorded in the history of the State." The loss of life seems indeed to have been very large, and was enhanced by the circumstance that a town, Mineral Point, lay in the path. But the author's superlative would seem more deliberate if he had given a few figures of comparison with the whirlwind at Menomonee which in its time was represented as almost miraculous. This tornado of 1878 was eminently normal; it accompanied an area of low pressure; its velocity was of twenty-five miles per hour, from west to east; its character was strictly cyclonic—*i.e.*, rotatory—"having its motion of revolution in a direction opposite to that of the sun, or from the east to the north, west, south, to the east again. This fact was very evident to one following its path even for a short distance." It was accompanied by thunder and lightning and by "hail as large as the fist."

—Three children's books which have lately come to hand are worth buying now as well as remembering in the special season of gifts. One is a translation of the great Niebuhr's "Greek Hero-Stories,' as told for the benefit of his little son, Marcus (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.) These deserve a place with Kingsley's and Hawthorne's narrations of the old myths, though we should not assign them the first rank in such a collection; the story of the Herakleidae, for example, is overweighted with genealogical details. The book is nicely printed in large type, and the translation, by Mr. Benjamin Hoppin, has been well executed. But purists will find fault with his mingling Latin names of gods and heroes with the ultra Greek forms of other proper names; and for the latter an English child needs some guide to the pronunciation, which Mr. Hoppin might well have provided. The allusions to Italian sites and scenes, due to the circumstances of composition, also merited explanation in each instance, and perhaps would have furnished more useful illustrations than those of Mr. Augustus Hoppin, which are not altogether satisfactory.——The Messrs. Rivington have published as one of their "English School-Classics" Southey's 'Life of Nelson.' The print is close and hardly to be called inviting, but the editing, by Mr. W. E. Mullins, is excellent, correcting and elucidating the original text with a single eye to historical truth.——From the same house, through E. P. Dutton & Co., we have received 'Selections from Hauff's Stories,' by W. E. Mullins and Francis Storr, designed as a first German reading-book for schools. The editors say rightly that "all that the reader will require outside this volume is the declension of adjectives and pronouns." The minuteness of the vocabulary, which is not alphabetical, but follows the order of the narrative, is exhaustive; and as if this were not enough, an index of words is added referring to the vocabulary, while two of the stories, "Little Mudj" and "The False Prince," are translated literally into good English, unless we except the Americanism, "made himself scarce," on p. 211 (for "machte sich einstweilen aus dem Staub"). The book can be most profitably used under a teacher.

—The Massachusetts Historical Society, the oldest in the United States, has brought out an elegant volume of nearly 600 pages, embodying a transcript of the Society's Proceedings from its foundation to 1835, with much additional matter. The Proceedings began to be published regularly in 1855, and a second volume will be needed to bridge the interval. The editors of the one before us, Messrs. Charles Deane and Charles C. Smith, have well discharged their duty, supplying abundant notes, inserting in their proper places papers referred to in the Proceedings as on file, and procuring thirty-nine biographical notices of deceased members never before prepared, and some of which, like Mr. Lodge's memoir of Caleb Strong, in length and importance attain the dignity of monographs. They have also been fortunate enough to secure authentic portraits of nine out of the ten founders of 1790–91, reproduced by the heliotype process, together with portraits of Presidents of the Socie-

ty, and of one or two other members. Finally, excellent fac-similes of prospectuses, newspaper headings, MS., etc., and views of the several homes of the Society, complete the illustrations which add so much to the interest and value of the record ; and a minute index, bristling with great names, by Mr. George Dexter, unlocks the whole treasure. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, the founder *par excellence*, is shown to have had a most comprehensive idea of what constitutes history, and his circular "list of articles on which the Society request information" would not discredit the most enlightened Census Superintendent of our times. Natural history had a prominent place in his scheme, and this of course involved a museum, which amassed a goodly number of Indian relics, geological and botanical specimens, and the like ; but most of these were eventually distributed among societies which the progress of subdivision in science had called into existence. We have no need to dwell on what the Society has achieved in its proper field.

—Mr. John T. Hassam's interesting paper on 'Ezekiel Cheever and Some of His Descendants' in the *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register* for April has been printed separately with some additions. The notices of his contemporaries show how fitly the subject of this biographical sketch is commemorated. "August 21st, this year [1708]," says Governor Hutchinson, "died Ezekiel Cheever, venerable not merely for his great age, 94, but for having been the schoolmaster of most of the principal gentlemen of Boston who were then upon the stage." His career is well described by Judge Sewall, in a few strokes : "He was born January 25, 1614. Came over to N. E. 1637, to Boston. To New Haven, 1638. Married in the Fall, & begun to teach School : which Work he was constant in till now. First, at New Haven ; then at Ipswich ; then at Charlestown ; then at Boston, whither he came 1670. So that he has Laboured in that Calling, Skillfully, diligently, constantly, Religiously, Seventy years. A rare Instance of Piety, Health, Strength, Serviceableness. The Wellfare of the Province was much upon his Spirit. He abominated Perriwiggs." This antipathy, which Sewall, by the way, fully shared, is also hinted at in Cotton Mather's "Essay on the Memory of my Venerable Master":

> "Cloath'd in the Good Old Way, his Garb did wage
> A War with the Vain Fashions of the Age."

In this artificial verse, here printed in full, there are not a few felicitous couplets, but the sermon also, of which Mr. Hassam gives extracts, is uncommonly pithy. "He that was my Master," says Dr. Mather, "Seven and Thirty Years ago, was a Master to many of my Betters, no less than Seventy Years ago ; so long ago, that I must even mention my Fathers Tutor for one of them." And again : "But I will say very much in a Little. Out of the School, he was One, *Antiqua Fide, priscis moribus ;* A Christian of the Old Fashion : An *Old New-English Christian :* And I may tell you, That was as Venerable a Sight, as the World, since the Days of Primitive Christianity, has ever look'd upon." The Cheever MS. in the Boston Athenæum contains a number of Latin and Greek poems which have heretofore been regarded as of his own composing. Mr. Hassam, who prints them for the first time in full in the appendix, points out that some are derived from Martial, and others from Petronius and Posidippus. The remainder still await identification, but a classical origin is possible in the case only of one or two.

—"The Snowball," as brought out at "Wallack's," has proved a substantial success, chiefly through the merits of the acting ; for the play has little to recommend it. It is a farce in three acts, turning upon the complications and embarrassments in which a husband is involved by the ingenuity of his wife. The whole play is made to turn upon the confusion as to a letter written by *Mr. Felix Featherstone* (Mr. C. F. Coghlan) to *Mrs. Featherstone* (Miss Coghlan) caused by the fact that it is turned over by the lady to her maid. The consequences of this little trick, as is always the case in a genuine farce, are very far-reaching. That it drives *Mr. Featherstone*, a hitherto happy husband, into a state of despair and wretchedness bordering on lunacy, in which, to extricate himself from his difficulties, he is ready to pledge himself to any nefarious scheme that may be suggested, and as ready to get out of the difficulties entailed by his dishonorable conduct by equally infamous breaches of faith ; that it opens to the maid a brief but brilliant career of domestic blackmail ; and that the trouble ends in an *éclaircissement*, and a reconciliation—all this is the faintest hint of a plot replete with surprises which, if they are improbable, are certainly laughable. The acting of Mr. and Miss Coghlan, of Mr. Gilbert as the sceptical and unprincipled uncle, and Miss Germon as the maid, is throughout excellent. "Delicate Ground," which precedes "The Snowball," is a play of a very different order. It is a genuine comedy, of a light character, the interest of which turns upon a not impossible human situation. With the French original from which this play is taken New York audiences may be said to be entirely unacquainted ; but it will always be known in England and America in the form in which it was immortalized by the genius of Mr. Charles Mathews. The play, though it deals with a French subject, is in reality, in its adapted form, much more English than French. The dialogue is bright and witty ; Miss Rogers as *Pauline*, Mr. E. M. Holland as *Alphonse*, and Mr. Coghlan as *Citizen Sangfroid*, all act with much cleverness. The characters are somewhat exaggerated, as might be expected in a play which is half a moral lesson in matrimony, and at times the exaggeration is a little oppressive. In most of the scenes, however, this is not the case. As a means of bringing out Mr. Coghlan's remarkable versatility we can hardly imagine two better chosen parts than *Felix Featherstone* and *Sangfroid*. They are at the opposite poles of comedy ; and *à priori* it would seem almost impossible for an actor to do both well. Mr. Coghlan not only does both well, but never for a moment, as is the case with so many comedians, confounds the two different worlds of farce and comedy to which they belong.

—Mr. Rummel's first piano-forte recital, which took place at Steinway Hall on Thursday afternoon, presented a long and intelligently-arranged programme, extending over the entire field of piano-forte music from Bach to Chopin. So much has been said on all sides in praise of Mr. Rummel's admirable qualities that we need only add that by his performance of this elaborate and difficult programme he fully maintained the high opinion which the public has formed of him. Mr. Rummel came to this country at the beginning of the season, entirely unknown and unheralded, as a member of a concert company among which he was the only artist worthy of the name, and which, fortunately, had but a very brief existence. But even when heard under these unfavorable circumstances he produced a great impression, so much so that Dr. Damrosch was induced to engage him for the third symphony concert, where he made a brilliant début with Grieg's delightful piano-forte concerto in A minor. After this first appearance under circumstances worthy of his rank, Mr. Rummel was assigned a place among the best piano-forte players that have been heard in this country, and his many excellent qualities—unusual fire and brilliancy, a marvellous technique and an astonishing memory—richly merit this distinction. His best efforts at last Thursday's recital were Bach's prelude and fugue in A minor and Handel's suite in E major, with the familiar air and variations known as "The Harmonious Blacksmith." He played these two numbers with an earnestness and dignity of manner, with a total absence of all attempts at sensational effects, that call for the highest praise. Beethoven's sonata in F minor, Op. 57, received an equally intelligent and artistic rendering as regards the first and last movement. The second movement, the andante con moto, was lacking in that poetical and delicate expression required by this wonderful composition. Mendelssohn's "Variations sérieuses" were played with great spirit, and Schumann's "Faschingschwank" (with the exception of some unwarranted liberties with the tempo) was likewise exceedingly well played. The concert terminated with four pieces by Chopin—Berceuse in D flat, Op. 57 ; Impromptu in A flat, Op. 29 ; Valse in D flat, Op. 64, and Polonaise in A, Op. 40. The Valse in D flat was played in so bewildering a tempo that its charm was almost lost ; but the great Polonaise was given with extraordinary fire and vigor.

—The last of the Wilhelmj chamber-music concerts was in every respect the best of the series, in fact the only one which realized the anticipations that were entertained of these concerts. Beethoven's string quartette in A minor, Op. 132, one of the immortal six that belong to the last epoch of the master's life, was the opening number. It was excellently rendered by Messrs. Wilhelmj, Damrosch, Schwarz, and Bergner, and the hearty applause which followed each of the five long movements, particularly the adagio "Thanksgiving of a convalescent, in the Lydian mode," showed how deep was the impression produced by this noble work on the crowded audience. Mendelssohn's quartette in A minor, and Bach's Chaconne for violin solo, by Mr. Wilhelmj, were the remaining instrumental numbers. Miss Drasdil was the vocalist of the evening, and delighted the audience by an excellent rendering of an old Italian air by Stradella and of Schubert's "Erl King."

—Since the emigration of Mr. Theodore Thomas to Cincinnati no really earnest attempt has been made to re-establish in this city the sort of amusement which his summer-nights' concerts used to afford. Gilmore has, it is true, given concerts at his garden, and even Offenbach has been imported to lead an orchestra there ; but the public has generally

refused to recognize Gilmore as competent to furnish such music as Thomas once furnished, and, having pretty much given up hope of a revival of the Central Park Garden, have fallen into a lamentable condition of apathy on the subject, in which the "Last Rose of Summer," as played by the world-renowned Levy on the Coney Island beach, has come to seem almost an elevated and refined entertainment. The lack of popular music-halls or gardens in New York is all the more remarkable, too, in connection with the enormous development of the beer interest within the past few years. The connection between beer and music is so close in all cities in which there is a large and thoughtful German population that it was a constant source of wonder to us that no really energetic effort had been made since Thomas's disappearance to effect a combination of the two interests for the popular benefit. The attempt has now been made in a small way in Twenty-third Street, and the immediate success with which it has met shows conclusively that on a larger scale it could hardly be a failure. The building selected is the old Bryant's Opera House, which has been run through to Twenty-fourth Street; the interior has been decorated with a good deal of taste, and fitted up with an organ, a platform for the orchestra, and innumerable tables and chairs; a leader has been brought over from Berlin, and music is provided of a popular character, but still not bad of its kind—Strauss waltzes, overtures from well-known operas, and so on. The orchestra is small, but very good, and the audience, half German and half American, is thoroughly well-behaved. The place overflows nightly with people. Of course it is not to be compared with the Central Park Garden of five or six years ago; but its immediate success is such a convincing proof of the popular appetite for summer amusements of this kind that we cannot help wondering again why Thomas was ever allowed to leave New York.

SECRETARY SHERMAN'S SPEECHES.*

SECRETARY SHERMAN'S identification with the public finances from the beginning of the Civil War, at which time the question of finance began to be one of serious difficulty and responsibility, to the resumption of specie payments and the refunding of the 5-20 and 10-40 bonds, has been so prominent and continuous that a history of the national debt and of the existing paper currency might be compiled from this volume with slight recourse to other authorities. That the author of these speeches and reports can support a claim for "consistency" in his treatment of the grave problems that arose from time to time and passed under his review, no reader can for a moment imagine. The most that can be allowed upon this score is that his inclinations were in the right direction, his perceptions of the truth sufficiently keen, and his industry always equal to the task before him; but that he was too susceptible to the breezes and draughts of popularity (or what he conceived to be such), and was always, so to speak, catching cold by exposure to them. His backsliding in 1868, when he declared that equity and justice would be fully satisfied by redeeming the 5-20 bonds at their maturity "in money of the same kind and the same intrinsic value existing at the time they were issued"—*i.e.*, in greenbacks—exposed the country to grave peril, and one cannot now read the speech in which this doctrine was promulgated without mortification and regret. The cheap demagogism of the hour which heralded the notion that an evidence of indebtedness bearing interest at a specified rate, and payable at a particular time, could be justly and equitably discharged by tendering to the holder another evidence of indebtedness bearing no interest, payable at no time, and possessing no higher security, became formidable when the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance gave his adhesion to it, and not before. There are other, though minor, flaws in Secretary Sherman's record which stamp him as inferior to Huskisson, Peel, Hamilton, and other great finance ministers—the difference between them and him being not that they were wiser in their generation, or even more consistent, but that they always gave to the public their best thoughts and their best service as time and occasion called; in other words, they could always be depended upon.

We shall not pause to collate flaws, numerous and considerable though they be, upon which we commented at the time of their first utterance. Although it is a capital defect of Mr. Sherman's make-up as a financier that he is a politician of the canny sort—finance not being amenable in the slightest degree to the exigencies of politics—it must be admitted that his diagnosis of the economic condition of the country from time to time was singularly accurate, so that we cannot recall the name of any public man whose judgments were oftener verified by the subsequent course of events. Even when giving his vote for some erroneous measure which the majority insisted upon passing, he has let fall a remark, half-apologetic, signifying that he knew better and that he would do better if it were not so inconvenient.

The first four hundred pages of the volume relate to the measures by which the public debt, the greenback currency, and the National banking system were created, with remarks here and there on tariffs and internal taxes. They possess considerable historic interest, but being merely excerpts from the published proceedings of Congress have no exclusive claim upon attention. The remainder, commencing with the author's speech upon the Inflation Bill of 1874, relates to subjects which are still fresh and which constitute a part of current discussions on financial policy. Mr. Sherman's speeches of January 16, 1874, and March 6, 1876, strike us as the best efforts of his legislative career. In the former, which was delivered in opposition to the so-called Inflation Bill, he elucidated the position of the country and especially of the Republican party toward the currency and the public debt most happily, and pushed the late Senator Morton to the wall with something like savageness, insisting on an answer to the question at what time, under what circumstances, in what condition of trade and industry it would be expedient to take steps for the resumption of specie payments. We had gone through a period of great apparent prosperity, of overflowing revenues, of unexampled internal development, but we had taken no steps toward resumption because we were making money so fast—we could not afford to pause in this prosperous and cheering race long enough to pay our debts and put our currency at par with gold. We had now fallen into adversity, and we could not resume because the times were so bad. During all this time, however, the Republican party had been committed, in its national platform, to a "speedy resumption of specie payments." Hence, it appeared that at one time we were too rich and at another time too poor to take any steps toward resumption, and consequently that a speedy resumption meant no resumption at any time whatever. It is needless to add that Mr. Morton did not answer the question propounded to him.

In his speech of December 22, 1874, on the Resumption Act, Mr. Sherman gave only a feeble and hesitating support to that measure; for although it did, as he alleged, "provide ample means to prepare for resumption and to maintain it," its *modus operandi* was not in his judgment the best that the case admitted of. He favored the plan of converting the greenbacks into bonds, and thus gradually appreciating the notes to par with gold. Nevertheless, he would support the bill as the best one that the majority in Congress could be got to favor. It was in the course of this speech that he was asked by Senator Schurz whether, under the operation of the bill, the redeemed greenbacks could be reissued. He declined to answer the question, or even to give his own opinion upon its legal construction. On the 6th of March, 1876, he made amends for his reluctant support of the bill while it was pending by delivering a speech on the resolutions laid before the Senate by the New York Chamber of Commerce on the subject of specie payments. In this speech he defended the Resumption Act at great length with marked ability and vigor, and although falling into some errors which were then shared by nearly all the friends of resumption, and which time has since corrected, he left little to be desired in his vindication of the wisdom of the measure and the need of strictly enforcing it. It was his belief at that time that a favorable balance of trade was not only not necessary to the success of resumption, but was "utterly immaterial to the question"; if, however, it was deemed material by anybody, he insisted that the right time had come, since the balance of trade was now largely in our favor. He believed, also, that any plan of resumption would, when about to take effect, produce some contraction of the paper currency. The course of events has proved that the favorable balance of trade has been by far the largest factor in the successful solution of the problem, since that and that alone enabled the Treasury to accumulate its stock of gold, and to keep it after the doors were opened for resumption. It has also been proved that no contraction of the currency took place on the eve of resumption or since, if by "contraction" is meant a lessening of the amount of paper currency in the hands of the banks and the people. These were certainly excusable errors, and are only mentioned here as showing how imperfectly the real course of events was foreseen even by the best judges.

Mr. Sherman's treatment of the silver question has been by no means so satisfactory as his handling of specie resumption and the refunding of the bonded debt. He first appears, in his report on the Paris Monetary

* 'Selected Speeches and Reports on Finance and Taxation from 1859 to 1878. By John Sherman.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879. Pp. 640.

Conference of 1867, as an advocate of the single gold standard. In 1876 (June 8) he advocates the coining of silver dollars and offering them in exchange for greenbacks to anybody who wants them, opposing, however, the bill to make them unlimited legal tender. A few months later (August 12) he addressed the people of Marietta, Ohio, and offered the opinion that it would be both legal and right to take advantage of the fall in the price of silver to recoin the silver dollar and with it pay off the greenbacks. His next public declaration is furnished in his report of December 3, 1877, as Secretary of the Treasury, in which he strongly opposes the remonetization of silver except on condition that it shall be kept of equal value with gold by some process of redemption. After the remonetizing bill had passed without any such provision, he stated to the Senate Finance Committee in an interview officially reported and published that silver dollars would not be any impediment to resumption, but might be an aid to it—that is, he made himself an accomplice after the fact. Still later he reached the conclusion that a safe adjustment might be made by increasing the weight of the silver dollar, or decreasing the weight of the gold dollar, or by increasing the one and decreasing the other simultaneously—this at Toledo, August 26, 1878. Finally, in his report as Secretary of the Treasury, December 2, 1878, he says that the continued coinage of silver dollars is a menace to resumption, and he recommends that the maximum of such coinage be limited to fifty millions. In this prolonged vibration of discordant sounds we perceive, not for the first time, that Mr. Sherman's views as a financier are subject largely to the exigencies of politics. It must be set down to his credit, however, that he has not yielded to the demand of the silver-men that he should pay out silver dollars to bondholders, pensioners, clerks, contractors, congressmen, judges, army officers, and all other people who do not want them.

The late remarkable success in refunding the public debt at 4 per cent. does not fall within the scope of this volume, and is therefore not properly subject to review in this place. In a letter written and published since these speeches and reports came from the press Secretary Sherman attributes his success in this particular, as well as in the resumption of specie payments, to a fortunate conjunction of circumstances. This ascription is equally modest and true. But for the favorable balance of trade and the low rate of interest, both of which are consequences of the crisis of 1873, neither of these results would have been so easily achieved, if achieved at all. But as it is the mark of wise statesmanship to take advantage of every fortunate conjunction of circumstances, Mr. Sherman is well entitled to wear the laurel of triumph, for he has in every case struck while the iron was hot.

GEIKIE'S ENGLISH REFORMATION.*

THE title-page of Dr. Geikie's 'English Reformation' expresses very well its character—that it is not primarily a history, but a pamphlet. It is called out by the Ritualistic movement, which the author regards as anti-Protestant, and indeed anti-Christian: he sees that this movement, in plain terms, denies the validity of the English Reformation, and attacks its motives and its methods no less vehemently than the Catholics themselves. He undertakes, therefore, to vindicate the work of Henry VIII., and this in the only way it can be done, by frankly admitting the corruption and selfishness of the monarch, and showing how he was, in spite of himself, made the instrument of a great and wholesome work. Wolsey also he visits with entire condemnation, while Cromwell and Cranmer, the two principal agents of the Reformation, are heartily praised.

As being avowedly a partisan work it is unmeasured in its praise and blame, and equally so in its judgments as to historical events. Cranmer and Cromwell receive praise, and nothing but praise; Gardiner and Bonner receive blame, and nothing but blame; Catherine of Aragon was a selfish and intriguing woman, Anne Boleyn pure and a friend of the Reformation; the monasteries were, with hardly an exception, sinks of iniquity; the Romish system a foul and senseless one; the Pope was Antichrist. In short, the fault of the book is intemperance of language. No doubt there is much to justify this. The Church was in this age at its lowest point of morality; the monastic class were notorious for their vices; and one's blood cannot but boil at the recital of the cruelties perpetrated under Henry VIII. and Queen Mary in the name of religion. We are so far from extenuating these things that we are ready to declare in the strongest terms that the worst misfortune which can befall a land or a people is to be placed under ecclesiastical rule. No tyranny is so cruel and relentless as that of priests. So far as Dr. Geikie's book helps to strengthen this conviction in the people of England and America it will do good service. But what we should condemn is the thing itself—the power of the priesthood—and not this or that Church which has been able to exercise this power. The Church of Rome is not a sinner above all sinners in this respect, except as it has been the object of exceptional veneration, and therefore has had greater power than almost any other priesthood in history. But the Church of England itself, under Elizabeth, was guilty of atrocities in the way of religious persecution only less than those of the Church of Rome in the degree in which the claims of the Church of England are inferior to those of the Church of Rome.

Dr. Geikie speaks of these events with almost the passionate earnestness of one who himself took part in them; but the mature judgment of history must modify much of this vehemence of sympathy. The monasteries were bad enough, but Cromwell's commission is proved to have made them out to be worse than they were; Catherine's demeanor is pronounced by the highest authorities to have been upright and dignified; and Anne Boleyn's good name is, we fear, not so unimpeachable as our author would make out. Nay, this correction of the exaggerations of the Protestants has gone so far that even Protestant writers of the present day are prone to extenuate the cruelties of the Catholic persecutions, and make their own side appear the worst. This is the natural result of exaggerated statements, and for this reason we are sorry to see an author with whom we agree in the main in views, and certainly in sympathies, depart so constantly from a judicial temper. His tone is, it is true, that of contemporaries—the laborers and sufferers themselves; but after all, what is the use of historical investigation if not to correct the one-sidedness of earnest partisans, who, from the very nature of things, could only see one side?

In short, Dr. Geikie shows no ability to comprehend the real spirit of the period he is describing, and to appreciate the complex motives and interests which led men to place themselves on different sides in the great movement that was going on. We find, therefore, no clearness of conception in the statement of the successive stages of the Reformation—under Cranmer, in the last years of Henry VIII., under Edward, and under Elizabeth. For example, in what sense were Henry and Elizabeth respectively heads of the Church? We know that Elizabeth refused the title of "Supreme Head of the Church," satisfying herself with the formula, "in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, supreme," a distinction which, says Ranke, made no essential difference. Still it appears to us that there was a real difference. Neither monarch can properly be called Head of the Church in the full spiritual sense, because neither had received ordination. Their authority was exercised *over*, rather than *in*, the Church, and in this respect they differed fundamentally from the Pope. But, if we are not mistaken, this was a more important point with Elizabeth than with Henry. Henry's scheme, as represented by Cranmer, made the Church simply a branch of the Government, and ordination so far a secular act that ecclesiastical rank could be bestowed by the prince by his own authority; and this authority belonged to him by divine right as king, so that he needed no distinct spiritual dignity. Elizabeth, on the other hand, held to the Romish doctrine of apostolic succession, never pretending to be head of the Church in strictly ecclesiastical matters, but only in so far as the Church was comprehended in the state.

So with the account of indulgences, p. 114; no doubt the corrupt practice of this age did promise freedom from the pains of purgatory, but it ought to be said that this was distinctly a corruption of the recognized doctrine of the Church. On page 128 both Henry VII. and Ferdinand V. are called usurpers; with what right the latter, we cannot guess. On the next page Bergenroth's notion that Juana's alleged insanity was false—now generally given up—is assumed as proved. No date is given (p. 275) for the execution of Anne Boleyn. Henry is said (p. 253) to have burned Catholics as well as Protestants; so he did, but not as Catholics, but for denying his supremacy, which he chose to regard as an article of faith. Whenever a sum of money is mentioned, it is stated that it was worth twelve times as much as at the present day; the repetition is rather tiresome, and the statement, we think, incorrect. The value since that day is stated by Roscher (vol. i. p. 412, American translation) to have diminished in the ratio of three or four to one.

We have spoken fully of the faults of the book, because we consider them likely to interfere seriously with the end which the author has in mind. On the other hand, it deserves the praise of being a hearty, honest, and very interesting sketch of an important series of events.

* 'The English Reformation: How it came about, and Why we should uphold it. By Cunningham Geikie, D.D., author of 'The Life and Words of Christ,' etc.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879. 12mo, pp. 512.

Wanderings in Patagonia; or, Life among the Ostrich-Hunters. By Julius Beerbohm. Leisure-Hour Series. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1879.)—In the month of August, 1877, Mr. Beerbohm found himself on board ship with a party of engineers bound for Port San Julian, on the coast of Patagonia. The engineers were on a surveying expedition; but our author while at San Julian received letters making his speedy return to Buenos Ayres imperative. At about the same time a party of ostrich-hunters stopped on their way to Sandy Point on the Straits of Magellan, and as he found that he would there be able to take a steamer for Buenos Ayres, he determined to join the party. His book is mainly an account of his subsequent adventures, which were neither few nor uninteresting. Mr. Beerbohm is a thorough master of the art of telling a story, and the simplicity and directness with which he narrates his adventures, carry a conviction of truth to the reader's mind that might well excite the envy of many a hardened writer of fiction. Ostrich-hunting—at least in Patagonia—is a life not so much of danger as of exposure and privation. There are no wild beasts to be guarded against, the puma being apparently too great a coward to be dreaded; the Indians are friendly. But the rains and the bitter winds and the swollen rivers of the pampas are, as Mr. Beerbohm found to his cost, apt to make the life of an ostrich-hunter one of hardship. The sport is not a very lucrative pursuit, and the life is followed chiefly for its own sake, by a class of men apparently not unlike the Western backwoodsmen of two or three generations ago, men who prefer a vagabond life for the sake of its freedom from restraint, responsibility, and mental anxiety. The ostrich-hunters of this book are, first, Isidoro, an Argentine Gaucho with a dash of Indian blood, a famous horse-tamer, taciturn, watchful, honest, good-natured, and a general favorite; Garcia, another Gaucho, formerly a soldier and later a cattle-driver, more talkative than Isidoro, and but slightly his inferior in horsemanship and as a hunter; Guillaume, a Frenchman, once a blacksmith, gifted with an homeric appetite, capable of despatching a whole side of a young guanaco at a sitting, but, nevertheless, always thin and with a hungry appearance; and, finally, Maximo, an Austrian, twenty years old, of herculean size and strength, once a sailor, and master of several languages. The capitalist of the party was Isidoro, who owned thirty fine horses.

From San Julian to Santa Cruz Mr. Beerbohm's trip seems to have been pleasant enough, and the chapters of his book devoted to it contain an entertaining description of running down ostriches with dogs and *bolas*, of exhilarating gallops over the pampas, and of the manners and customs of the Tuelche Indians. After the arrival of the party at Santa Cruz it was determined that Isidoro, Guillaume, and Mr. Beerbohm, with twenty-eight horses and five dogs, should push on to Sandy Point, Isidoro taking with him some two hundred and fifty pounds of ostrich feathers, the spoils of his unerring *bo'as*. The rest of the trip was one uninterrupted succession of mishaps. It was becoming more and more important to press on to Sandy Point, as the time for catching the steamer was quickly slipping away; but meantime snows and sleet and rain were rapidly changing the shallow streams of the pampas into raging and impassable torrents. Crossing Coy Inlet, however, the party pushed on to the Rio Gallegos, the last formidable river between them and Sandy Point. A fifty-mile ride from Coy Inlet brought them to the ravine through which the Gallegos runs. Breaking into a gallop, they pushed forward to catch a glimpse of it. Suddenly it burst upon their sight, no longer a shallow stream, but a wide and furious torrent, rushing between banks rapidly growing too narrow for it, and impassable for man or beast. Isidoro was of the opinion that in eight days the river would sink to its ordinary level. Meanwhile the provisions of the party had been calculated only for a ten-days' trip; it would be in any case impossible to reach Sandy Point in time to catch the steamer on the 15th, while with every day there was a danger of the price of ostrich feathers falling. There was nothing for it but to camp upon the Gallegos until the river should have fallen. Of the weary and anxious weeks of waiting which ensued; of the alternate hopefulness and despondency caused by the changes in the level of the river; of the gradual disappearance of the provisions, and the compulsory regimen of guanaco and ostrich meat, and the curious and unpleasant consequent effects; of the gradual *ennui* and longing for a return to civilization produced in himself, and the craving for tobacco produced in Guillaume, Mr. Beerbohm gives a very graphic description. At length, on the 18th of October, rendered quite desperate, they determined to swim the river. Isidoro refused, not unnaturally, to take part in this attempt.

There were obviously two ways of crossing: one to swim over on horseback—no very easy feat; the other, to send over the horses with all their clothes and accoutrements, and follow themselves. The first plan seemed in advance the most feasible, but proved absolutely impracticable; the horses always turning on reaching the middle current, and refusing absolutely to attempt a landing except on the shore from which they started. There was nothing left but to try the other plan, in which failure involved a considerable risk of a miserable death from cold. The third attempt was made in a storm of hail and snow, with a high wind blowing. After immense trouble, with the help of sticks and stones, they succeeded in driving the horses into the middle current and forcing them to head for the other side. At last they reached the land, and their owners gave a shout of joy and relief. Their triumph, however, was only momentary. The horses had touched the bank at a place where they could get no footing. Instinctively they turned round and made straight for the shore from which they had started. By the time they landed, it is hardly necessary to say, their owners were in a most pitiable state. "For more than half an hour we had been splashing in and out of the icy-cold water, exposed to wind and weather, and we were now thoroughly exhausted, our teeth chattering, our bodies doubled up, and unable to speak to one another except by signs."

How they finally did cross the Gallegos, and at length reached Sandy Point, to find themselves involved in a mutiny of convicts, which very nearly cost them their lives; how Isidoro, waiting until the river became fordable, finally crossed it just in time to fall into the hands of a band of these same convicts, escaping across the plains, to lose his horses and other property, and very nearly his life—for an account of all these things we must refer the reader to the book itself, all of which he will find remarkably interesting.

English Actors from Shakespeare to Macready. By Henry Barton Baker. (Amateur Series.) Two volumes. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1879.)—Charles Nodier has said somewhere that he had sometimes read books in which really nothing belonged to the writer whose name was on the title-page except the table of contents. It would, perhaps, be scarcely fair to liken 'English Actors' to these books, but there is little enough originality to be detected in the two volumes. Mr. Baker seems to have read diligently the most of the many English books of theatrical biography and the various lives of English actors and actresses; from these he has copied out a variety of anecdotes more or less authentic, but generally lively and entertaining, which he has grouped together in a series of chapters devoted successively to the great names of English histrionic art, and he has thus made a sort of anecdote history of the English stage. This surely was an unnecessary task so long as Dr. Doran's admirable book on 'Their Majesties' Servants' is still to be had. Dr. Doran did very well indeed what Mr. Baker does not do well at all. Dr. Doran had a real love of the drama and a distinct understanding of the principles of the art of acting—qualities of which Mr. Baker is wholly destitute; he nowhere shows a genuine liking for the stage, and he again and again exhibits gross ignorance of the art of acting.

He does not like any of the Kembles, and to the author of the recent 'Records of a Girlhood' he fails wholly to be courteous. All readers of that delightful book can judge of the accuracy of the following criticism, whose taste it is needless to remark upon:

"But when the cause and the novelty of Miss Kemble's *début* had ceased a juster estimate was formed of her abilities, which, far from being phenomenal, were only commonplace; people began to perceive that she thought more of a pretty pose than of the words she was delivering, that drawling did not constitute pathos nor deep-toned passion. The lady has since revenged this reversal of public opinion by scornful diatribes against the profession which gave her and her family all their position. But for the stage, the Kembles might have been a generation of barbers instead of the honored associates of the highest in the land."

The greatest defect of the book in the eyes of an American is the absurd prejudice against this country shown in all incidental references to it, coupled with more or less wilful ignorance of the abundant American dramatic biographies. Now, it is impossible to tell the tale of Cooke or Kean or Macready without a consultation of American authorities. Even when Mr. Baker is forced to rely on an American book, his apparent spite leads him into what looks very like literary dishonesty. Dunlap, the author of the 'History of the American Theatre,' wrote also the life of George Frederick Cooke, in which he explained the circumstances of Cooke's sudden departure for America when engaged by Cooper. Mr. Baker takes nearly every point in his chapter on Cooke from Dunlap, but describes how Cooper, "after much manœuvring, contrived to carry him [Cooke] off out of some vile Liverpool slum while in a state of intoxication"—an accusation which Cooper indignantly repelled in a letter printed in Dun-

lap's biography and corroborated by Dunlap, Cooke's chosen biographer. The same ignorance of the American stage lets him say (i. p. 82) that Colley Cibber's "Richard III." held the stage until Mr. Irving restored the Shaksperian text; Mr. Edwin Booth had done it long before. If Mr. Baker had ever heard of Mr. William Warren, of Boston, or even seen Mr. Joseph Jefferson, he would never have ventured on the assertion that "there is not a low comedian on the stage who can excite a laugh by genuine humor or by anything save utter buffoonery."

It remains to be said that most of this book originally appeared in *Temple Bar*, whence some of it was taken last summer to form one of the Messrs. Appleton's Handy Volume Series, under the title 'Lights of the Old English Stage.' The American publishers, in accordance with a good habit of theirs, have added an index, an indispensable adjunct to volumes as full of anecdote as these.

Locusts and Wild Honey. By John Burroughs. (Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1879.)—There is a medicinal virtue in a book about natural sights and sounds, written by a keen observer and read in spring; it cleanses the mind and renews the senses, and makes men better fit to be lookers-on amid the resurrection of life. Thoreau is nearly unrivalled in this mental and physical hygienic value, but he has left a school behind him which, if more modest and destitute of his underlying philosophy and his poetic vision, is still charming and welcome. Mr. Burroughs has written of bees and strawberries, trout and wildernesses, and has gathered many interesting and original observations, curious facts, and amusing adventures of camping-out days. His garden, his books, his friends, his rambles in the retired valleys of the Catskills, and his sport in seldom-trodden Canadian woods all contribute something for instruction or pleasure; he pursues his quest for new natural facts with a devotion now more commonly seen in the pottery-hunters than anywhere else perhaps, and the ordinary aspects or products of nature are no less highly prized. This of the rain exhibits his many-sided pleasure in what is for most men a bore:

"But when the rain does come—the warm, sun-distilled rain; the far-travelling, vapor-born rain; the impartial, undiscriminating, unstinted, rain; equable, bounteous, myriad-eyed, searching out every plant and every spear of grass, finding every hidden thing that needs water, falling upon the just and upon the unjust, sponging off every leaf of every tree in the forest and every growth in the fields; music to the ear, a perfume to the smell, an enchantment to the eye; healing the earth, cleansing the air, renewing the fountains; honey to the bee, manna to the herds, and life to all creatures—what spectacle so fills the heart? Rain, rain, O dear Zeus! down on the ploughed fields of the Athenians, and on the plains."

This is a purple patch, for the author usually writes very simply and without rhetoric. He has many felicitous comparisons—"The strawberry is a kind of vegetable snow. How cool, how tonic, how melting, and how perishable!"—and others we could quote. But there is not only a graceful literary expression and the enthusiasm of a lover in his short essays, but much that is instructive and some things new to professed naturalists. The comparison of European and American birds is very striking. The foreigners he finds "a more hardy and pugnacious race," the singers having more vivacity and power, while ours have more melody and plaintiveness. He assigns something of this difference with English birds to their longer familiarity with men, plaintiveness belonging to all the cries of wilder creatures, "even to the bark of the fox, the cry of the panther, the voice of the 'coon," etc. The American cuckoo gains by comparison with the English in manners, but loses his literary glories. So we might go on, had we space. It is a book which every lover of the woods and birds and every angler will take to his heart at once.

A Selection from Pascal's Thoughts. Translated by H. L. Sidney Lear. (London: Rivingtons. 1878. 18mo, pp. v. 175.)—This selection from the 'Pensées' includes about one-seventh part of the text as given in the one literal edition, that of M. Prosper Faugère (1844)—a name, by the way, which Mr. Lear writes as "Prospère Fougères." Four errors in the spelling of one name form certainly an ominous conjunction for the first page of a preface, but happily the omen is not borne out in the pages that follow, which contain an unusually excellent specimen of translation. Mr. Lear has a delicate sense for style, both French and English; and he has the still rarer gift of perceiving and preserving in the latter the literary equivalents of the former language. His version is good enough to bear quoting from almost at random; its flexibility, for instance, appears in his rendition of the following passage. Pascal says (Faugère, i. 217): "D'où vient qu'un boiteux ne nous irrite pas, et qu'un esprit boiteux nous irrite? À cause qu'un boiteux reconnaît que nous allons droit, et qu'un esprit boiteux dit que c'est nous qui boitons"; thus translated by Mr. Lear: "Why are we irritated by an intellectual limp, and not by one that is physical? Because the lame man grants that *we* do not halt; but the lame intellect persists in affirming that it is his neighbor who limps." Mr. Lear performs a service, too, in accenting occasionally the connection of thought between some of Pascal's disjoined (and yet, by their correspondence in structure, subtly related) sentences, as in this case (Faugère, i. 259):

"Le docteur qui parle un quart d'heure après avoir tout dit, tant il est plein du désir de dire.

"Le bec du perroquet qu'il essuie, quoiqu'il soit net."

Mr. Lear says: "Some people talk for a quarter of an hour after they have said all there is to say, for the sheer love of talking. The parrot is for ever polishing his beak, however clean it may be."

These selections really put Pascal's thought before us. Were the translation completed in the same spirit it would, we think, displace the two English translations now in the field—the Rev. Edward Craig's (1825) quite certainly, as that was made from an imperfect text. The other, that of George Pearce (1850), follows the restored text from which Mr. Lear has made his selections.

Iphigenie auf Tauris. Ein Schauspiel von J. W. von Goethe. With an introduction and notes by Franklin Carter, Ph.D., Professor of the German Language and Literature in Yale College. Edited by W. D. Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit, etc., in Yale College. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1879.)—Whitney's series of German text-books has been so long and so widely known that the appearance of a new volume in it calls for notice only in regard to the selection and execution in that particular case. The "Iphigenie" has some special advantages as a school or college text-book. It is true, the play itself, though containing passages of great power, is rather a lifeless performance, as imitations or versions of the classical drama are apt to be, and it cannot be considered in any measure Greek in its spirit or form. But as a Greek story in modern form it gives opportunity for comparisons with the ancient style which fit it well to be read by those who are fresh from the Greek tragedies. On the other hand, for those who do not study Greek and Latin it offers a sort of approach to the classical in the comparative remoteness from the modern world which the story itself necessarily involves. A good teacher, acquainted himself with the Greek drama, could make this play interesting to either class of students by reason of its intermediate position between the ancient and the modern world. For the explanations and comments of such a teacher Professor Carter's notes leave plenty of room, while at the same time all his suggestions in that direction are, as might be expected, delicate, true, and helpful. The grammatical notes seem to give all needed aid to the student, and err, if at all, on the side of exceeding brevity. But that is in the plan of the series and ought not to be laid to the charge of this particular volume. On the whole, the book deserves to be widely used. We observe a puzzling omission of the number of a line on p. 101, l. 18, and again on p. 104, last line but two, and on p. 100 Ægistheus for Ægisthus. And we cannot help expressing the wish that the makers of this series could bring themselves to put the whole into Roman type, for the good of the eyes and tempers of the young men and maidens for whom they work.

Dante: An Essay. By R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L. To which is added a translation of 'De Monarchia,' by F. J. Church. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1878.)—This admirable essay has already been twice printed—first, in the *Christian Remembrancer* of January, 1850, and four years later in a volume of 'Essays and Reviews.' These works have become scarce, and it is a proof of the value of Dean Church's essay that it should be deemed worthy of a third publication, and a proof of the author's sound judgment that, after a lapse of over twenty-five years, he could republish it "unchanged, with the exception of a few trifling corrections." But for one or two oversights in revising the original article (as, for example, on p. 41, where the Bargello is spoken of as "now" a prison—it has been since 1865 a National Museum), and the absence of recent works in the authorities cited, the essay might have been written last year, and is practically as fresh and valuable as though it were. Much has been done in the past twenty-five years for the restoration of the text of Dante's works, an immense number of minor points have been elucidated, the poet's bones have been found and his skull accurately measured, and Rome has become the capital of Italy; but Dante, the man and poet, is still the same.

Of this man and poet Dean Church gives the most brilliant character-

ization with which we are acquainted ; and within the limits of a hundred and seventy-three pages presents a clear and vivid picture of the social conditions from which the immortal poem was evolved, and by which it was moulded into its present shape. He omits none of the factors in its composition, although he does not dwell, as Mr. Lowell does in his masterly essay on the same subject, on the philosophical and mystical side of the poem, nor is he carried away by the successors of Rossetti and Aroux, who degrade the 'Divine Comedy' into a political diatribe. Those who are already familiar with Dante will find this essay suggestive, while others cannot help being led by it to the study of the poet himself. The value of it is much enhanced by the excellent translation made by his son of Dante's treatise 'De Monarchia,' whose importance for an understanding of Dante's ethical system is too well known to be dwelt on here ; it was a happy thought to make it accessible to the general reader. It is the first English translation, and is made from the best text, that of Witte, 1874. We cordially commend Dean Church's book to all who know the great poet or wish to learn the secret of his greatness.

Fine Arts.

THE FIFTY-FOURTH EXHIBITION OF THE ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

THE reflecting part of the public have by this time pretty well measured the exhibition, and judgment resolves itself into a doubt, and doubt into a question. Whether the Academicians, who are a self-chosen élite, can be relied upon to furnish an exhibit of pictures that will prove a fair attraction, or whether they do not depend for their enterprise on the talent of men whom they keep out of their fellowship—this is the suspicion which deepens in the visitor's mind as he makes the tour of the galleries. It is curious in this view to notice what are the works of their own which the Academicians have arranged on the eye-line, and estimate how far they would go in tempting a remunerative public to come and see them. The spring exhibitions are speculative ventures, depending for their continuance on the attractiveness of the contents ; the Academicians, as is their right, place a selection of their own works on the range which first meets the eye. It is a curious and awkward state of things indeed if the attractiveness is not reconcilable with the members' right to the eye-line, and if they, the chosen men of merit, injure rather than help the display by assuming the focus of the view, deriving their profits from artists whom they invite and hustle aside The works of Academicians arranged on the line are as follows :

Mr. Sellstedt, of Buffalo, and Mr. J. G. Brown, the only members of the Exhibition Committee who paint the human figure, are represented by works which it is a melancholy unkindness to say are characteristic. We wish we could detect some unusual breath or spark in the "German Band" (363) of the latter, whose figures are exceeded in merit by many a painted wooden Indian ; or that the mild chinamaniac of the former, "Preparing her Paper for the Club" (208), with her bit of crackle in her hand and the page of her Chaffers turned down, were at all softer and more flexible than her wares. But the exposure of these efforts on the line, though involving for their authors a publicity that is only cruel, is merely the usual putting of Committee-members "in evidence," and but little space is usurped on account of the limited scale of the pictures. The strange jellied and deliquescent foliage of Mr. Bellows (160), the tinny "Moonrise" of Mr. M. De Haas (163), and the thin labored "Catskill Brook" of Mr. Whittredge (375) are the other works of the Committee on the eye-line, and they add nothing whatever to the drawing power of the exhibition, being honorable mediocrity confessed.

The Committee-members having thus fulfilled their annual mission of tickling each other, but with less boldness than common, the other National Academicians have been shown to their places on the coveted line. The selections for this honor which seem to be unobjectionable are Mr. La Farge's, N.A., pailful of camellias (28); Mr. Inness's, N.A., "Sunset" (131), though it is vulgarized by an impossible Bierstadt sky which blows hot and cold at once ; Mr. Colman's, N.A., view of Le Mans (161), tenderly but conventionally painted ; Mr. James Smillie's, N.A., "Up the Hill" (186), an unusually powerful study of shadow-pencilled snow ; Mr. Wordsworth Thompson's, N.A., "Departure" (320), a careful, Pasini-like military group which it would have been a wrong to hang anywhere but at the eye level ; Mr. Homer's, N.A., "Sundown," a painful paint-problem of vivisection, not pursued out of any sympathy with the heroine, but to show how the hot rays of sunset are cutting into the sclerotic coats of her eyes ; Mr. Magrath's, N.A., "On the Old Sod" (380)—his master-piece, thoughtful, whimsical, and tender ; Mr. Swain Gifford's "Salters Beach" (390), a genuine lesson from Nature, but festooned over the foreground with his besetting catenary curves of idle shadow, like the chains around a burial-lot; the same artist's exquisite "Gathering Hay" (422 and 439) ; and Mr. Homer's, N.A., "Upland Cotton" (393), a beauty and an original, with figures seen through a lattice of wayward plants, where the pods and flowers occur in the finest possible decorative arrangements. These selections all tend to the proper emphasis of the exhibition, and should have been placed where they are on any principle of choice, and whether their painters were members or not. But the alignment of some of the other Academicians shows official place-holding in a very ugly shape. The following works of Academy-members are set on the eye-line, besides those just favorably mentioned.

Mr. Addison Richards has his "Cottage Home" thus placed (46), a courtesy perhaps only due to his useful and honorable post in the Academy, where he fills a toilsome and weary office with unfailing assiduity and command of temper ; his "Lake Brientz" (495) is also put on the line. Then there are the thoroughly common "Cattle" of Mr. Stearns, N.A., (84) ; the "Emmaus" of Mr. R. W. Weir, N.A., (91), a work executed with such commanding ignorance of drapery that the figures seems suffocated in sponges ; Mr. J. Beard's, N.A., "Don't you Know me ?" (153), hard, wiry, and without atmosphere; Mr. Sanford Gifford's, N.A., chromo-like "Villa Malta" (154) ; Mr. Eastman Johnson's, N.A., "Pedler" (162), the insufficient repetition of a well-worn model ; Mr. Miller's, N.A., "Long Island," a picture that adds nothing to his reputation ; Mr. Wyant's, N.A., only creditable "Westport" (171) ; Mr. Eastman Johnson's incapable "Portrait" (179) with its badly-painted hands ; Mr. W. Hart's, N.A., Voltz-like "Cattle" (180) ; Mr. James Hart's, N.A., "Indian Summer" (187), threadbare and sere ; Mr. J. Beard's, N.A., fabulous cats and monkey (192), fabulously rich in poor qualities, without the least indication of a perception of what good fur-painting in an interior effect would be like ; Mr. Henry's, N.A., "Bathers," snuffbox painting of over-careful nicety (198) ; Mr. Wood's, N.A., "His First Pipe" (199), an insipid Von Schendel coruscation ; Mr. James D. Smillie's, N.A., "Adirondacks" (214), a machine with the fault of being faultless; Mr. Le Clear's, N.A., "Portrait" (216), an injustice to its painter ; Mr. Guy's, N.A., flat, conventional system of angles and circles, arranged as human figures and labelled a "Bed-time Story" (242) ; Mr. Bristol's, N.A., conventional "Housatonic" (247) ; Mr. Hicks's, N.A., feeble head of Mr. Godwin (248) ; Mr. Colman's, N.A., "Caravansary" (252), quite ruined by attempts, unaccompanied by the ability, to introduce the human figure ; Mr. William Beard's, N.A., "Rehearsal" (266), an effort without his native extravagance, and so merely bad Düsseldorf, with a landscape distance of marvellous vileness ; Mr. W. Thompson's, N.A., indifferent "Out in the Fields" (271) ; Mr. Magrath's, N.A., timid "First Proposal"; Mr. W. Hart's, N.A., "Sunset" (315), with its most singular custard presented as a sky ; Mr. Inness's, N.A., "Wind and Sunshine" (321), containing excellent passages badly harmonized, and a sealed book to the public ; Mr. Hall's, N.A., "Bazaar" (324), a big unnoticeable set-out of wooden images ; the large, technically lean kine of Mr. James Hart, N.A., in his "Through Dust-Clouds" (325); Mr. Huntington's, P.N.A., conventional curtain-and-pedestal portrait (328), with hardly a glimpse of the graces of his youth ; Mr. Wyant's, N.A., "Mount Mansfield" (329), with liquefying foliage in the manner of Mr. Bellows ; Mr. McEntee's, N.A., spiral of thunder-cloud, rolling around itself to canopy the sky (336), ambitious, uncertain of its own forms, and badly sustained by a gauzy foreground ; Mr. Casilear's, N.A., timid "Summer's Day" (354) ; Mr. Loop's, N.A., "Echo," which is to art what "Mild Arcadians ever blooming" is to literature ; Mr. Baker's, N.A., puffy and soft child's portrait (379) ; Mr. Wood's, N.A., "Quack Doctor" (394), every whit as bad as a Frith ; Mr. Sanford Gifford's, N.A., small and berouged "Claverack Creek" (398), valued by the contributor at one thousand dollars ; Mr. Sontag's, N.A., coach-panel landscape (400) ; Mr. Miller's, N.A., creditable but too obviously Constable-like "Cloudy Day" (408) ; Mr. Martin's, N.A., sensitive little landscape impression (410), a melodious aërial bit, but debased with strengthless and sexless vegetable forms ; Mr. Inness's, N.A., "Perugia," with its effort to catch the "silvery" glint of a shower, resulting only in pewter (411) ; Mr. Henry's, N.A., "Long Ago" (434), a Dresden-porcelain bit, not without merit but overwrought ; Mr. Pratt's, N.A., faint "Cottage Door" (442) ; Mr Tait's, N.A., Swiss work-box lid with stag-painting on

it (458); Mr. D. Johnson's, N.A., dull and heavy sheep-picture (466); Mr. Hicks's, N.A., indifferent, flimsy, dry, and heartless study of birches (484); Mr. Cropsey's, N.A., kaleidoscopic, glassy "Lake Nemi" (490); Mr. Ehninger's, N.A., "Thanksgiving," or grinning negro with a turkey (494), apparently gone astray out of the comic department of Mr. Leslie's pictorial publications; Mr. Pratt's, N.A., "Ambitious Student," small, and large enough to show its emptiness (504); and, finally, Mr. Hall's, N.A., "Cairo," a repetition of the meaningless conventionalism of his bazaar scene.

We have mentioned, we think, the whole succession of pictures by Academicians which occupy the line. It is almost incredible that out of the list of Academicians' paintings for which room can be made in that range—a range so contracted that all the occupants can be thus easily described together—we find but a dozen which seem to be of the degree of merit which attracts spectators. Taken for the effect it makes altogether, the selection presented by the Academy of members' work which deserves the line of honor and focus of attention is work which repels and not entices the public. The line of Academicians' pictures as it hangs, taken alone, would not attract a single visitor, the combing of better material we first set apart being by no means so grand as to cancel the deadening effect of the rest. This is a most unfortunate state of things for an Academy calling itself national.

Luckily the exhibition contains enough vital and powerful American work to make it a striking success. But this is the merit of the profane, not of the Levites within the temple. A few fine portraits, a selection of sincere and closely-studied genre, a range of landscapes filled with sympathy and feeling, have been provided by outside contributors, and compose the excellence which rewards popular attention. The remedy of the Academy for its infelicitous attitude, in its own house, would seem to be to absorb the worthy new material as sedulously as it can.

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Continued from page iii.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 22, 1879.

The Week.

CONGRESS has spent the entire week over two measures neither of which, as they stand, ought to become law, or probably will, if passed, be signed by the President. The Senate has listened to long speeches on the Legislative Appropriation Bill, of which the sections on the jurors' test-oaths and the supervisors of elections were more or less nominally the subject. Mr. Kernan and Mr. Thurman grew warm over the fraudulent supervision of elections in this city under "Johnny" Davenport; Mr. Eaton undertook to show that Webster admitted this government to be a compact; and Mr. Blaine thought he had done a good day's "prodding" when he had convicted Mr. Eaton of having borrowed his Websterian citation from a book of Alexander Stephens's, Mr. Stephens of having garbled Webster, and "Ben" Hill of hypocrisy in pretending that he was a reluctant secessionist. The dangerous section ordering the arrears of pensions to be paid out of the reserve in the Treasury for the redemption of the fractional currency was retained.

The market for silver bullion in London has varied during the week from 49¾*d.* per oz. to 50¼*d.*, and the bullion value of the 412½-grain dollar here varied between $0.8372 and $0.8469. Strenuous efforts have been made in Congress to pass the bill authorizing free coinage and the issue of silver-bullion certificates. The enormity of this bill was well shown by Representative L. P. Morton, of this city, who pointed out that all the silver for sale in the world would seek our mints, there to be stamped as possessing about 20 per cent. more value than it really has, and who asked that if the Government is to issue certificates on silver bullion which shall be qualified legal tender for about 20 per cent. in excess of the value of the bullion, the same favor be shown to other products and property.

The Warner Bill has received what it is to be hoped is a finishing stroke, and the way in which it came illustrates well the difficulty there is in guessing what the average Congressman is likely to do on any important question. The bill, as we have explained, is really a plan for making the Government buy up all the silver bullion that is offered at par in gold. An amendment by Mr. Fort, giving the Government the profit on the coinage, was beaten by 118 to 104. Mr. Marsh then moved an amendment that the coinage charge should be the difference between the bullion price of silver in New York and the legal-tender value of the coin, which of course was precisely the same in effect as the Fort amendment. Now, if the Congressional mind were like the ordinary human mind, this would have been beaten also; but it was not. It passed by 117 to 105. Moreover, the motion to reconsider and lay on the table—the formal clincher—was also passed by 116 to 105. The chances of the bill are now thought to be very small.

This condition of the public credit is a striking illustration of the small amount of attention the people pay to the workings of the Congressional mind. There are now before the House six bills calculated, if passed, to ruin the finances of the country, not counting those which are too ungrammatical and absurd for discussion. One directs the issue of five hundred millions of legal-tender paper to be used "for such purposes as Congress may by law direct"; another proposes to give $1,000,000 greenbacks to certain corporations; another raises the volume of greenbacks to $500,000,000; another proposes to issue $500,000,000 greenbacks in addition to those already afloat, and use the specie reserve to redeem the bonds; another proposes to issue $50,000,000 of fractional currency; another proposes to redeem the bonds in greenbacks; another seeks to compel the Treasury to buy $4,000,000 of silver per month; and then there is the Warner bill, which substantially directs it to buy all the spare silver of the world. Besides these there are dozens of other financial bills still seething in the heads of plain men, as they toss on their boarding-house pillows, who have never found themselves equal to the finances of a moderate-sized grocery-store. Foreign investors think the United States a "great country," but they do not half know how great it is. The market price of their bonds is really no measure of the strength of their credit. With such a legislature behind the Treasury as that of France the bonds ought to stand at 150. It is not too much to calculate the depreciating strain of the Kelleys, Warners, and Buckners at 50; it would bring the Rentes or Consols certainly down to 50 or 45.

It appears that the Administration thinks the moment favorable for a renewal of the attempt to get the European countries to participate in another conference, with a view to fix a common relation of value between gold and silver and thus bring silver into circulation again. The main ground for this belief seems to be the perplexity England is in about the Indian silver-bills; we do not imagine there is really any other, and he must be a very sanguine person who supposes England will seek escape from this by abandoning the single standard, or that Germany will stop short in the process of demonetization which has cost her so much already, or that France will abandon her expectant attitude on the invitation of the country which, however deeply interested in the matter, appears abroad to have given it less patient study than any other. The best, and by far the most dignified, course for us is to stop the coinage of silver, and then wait for the Europeans to act.

It is melancholy to relate that the Republicans have made "a deal" with Kelly and Tammany by which some of the Mayor's nominations have been defeated, and the "Tilden move" thus measurably checked. The "deal" was consummated in the Board of Aldermen on Tuesday, when one speech was made against a nominee for the Police Commissionership on the ground that he lived in Sag Harbor, something which Alderman Houghton was sure the people of this city would never submit to, "home rule" being the object of their dearest affections. Jacob Hess, the remarkable person who has been fished out for the Commissionership of Charities and Corrections, was confirmed unanimously and without discussion under "the deal." The conditions of "the deal," doubtless, are that some Republicans are to have something which they now have not got. One powerful consideration is said to be the successorship of Roberts to the chairmanship of the Board of Aldermen, vice Mott. It looks as if there would have to be another final "rising" against Tammany next fall.

The Legislature will adjourn within a few days, and to the relief of everybody who has watched its proceedings. It has done one sensible thing in passing the constitutional amendment making its sessions biennial. This, however, will require the ratification of next year's Legislature before it can be submitted to the people. The session has been marked by a number of vetoes which have been made necessary by the large amount of hasty and preposterous legislation which has been sent to the Governor. Of all the acts of the present Legislature none was more reckless than the passage of what is known as the Field Code, which went through both houses with the additional chapters of what is called Throop's Code, apparently under the operation of a compromise between the opponents of both codes, by which each side withdrew its opposition to the other's code, and combined to put both through. There is no connection between the two, one being a code of procedure, the other a code of substantive law. It is no new thing for the attorneys of rival railroads

to enter into such agreements for the purpose of procuring favorable legislation, but it is a novelty in codification. The Legislature made no pretence of ascertaining what the Field Code actually contained, but passed it apparently because the Throop party said it was all right, and passed the Throop Code because the Field party said that was a nice code to pass. The Governor, on the matter coming before him, thought it better to look into the codes before signing them, and on looking into them thought it best to veto them. With regard to the Throop Code the public at large cannot be said to have much interest in the matter, as it relates to procedure and makes no very radical changes in that. With regard to the other, it is quite safe to say that no one knows at all what is in it; but it is known that it makes extensive and sweeping changes in the settled law of the State, and that no proper enquiry has ever been made as to whether the changes are needed or what they are.

Further rapid progress was made during the week in the sales of the U. S. 4 per cent. bonds. Of the $121,000,000 taken by the First National Bank Syndicate on the 17th day of April there remain unsold at the present writing less than $25,000,000, the sales since our last issue having exceeded $45,000,000. Of these $15,000,000 were taken by a London syndicate headed by J. S. Morgan & Co., who paid 102 and accrued interest. The price has since advanced to 102½ and accrued interest, or to about 103 to 103⅛ in the market. A good part of the sales have been to persons who were not the owners of called bonds, either 5-20s or 10-40s, and the result is that many institutions, trust-funds, etc., which must invest in U. S. bonds, have not yet replaced the called bonds which they must soon relinquish. The national banks alone have over $40,000,000 of 10-40s on deposit to secure their note circulation, and these must be replaced or the circulation be given up. The delay in making the exchange, together with the purchases of 4 per cents by those who had not called bonds, has practically "worked a corner" in the 4 per cents. The demand for the ten-dollar certificates continues at the rate of about $1,000,000 per day. These will for the most part be converted into 4 per cent. bonds after July, but even then the supply of 4 per cents will not nearly come up to the demand which the Government bond-dealers estimate as inevitable. Altogether, this whole 4 per cent. negotiation is one of the surprising financial events of the age. It comes at a time when business is unquestionably reviving. By lowering the rate of income on the standard investment of the market it has stimulated a great demand for other investments of known good quality, and 6 and 7 per cent. stocks and bonds are selling at unheard-of premiums.

Judge Dundy, of the United States District Court at Omaha, has rendered a decision with regard to the civil rights of Indians which has attracted some attention in connection with the threatened invasion of the Indian Territory. Standing Bear and a few others of his tribe had left the Indian Territory and taken refuge at the Omaha agency, which is under the care of the Quakers. The Government directed General Crook to arrest them and take them back. The Indians, however, sued out a writ of *habeas corpus*, and Judge Dundy has released them from custody. The decision is put upon the ground that these Poncas Indians are "persons" within the meaning of the laws of the United States, and have just as much right to *habeas corpus* as white men. The decision, as we understand it, does not apply to Indians on reservations under treaties. Of course, if their standing before the law were the same as that of white persons, there could be no reason for any of the machinery of treaties, military interference, reservations, agencies, and so on. All the Indian would have to do would be to select any lawful occupation and carry it on in the usual manner, without paying any attention to what General Crook or any other general may say to him. This would be out of the question for many reasons, the chief of which is that the Indian, even the civilized savage, has not reached that point at which he is capable of managing and owning land in severalty. His tribal condition is not an artificial but a natural and fundamental one; and, though it is undoubtedly the duty of the Government to do what can be done to improve it, there is little question that it can only be effected by dealing with tribes and not persons.

There is nothing specially new about the "exodus." The Chicago *Tribune* has a fair-minded correspondent who is travelling along the lower Mississippi, and whose reports confirm the view that the causes of dissatisfaction are physical rather than moral or political. A lull in the movement is expected, now that the new crop is planted and advances have been made on it; but a renewal is predicted in January on a larger scale than heretofore. Much, of course, will depend on the experience of those who have already found their way to Kansas. But while the migrations due to a real fever for change at this time may be temporarily suspended, the better organized, smaller, and less perceptible removals will go on as they have been doing for the past ten years, from States not notoriously unfriendly or cruel to the black population. Southwest of Topeka is a settlement called Singleton after a colored colonist of that name, who since 1869 has been constantly travelling between Kansas and Tennessee and Kentucky, arranging little parties to try their fortunes as land-owners in the former State. That he began his labors in the first year of General Grant's administration, and has not since ceased from them, is a sad commentary on that President's Southern policy, not to be overlooked by those who regard the present movement *en masse* as a result of Southern faithlessness towards Hayes, and who forget that it was under Grant also that the "Mississippi plan" succeeded.

The migration continues to be the theme of many communications to the daily press, with the result of putting the political motive more and more in the background. The intelligent correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune* in Mississippi sums up the chief causes of the exodus as follows: "1. A pernicious credit-system. 2. A land-monopoly. 3. Political oppression." But for the first two causes he thinks the bad crop of last year would have had no discouraging effect on the blacks. He points out that the planters themselves are now, as before the war, pecuniarily dependent on the cotton-brokers who make them advances, and whose interest, charges, and commissions, secured by a lien on the crop and the plantation, seldom fall below 15 per cent. of the whole crop. This drives the planter to get back as much as he can from his tenants by like charges, liens, and unsparing foreclosures. In fact, if the laws permitted them to prevent the negroes from leaving the State virtual re-enslavement would ensue. He concludes that "the credit-system has been injurious to all classes alike, but especially to the laborers." A shrewd black man confirmed this to another correspondent of the *Tribune* by saying that "the poor white man was in the same boat with them, and suffered equally with the negro from exorbitant rents and unreasonable prices for supplies." And a white member of the Committee on Resolutions at the late Vicksburg Convention calls our attention to the fact that "in Madison Parish, Miss., whence more emigrants have gone than perhaps from all the other parishes of the State, the public offices are held by negroes, and at present the parish is represented in the Constitutional Convention by two negroes; and, as further stated by the delegates from that parish, not a political riot has ever occurred there since the negroes have been voters and not a life lost at the polls. The freedom of the ballot has been maintained inviolate as to them."

The report of Prince Bismarck's speech in the Reichstag on the proposed changes in the tariff has come out. He began by calling the measure one of financial reform, intended to put the finances of the Empire on a proper footing through its own taxes without depending on the contributions of the various states, and the sole reason why he had not proposed it sooner was that he was too much occupied with his purely political duties and his health was not good. As to Prussia, he wished to lighten the burden of the land and house-tax. He maintained, moreover, that the tendency of modern legislation everywhere is to substitute indirect for direct tax-

ation, and that the drift of sentiment was also in favor of protection as against free-trade. From 1864 on Germany had drifted towards free-trade, but this was because the prevailing economical influence came from France, which was then the leading nation of Europe. Germany must now protect herself against being flooded with the cheap goods of other nations, and the dream of a great system of exportation must be given up because there are no new countries to discover or new markets to open. The protectionist countries, he maintained, were all prosperous, while the free-trade countries were in a bad way; and then Germany demanded, above all things, some certainty in her economical future, and must have it.

The speech was in many ways characteristic of the orator, above all in the absolute recklessness with which he made such statements on matters of fact as suited his purpose, and in this bore a curious resemblance to the oratory of Lord Beaconsfield. He acknowledges that he has never given any attention to economical matters until now, and there is little doubt that he takes but little interest in them. But he is determined to put the Empire in possession of a revenue and to secure the support of the small landholders against the National Liberals since he finds the Socialists cannot help him, and he accordingly produces large views as to the economical tendencies of the modern world. His facts and figures were severely assailed by Herr Delbrück and others, and there was before the close of the debate a violent scene, and Herr von Forckenberg, the President of the House, has resigned, ostensibly on account of ill-health, but really because his party have been beaten completely by the Conservative-Clerical combination, through whom Bismarck has carried his tariff legislation. The Clericals are, it is said, to be rewarded by a proclamation of amnesty for violations of the Falk laws on the Emperor's birthday.

Lord Salisbury has made a speech giving an account of the present condition of the Treaty of Berlin, which he says is at last being executed to the letter; but the effect of his remarks, if one may judge from the comments of the press, would be painful to a man more sensitive than he seems to be. They were received in the House of Lords in dead silence. In fact, the air of "humbug" which has hung round the quarrel with Russia from the beginning, and which gave the published despatches a buncombe sound, seems to hang round the Treaty. As before, the unpleasant features of the Treaty are got rid of by a private understanding like the Shuvaloff Memorandum. Russia was to evacuate Rumelia, by the words of the Treaty, on the 3d of May. But Russia did not want to go, and maintained there would be disturbances if she did go. Accordingly, Lord Salisbury now calmly declares that the true intent and meaning of the Treaty was that Russia was not to begin to evacuate until May 3. Then the great victory of Lord Beaconsfield at Berlin, for which indeed he got his Garter, was that the Turks were to have the Balkans, so as to give them an "impregnable frontier." It is now arranged, however, that though the Sultan possesses this invaluable right, he is not to exercise it. So also the Governor of Rumelia, Aleko Pasha, an able and cultivated Bulgarian, was to call in Ottoman troops in case the peace of his province was disturbed; but it is now arranged that though retaining this privilege he is not to use it. The London *Economist* observes, with bitter irony, "that it only remains to ascertain the opinion of the English people upon these magnificent achievements, but for enlightenment on this point we must wait for a general election."

The Afghan difficulty seems to be in a fair way of settlement, Yakub Khan having come into Gundamuck and, it is reported, agreed with Major Cavagnari on the basis of peace, in which he concedes everything that is asked in the way of frontier and the presence of British agents in Afghanistan. But then it appears that the Indian Government has determined not to ask nearly so much as was talked of in the early Jingo period of the war. A certain mystery hangs over the object of the war still, however. Before it broke out both Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury ridiculed the idea of an invasion of India in any way, but Beaconsfield said if it came at all it could only come by way of the Euphrates. This left it difficult to account for the attack on Afghanistan, but he was equal to the occasion, for he said it was to acquire a "scientific" instead of a "hap-hazard frontier." The entrance into the Amir's territory has, in the Khyber Pass side, been acquired largely by the purchase of the mountain tribes; the fighting has consisted in the main of insignificant skirmishes, the Afghan resistance not proving one-tenth as formidable as that of the Zulus. Russia, too has shown no interest in the matter; the army is tired of the campaign, and people are naturally asking what is the use of the "scientific frontier" now that they have got it.

It has, however, cost about ten million dollars thus far, and this is the most serious part of the whole business, for the finances of India are in a condition that is rapidly becoming very alarming. The last limit of taxation has been reached, if indeed it has not been passed, for in the Bombay Presidency there has been a renewal of the old brigandage known as dacoity. Large bands are roving through the country attacking houses and villages, and headed by an ex-clerk of the civil service, who has issued a most impudent proclamation threatening the governor and other high officials with death. The evil has proved too strong for the ordinary police, and the troops are now in chase of the marauders. Incendiary fires and other forms of disorder, too, have begun to show themselves. What makes the situation really serious, however, is the prospect of another famine, covering a wider area than any which has gone before it. The rain-fall is short, apparently, over the whole of the peninsula, from the mountains to Cape Comorin, and if it does not come very soon the Government will be face to face with an appalling, and probably irresistible, calamity with the treasury empty. There is already talk in London of the absolute necessity of sending out a Governor-General skilled in finance in order to avert a total crash.

There have been no further operations in Zululand, but the Government acknowledges that Lord Chelmsford has called for further reinforcements preliminary to any advance, and that three fresh battalions will hardly suffice. The cavalry arrived from England is almost useless owing to disease among the horses, and Cetewayo is said to have retired to very inaccessible districts and to threaten to burn the grass in case he is pursued, thus making it impossible to follow him for want of subsistence for the transport animals. The Dutch Boers of the Transvaal, too, are intractable. The utmost they will promise Sir Bartle Frère is to keep quiet; assistance they will not render.

There is to be a conference of the Powers at last to force the Porte into settlement with Greece. The Greek Government has published a circular despatch giving an account of its attempts to negotiate with the Porte, and nothing can be more diverting than the picture it presents of Turkish character, the simplicity, loyalty, and transparent truthfulness of which were, even a year ago, a frequent Jingo theme in England. The Turkish Commission appointed a meeting with the Greek Commission in a village called Kukut, for which the poor Greeks searched in vain for eighteen days. On their giving it up it came out that there was no such village, and that the village the Turks meant was Anino. They then searched for this, but found it also was mythical, the only spot answering to the name being one in which there were the ruins of two barracks, and nothing else. Besides this, the Turkish man-of-war refused to let the steamer containing the Greeks enter the Gulf of Arta pending the receipt of instructions. In this way so many delays were secured that the Commission, having started on the 30th of January, did not succeed in finding the Turks till the 8th of February. It is needless to say that when they found them the Turks had not the slightest intention of coming to any agreement. They shuffled along, postponed, equivocated, and lied, hoping something would turn up, and now the protecting Powers have to take them in hand again.

THE BI-METALLISTS AND THE COMMERCIAL CRISIS.

THE prevailing depression in business from which this country has been suffering for six years, and from which nearly every country in Europe is suffering still, has probably furnished support to a greater number of conflicting economical theories than any other occurrence of ancient or modern times. The causes of it have undergone a remarkable amount of examination from writers of every school and of almost every calling, and nearly every writer has managed to extract from it support for some theory of which he had previously been the champion. In fact, it has been to economists and social philosophers of all shades of opinion a sort of quarry such as the Roman Coliseum furnished to the mediæval builders. Materials for every sort of structure have been drawn from it, and it still continues to be worked with almost undiminished industry. The variety of purposes it has been made to serve is of course due, as we pointed out some time ago in the *Nation* (No. 640), to the fact that the crisis has overtaken so many countries, each living under a political and economical régime differing in a greater or less degree from that of the others. It has overtaken the limited and absolute monarchies and the republics, the free-trade and protectionist countries, the lightly and heavily-taxed countries, the high and low-tariff countries, the countries with great standing armies and the countries with none, the Germanic and the Latin countries, the Catholic and Protestant countries, the countries of indissoluble marriage and those of easy divorce, the bi-metallic, monometallic, gold-standard and silver-standard, and irredeemable-paper countries with the impartiality of the rain or the sunshine. The result, we need hardly say, has not been to raise the reputation of political economy as a science. In fact, it has never seemed so little of a science as during the past five years, owing to the extraordinary array of proof and illustration which the holders of the most widely-divergent views have been able to produce. The most thorough and impartial examination of the matter which we have seen, and the only one which can be made to fit the facts everywhere, is that of M. Maurice Block, in the number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of March 15; but we need hardly say that his conclusions have but little polemical value.

Two sets of theorists have, however, thus far managed to extract more advantage from the crisis than any of the others—the protectionists and the bi-metallists. The depression has really, to all outward appearance, been as damaging to the protectionist theory as any other, for it has ravaged protectionist countries fully as much as the free-trade countries; but then protection offers what none of the other theories does—a prospect of instant relief to the sick trader. His suffering is due, as every one sees, to the presence of too much goods in the market; the obvious remedy is a diminution in the supply, and this can always be produced at once by excluding the foreign producers. The average man understands this treatment thoroughly, and he consequently, especially with bankruptcy impending over him, clamors for its instant trial. About its remoter results—that is, about the state of things it will produce five or ten years hence—he does not trouble himself. By that time he hopes he will have saved his credit and extricated his capital. Consequently a great wave of protectionist sentiment has flowed over Germany and France, and even England, on which the record of prosperity during the low-tariff period produces no impression. Even the robust faith of many of the English free-traders has been shaken. They have not got quite so despondent as yet as to clamor for absolute protection, but they demand "reciprocity," or protection against protectionists.

Next come the bi-metallists. There is nothing in the crisis to indicate that it was in any degree due to a scarcity of coin or to the use of either an exclusive gold standard or an exclusive silver standard. It has befallen countries under every kind of monetary régime, and, as M. Block shows, we think clearly, it had its roots in a period before the silver question began to attract any notice. Two years ago the bi-metallists had but feeble standing among economists. The tide of experience had been running steadily against them for a century. It is safe to say that nothing has been better established by experience than the impossibility of a double standard, and the inability of the legislature to provide the measure by which people fix prices, or do anything more than provide the instrument by which people pay their debts—or, in other words, the legal tender. The indiscriminate use of two metals for the purposes of trade, except in small change, has in fact never been witnessed anywhere. One is always exported and the business of the country carried on in the other, or its representative in paper. Moreover, it is well established as a law of economical history that as a people grows rich and increases the number of its transactions it gradually discards the clumsier instruments of exchange, and reaches out for that which does most work with least weight and bulk. In this way iron, copper, and silver were successively laid aside in the ancient world, and there is every reason to believe that we are witnessing the last stage of the process in our own day—that is, that the rich manufacturing and trading communities of modern times have reached the point at which they refuse any longer to do business with silver, and insist on having gold and paper for the adjustment of all but the smallest transactions. This is really the meaning of the steady drift of the Western world towards the gold standard, and the gradual demonetization of silver, accompanied by a growing reluctance of the people in every highly-civilized country to use or circulate it. They cannot be made to like it and live by it in any of the richer countries, no matter how abundantly it is coined. They will have gold or its representative, and by the great growth of international trade and the use of clearing-houses the transactions which are settled with very small amounts of gold are enormous.

The fact is, and it is a fact which bi-metallists seem often to forget, that the science of finance is the science of popular wants and wishes, and nothing else. Its laws are the laws of human nature, and the business of the legislator is not so much to control them as to provide for their free action. If all the world needed to make trade prosperous was plenty of money, copper, tin, and lead could be freely used to supply it. The reason they are not used is the very force against which the silver-men are all fighting—the unwillingness of the people to put up with them. Whatever inconvenience any present or prospective rise in gold may cause, the laws of human nature draw steadily towards any contrivance which will do much work with little machinery. However hard it might be on debtors, the civilized world would probably be enormously benefited if it were possible to settle a balance of a million dollars by the payment of ten gold eagles, and it is a dim but growing perception of this which causes the present drift towards the dear and scarce metal. There is no doubt that this fact is full of inconvenience. The change is going on in a world burdened with enormous public debts, and with huge amounts of capital sunk in buildings and machinery and railroads at very high prices; and if the general adoption of the gold standard causes considerable shrinkage in values, it will entail on all debtors a good deal of hardship.

Accordingly the bi-metallists come forward and maintain that this shrinkage has begun, that it is the disuse of silver which is lowering prices by causing a rise in the value of gold, and they even go so far as to declare the exact extent to which gold has risen—viz., twenty per cent. That this is a mere guess it is not difficult to see. The value of gold is measured not in any one other commodity, but in all other commodities. Consequently, to prove that it had risen we should have to show, at least with regard to the leading products of industry, that nothing but a rise in gold had occurred to reduce the demand for them, or lower the cost of their production. We need hardly say that there is not one of them the present low price of which cannot be accounted for in ways in nowise connected with the supply of gold. An examination of the history of even half-a-dozen of them during the last ten years would reduce the gold theory to the rank of a most shadowy speculation, on which it would be preposterous to base legislation. There has, too, it is quite certain, been but little if any falling off in the supply of gold during the past ten years, and

certainly none which has not been more than compensated by the improvement in the machinery of exchange.

That the world may be threatened with a scarcity of gold is very possible. The latest and most exhaustive examinations of the prospects of gold production, such as that of Suess, seem to show that we are approaching its limits in all the regions now known to us. But the fear excited after the discoveries in California and Australia that the world was going to be flooded with it, which led several states into demonetizing it, is a warning against hasty action in the other direction, and especially hasty action in the midst of the mental confusion produced by the prevailing commercial distress. This is emphatically a period in which the policy of sitting still, so much praised by the late Mr. Bagehot, is to be commended. Disregard of it last year has put the United States Government in a somewhat ridiculous position on the silver question, which may be aggravated by another fussy attempt, which we see is in contemplation, to get the European Powers to help us out of our trouble. There is a ready way out of our trouble, in which we need for the present no co-operation, and that is to stop coining silver, and then wait and see what will happen. If the silver problem is as serious as the bi-metallists say it is, this expedient would undoubtedly before long bring other nations to us and save us the labor, and we may add, after all that has occurred, the humiliation, of again going to them.

THE GRANT DILEMMA.

WE print on another page an appeal from a correspondent for an explanation of the means by which we look for an escape from what is called "the Grant movement," as a necessary addendum to the denunciation which we have so freely heaped on it. We answer, in the first place, that General Grant has not been nominated. The Convention will not meet for a year from this date. It seems to us that the sole duty of a journal opposed to his nomination is in the interval to do what it can to influence public opinion in such fashion that when the Convention does meet he will receive no strong or overwhelming support in it. What else can any one do whose business it is to address the public? In short, our remedy for the Grant movement is a very simple one—not to nominate Grant. A more complete and radical cure it would be hard to suggest. To secure resort to this cure, we point out as well as we can the dangers to the party and to the country which we think would result from giving him a third term. Should this fail—that is, should the Convention nominate him in spite of all opposition—a new state of facts will have arisen, calling for different treatment. We may say in advance, with regard to this, that we do not believe anything but an atrociously bad nomination on the part of the Democrats would secure his election. There is, we are sure, a very large body of Republicans in all parts of the country who do not care to speak out now, but who, if the Grant régime is again offered for their acceptance, will bolt or stay away from the polls, come what may. They can swallow a good deal, but they cannot swallow that. If the Democratic candidate is for them an impossible person, we believe there will then be some mode of escape provided for them either from a cowardly silence or from open acquiescence in what they believe to be ruinous policy. There are already signs, however, that the Grant movement is declining. Many shrewd Republicans, though not troubled with scruples, begin to see clearly that the support of Grant is in reality an acceptance of the very interpretation of the Republican opposition to the repeal of the Army Bill which the Democrats are anxious to have the country adopt—that is, that it really means that the Republicans desire to retain in their hands the power of military interference with the elections, and demand a military man of somewhat lawless temper to work the machine. Should the party be defeated on an issue of this sort, its enemies calculate with much plausibility it would share the fate of the Federalists, and disappear from the scene under a cloud of odium, as a party which had lost faith in American institutions, and came in its last days to think of nothing but the defence of capital by bayonets.

This view, too, is greatly strengthened by the fact that it is notorious that Grant failed as a political leader. In the middle of his second term the Republican party actually lost all the great States at the North by large majorities, and in losing them lost the hold on the Government which they had retained since 1861. That this disaster was due to the disgust excited by the scandals of the Administration, both in the Southern States and in the Northern, nobody denies. The offer of a third term to him, therefore, would be held to indicate that his supporters sought not a shrewd party chief to enable them to retain the confidence of the voters through the ordinary agencies of party strife, but a skilled soldier to enable them to carry out some scheme of violence. We do not believe the majority of those who are shouting for him really have any such plan distinctly formed in their minds; but it will be by no means difficult to use their wild talk and reckless action as proof that they mean to break up the Government or change its character, by introducing into it, and lodging in the popular habits, the Cæsarist idea, which is very simple, and consists in the single proposition that every great state ought to have "a strong man" to "mash" the persons who try to take the offices away from the good men. In other words, the Republicans may be reminded painfully that the war-feeling, powerful as it was, and powerful as it still is with large bodies of the people, will not bear indefinite wear. The generation which took part in the war may be able to stand it as long as they live, but new generations come forward rapidly who soon get tired of the drum. It is natural for a party which has succeeded in a great war to try to make the most out of it, and to believe that they are a providential party, whose duty it is to remain in power by hook or by crook. But if they overdo it in the least the reaction is apt to be terrible. The English Tories came out of the French war covered with glory, and in 1815 they and their Iron Duke seemed likely to govern England as long as they pleased. Within sixteen years the duke's windows were broken, and the Ministry had to surrender to a threat of armed revolution. That the plan of living on the war was deliberately adopted by the Republicans in 1875, on finding themselves in danger of being overwhelmed by "Grantism," no one who has watched the talk of the chiefs since Mr. Blaine in that year began to "prod" Mr. Hill and the other Southern members, can doubt. It is true that the Democrats have fallen readily into the snare set for them, and have helped the Republicans to carry out their policy, but this cannot make a permanent political situation. There will have to be a break before long, and it will be unfortunate for the Republicans if it catches them with the bugle in their hands and an American "saviour of society" at their head.

That the task before the more thoughtful Republicans, in case the Convention is swept away by the Grant movement, would be more difficult than it seemed seven years ago, or even four, there is no doubt. The result of the Convention which nominated Greeley, of course, made reform seem somewhat ridiculous, and might have killed all talk or expectation of it if Grant's second term had not proved so disreputable. It was this that made it possible to obtain recognition and condemnation of scandals and abuses, and formal promise of improvement in the platform of 1876 and in Mr. Hayes's letter. The success of the Stalwarts in reviving the war-issues, combined with Mr. Hayes's want of positiveness and aggressiveness, has in a measure renewed the difficulty and discouragement of 1872. But, on the other hand, his Administration has done a great deal of good which makes little show, but which we are confident is silently telling on opinion, and will in good time bear fruit. He has cleansed the administrative machinery of gross corruption. He has cleared the White House and the Departments of disreputable persons, and, what is better than all, he has familiarized the public mind once more with legal and peaceable methods. He has obeyed the law and respected the courts, and has, as far as Congress would let him, brought the country back to the paths of peace. He has, too, in spite of many difficulties, restored the

Government credit, and has staved off the attacks of Congress on it. The result is that, though he has not realized the expectations of those who were his most zealous supporters, his Administration, as time has gone on, has done much to revive their hopes, and, we believe, to prepare the way for another step forward in 1880.

THE NEWEST PHASES OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

PARIS, May 2, 1879.

THE election of Prince Battenberg as Prince of Bulgaria has just taken place, and gives a sort of living proof of the reality of the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin. There can be no longer any question of the famous integrity of the Ottoman Empire ; one after the other the European parts of this Empire are torn from it or allowed to separate from it. The Crimean War, begun under the pretence of protecting the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, ended in the final separation of Wallachia and Moldavia ; the two principalities, first united under a native ruler, are now under the rule of a prince of the house of Hohenzollern. Prince Battenberg, who has just been elected ruler of Bulgaria, is the nephew of the Czar ; he belongs to the house of Hesse. German rulers are taking possession of the East, and accept the mission of introducing Western culture in the provinces which have so long been kept by the Turks in a state of barbarism. Meanwhile Austrian forces are quietly occupying most of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a recent convention has allowed the Austrians to occupy conjointly with the Turks the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar, in the southeast of the former province. These provinces are now completely administered by Western officials ; and though their occupation is, so to speak, only temporary, there is little doubt that, under one pretext or another, it will become permanent.

Eastern Rumelia, or the part of Bulgaria extending on the southern side of the Balkans, was not allowed at Berlin to remain with Bulgaria proper, extending on the northern side. The Congress of Berlin did not accept the wide ethnological definition as given by Prince Ignatieff : Bulgaria was contracted so as to leave to the Turks the command of the passes of the Balkans ; it was thought that if the southern slopes of the Balkans were given to Bulgaria there would in reality be no permanent obstacles left between Russia and Constantinople. This so-called Eastern Rumelia, diplomatically baptized and created, has but an artificial existence ; it has been occupied, ever since the peace was signed, by Russian troops and administered by Russian authorities ; a native militia has been organized. Prince Dondukoff-Korsakoff, who accepted the mission of occupying Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, lost no time ; he did all he could to foment a Bulgarian feeling, even in the province which was destined to return under the sway of a Turkish governor. The situation is such now in Eastern Rumelia that the Russians dare not leave it, and the Turks dare not occupy it, for fear of a popular outbreak.

The retrocession of Eastern Rumelia to Turkey was chiefly the work of England, during the negotiations of the Treaty of Berlin. Lord Beaconsfield was quite intractable on this subject ; but he has since had his own part of the Turkish spoils. England is occupying the island of Cyprus, and who believes that this occupation will be temporary ? Turkey loses as much by her saviours as by her enemies. The truth is that the hand of the Commander of the Faithful can no longer keep the sceptre of the Caliphs; the knot which tied so many lands and peoples together is untied. I have always maintained that it would have been wiser and better to approach this great Eastern Question with large and comprehensive views, with a desire to make a new settlement in the East—to accomplish, in fact, a partition of the East. The partition will take place, it is taking place perforce; but each stage of this fatal work is now marked by terrible efforts, by expensive and destructive wars. Twice now in this century the Russian armies have had Constantinople in their grasp ; twice Europe has pronounced her "ne plus ultra." The disappointment of Russia has had already singular effects. It was not possible for her to make war as she did under the constant threat of an English intervention, without stirring profoundly all the feelings of the people. As she was condemned in advance not to make conquests, she was obliged to spread ideas of national independence among the Christian populations of the peninsula of the Balkans. During the last war Russia was in a perpetual ferment ; the Russian people was told that it had a great mission to accomplish, that it was the apostle of Christian liberty. A constitution was given to the new Bulgaria which is full of all the phraseology of our old French constitutions upon the rights of man, etc.; at the same time Russia, which has made huge sacrifices during the war, was obliged to renounce most of her material conquests; she only regained a portion of Bessarabia which had been torn from her in the Crimean war, and acquired a part of Armenia and the territory of Batum. Who can say that the movement which now agitates Russia under the name of Nihilism has nothing to do with the disappointments and resentments of many Russians ?

There are evidently two things in this Nihilism : there is first the spirit of revolution, which is the same all over the world, though it takes different forms in different places. The revolution which Donoso Cortés so eloquently compared to the ancient furies, with heads covered with serpents, the revolution whose destructive force is undermining all living societies, has at once found in Russia its true name : it is truly a nihilism —"ex nihilo nihil." It can only destroy ; it is like death—a return from the organized state to the inorganic, to the atomic state. But besides this revolutionary element Russian Nihilism probably covers also something quite different—a vague aspiration towards a better organization of the national forces. I will not here discuss the second element of Russian Nihilism ; I am only speaking of it in its connection with the settlement of the Eastern Question. It is clear that if you give to a great country a mission, if you mark out for it a "manifest destiny," you give an opening to the energies of the race, and you hinder it from using these energies for its own destruction. What would become of England if there were no more bonds between the "little island" and the whole universe ?

The election of Prince Battenberg as sovereign of Bulgaria may be considered as a triumph for the Russian policy, and may so far contribute to give some satisfaction to the disaffected members of the Russian community. Prince Battenberg is young ; he will be placed under the tutelage of Russia and surrounded with Russian advisers and officials, and the presence of the Bulgarian community will act on the populations of Rumelia as the presence of Piedmont once did on Lombardy, Venetia, and Tuscany. The policy vulgarly called of the artichoke has been successful in Italy ; leaf after leaf was taken by Piedmont, and there is but one people now from the Alps to Sicily. The same policy will be tried in Turkey with more difficulty, as there are several races in the Oriental peninsula. A partition will be necessary, and one of the difficulties of the question will be the necessity of giving to Greece its proper share of importance. It is well known that Prince Leopold, before he became king of Belgium, refused the crown of Greece, because he did not think that Greece could well live within the limits which had been assigned to it by the European powers.

For the time being it seems as if the difficulties of Russia in the East were on the decrease rather than on the increase. The panic of Nihilism will not last long ; Russia will wake up from her present nightmare, and when her position is calmly surveyed it will be seen that she has obtained by her last war even more than what Napoleon I. promised to Alexander at Tilsit. Meantime, the difficulties of England are increasing in the East. The recent events in the valley of the Nile have brought about a real crisis ; the policy of action adopted by Lord Beaconsfield is now on its trial. So far the policy of action has been successful. It succeeded at Berlin, since it procured for England the possession of Cyprus and the convention with Turkey, which amounts practically to the tutelage of the Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire ; it has succeeded in Afghanistan, notwithstanding all the dark forebodings of those who remembered the disaster to the English arms in that province. It seemed at one moment as if the partisans of the non-intervention policy in England had nothing more to do than to write articles on the fine arts in the popular reviews. Beaconsfield's prestige was greater than the prestige of Palmerston ever had been, and he carried with him not only the people but the sovereign, which Palmerston had never done. England had reconquered by a bold stroke what she had lost during the Second French Empire ; she had proved to the world that the British lion could do something more than growl. She had again an imperial policy ; she was ready to defend by all means the road to India. Queen Victoria had boldly assumed the title of Empress of India, so as to show to the world that India was something more than a vulgar dependency and a market for British goods. And at the very moment when this new policy had marked itself in the strongest manner, a petty pasha, turned into a khedive (Khedive means nothing better than 'highness'), consciously or unconsciously upsets the whole fabric of this imperial policy. He dismisses the ministers which England and France had given to him, almost contemptuously ; he places himself at the head of a national party, and says, "Egypt for the Egyptians." The definition of Egypt by Lord Beaconsfield and his school was, "The road to India"; the defi-

nition of Ismaïl Pasha is altogether different—it is the land of the Pharaohs, the Valley of the Nile, leading to the Sudan, to an immense and almost unknown equatorial empire. England and France have been quite amazed by the boldness of the Khedive; they are both meditating upon the policy which they ought to follow in this critical affair. The Egyptian question has become a turning point not only for the Administration of Lord Beaconsfield but for the first Administration of M. Grévy and for the policy of the French Republic.

Correspondence.

THE CURE FOR GRANTISM.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Being a constant reader of your journal myself, and believing that you represent the feelings of a large majority of thinking Republicans in your criticisms on the Grant movement and the control that the "machine" politicians have over the party, allow me to ask if you cannot suggest some way out of the dilemma.

There are many good Republicans who agree with you that in the long run the election of General Grant will be very disadvantageous to the party, yet who will vote for him unless some better man be nominated. A physician who should do nothing but describe the alarming symptoms of his patients—no matter how truly—and foretell the fatal results of their disorders, would be very apt to lose his influence as a skilful practitioner from the fact that, though he were able to detect danger, he yet failed to point out the means to avoid, or, at least, mitigate, the evil.

It seems to me that the case of the *Nation* is in this respect a somewhat similar one, for while its criticisms on existing evils are very just, at the same time its readers would like to see (as they have reason to expect from a journal of its standing) some plan for correcting these evils suggested. Very respectfully, D. S. C.

New York, May 16, 1879.

"CONVICTION."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your recent review of the Fitz-John Porter case the presentation of the testimony of Lieut.-Col. T. C. H. Smith and of Judge Holt's reference to it is calculated to leave certain erroneous impressions which I will thank you to allow me, for the benefit of your readers, to correct.

You begin by assuming that the witness was, at his interview with General Porter, prepossessed against him by a knowledge of his despatches to General Burnside. The record shows the contrary, and the witness testified that his prepossessions were favorable to General Porter.

You then go on to give by partial quotations some of the expressions of the witness in reporting to General Pope his interview with General Porter, and his consequent conviction as to what would result from the latter's disposition in regard to his commanding general and the pending operations; and you blend with these, as a part of the report, the heated expressions used by Colonel Smith in warning General Pope of the strength of his conviction, when the latter had scouted the conclusion at which his staff-officer had arrived as not deserving of attention. This distinction is of consequence when, as in your article, you undertake, without presenting the record, to give an idea of the temper and way of thinking of the witness as affecting the value of his testimony.

Your comments on the Judge Advocate-General's remarks upon the testimony of the witness need no better answer than to bring you face to face with another critic, and one who will probably be recognized generally as fair and exact. The following are Whately's views regarding the "foundation" of our judgment upon individuals:*

"Our judgment of the character of any individual is often not originally derived from such circumstances as we should assign, or *could* adequately set forth in language, in justification of our opinion. When we undertake to give our reasons for thinking that some individual, with whom we are personally acquainted, is or is not a gentleman, a man of taste, humane, public-spirited, etc., we, of course, appeal to his conduct or his distinct avowal of his own sentiments, and if these furnish sufficient proof of our assertions we are admitted to have given *good reasons* for our opinion; but it may be still doubted whether these were, in the first instance at least, *our* reasons which led us to form that opinion. If we carefully and candidly examine our own mind we shall generally find that our judgment was originally (if not absolutely decided), at least strongly influenced, by the person's looks, tones of voice, gestures, choice of expressions, and the like; which, if stated as reasons for forming a conclusion, would in general appear frivolous, merely because no language is competent adequately to describe them, but which are not necessarily insufficient grounds for beginning at least to form an opinion, since it is notorious that there are many acute persons who are seldom deceived in such indications of character.

"In all subjects, indeed, persons unaccustomed to writing or discussion, but possessing natural sagacity, and experience in particular departments, have been observed to be generally unable to give a satisfactory reason for their judgments, even on points on which they are actually very good judges. This is a defect which it is the business of education (especially the present branch of it) to surmount or diminish. After all, however, in some subjects no language can adequately convey (to the inexperienced, at least) all the indications which influence the judgment of an acute and practical observer; and hence it has been justly and happily remarked that 'he must be an indifferent physician who never takes any step for which he cannot assign a satisfactory reason.'"

Whately in a foot-note refers to Aristotle's 'Ethics,' Book 6, having reference probably to what is said there on the quality of apprehension.

It is seen that Whately recognizes it as a fact of ordinary experience that in reporting our judgment of individuals, even when we can cite "an avowal of sentiment" which will so far furnish to others reasons for our conviction, yet our judgment may have been originally and absolutely decided by reasons which we are unable to set forth in language. In this case the witness gave the substance of a conversation which showed that while others were thinking of battle, Porter was thinking of getting back to Alexandria, where McClellan lay in command; and that the only reference Porter could make to the successful battle of Hooker the evening before was, that it would "hurt Pope" because he had left the wounded behind; and that when Col. Smith informed him that Gen. Pope had given stringent orders to bring the wounded away, he expressed no satisfaction, uttered no word of relief that might show that his interest in the matter had been owing to anxiety for the wounded, but, on the contrary, replied only with silence and the look of disappointment. It is seen also that Whately affirms that similar observation and judgment, even when life is at stake, and by the most competent physicians, are used and acted upon.

In the argument presented by the accused the testimony we are considering was treated as "insane ravings." It was the duty of the Judge Advocate-General, if he regarded the witness and his testimony as deserving of consideration, to defend accordingly. He did so; and, in so doing, affirmed no other doctrine than that which Whately had affirmed: that such testimony cannot be regarded as invalid on the ground that it is unwarranted by ordinary human experience.

That a man who has rendered such public services as Judge Holt; who, when it was the object of those contriving the rebellion to take advantage of the weak vacillation of the then Executive and break up the lawful transmission of the Government, was able, hand-in-hand with Stanton, to conduct us safely over the bridge to the firm ground of legitimate succession; to whom we are mainly indebted for the exposition of the character, designs, and organization of the great secret conspiracy in the North in aid of the rebellion, and for its defeat; who throughout the long struggle was one of Lincoln's nearest and most trusted advisers—that such a man, one of the masters of American eloquence withal, should, when living in his old age in honorable retirement, have such comments as you have indulged in made upon utterances which are but the affirmation of the best Greek thought at the beginning of philosophy, and of the latest and most exact and careful observation and criticism of our own day—is a sign of the times which it is well for all to consider who have not wholly passed over into reactionary sentiment.

As in treating of the matter on which I here address you, you have, I think, passed from the region of argument and just criticism into that of personalities, I think it proper to ask you to insert this reply.

Your obedient servant,

T. C. H. Smith.

Washington, D. C., May 12, 1879.

[Colonel Smith appears to be laboring under a singular mistake as to the nature of the question between us. He quotes Whately, and even Aristotle, to show that as a matter of fact we do often form our judgment of the character of individuals from circumstances which we are unable to assign or set forth in adequate language. But nobody has ever doubted this. Nobody has denied, so far as we know, that Colonel Smith did form an unfavorable opinion of Porter's character and intentions from words and looks

* Whately's 'Rhetoric,' "Conviction."

which he was not able to describe accurately before the court-martial. Everybody does draw inferences of this kind from conversations with strangers, and even from silent observation of their looks and manner. But neither Whately nor Aristotle, nor any other philosopher, ancient or modern, has ever maintained that all such inferences have the same degree or even any degree of probative force. Indeed, we had supposed until now that everybody knew that their value depended on circumstances, and, above all, on the mental and moral constitution and social experience of the person drawing them. Such judgments, to use Bentham's language, "are made hasty, negligent, and erroneous by want of knowledge, general or particular, absolute or relative." That is to say, I must be a person of inordinate self-confidence if I allow mere manner in a brief interview with a person whom I have never before seen to determine my course in any serious matter in which he is concerned. I may be justified in allowing it to decide whether I shall ask him to dinner or go make a journey with him, or go into business with him, or give him a letter of introduction. In other words, manner often furnishes rational and conscientious men with a guide in social intercourse; but we can truly say that Colonel Smith's case is the first of which we have ever heard in which it enabled a man to make up his mind that he would be justified in murdering the person whose looks displeased him, and in offering his impressions to a court of law in corroborative proof of a capital charge. For it must be remembered that Colonel Smith had never seen General Porter before. He acknowledged in his cross-examination that he did not know what his ordinary manner was, and that his conclusion that Porter was guilty of using a sneering tone was derived from a comparison of Porter's manner on this occasion not with his manner on other occasions, but with an ideal standard of manners of Colonel Smith's own. For grave business, and, above all, for business affecting a fellow-man's life, or fortune, or honor, however, we have no right to judge him by our own standard of manners, or judge him at all except after prolonged observation. The extent to which manner is deceptive as to real qualities of head and heart is one of the commonplaces of social philosophy. There is no phenomenon with which we are more familiar than the concealment of a warm and generous disposition under a cold, or repelling, or mocking exterior; or of great gentleness under a rough and coarse exterior; or of indomitable pluck and audacity under an effeminate exterior. Great cutthroats, indeed, not unfrequently have a soft, low voice and winning smile. Moreover, a man's judgment about manners, as an indication of character, has little or no value for any purpose outside of the society to which he is accustomed, except the formation of personal like or dislike. A European who would undertake to read the character of the first Turk he saw from a five-minutes' talk would do a very presumptuous thing, and the opinion of a Texan ranchero as to the character of a French Legitimist would hardly be worth listening to. General Grant is said to have contracted a deadly antipathy to the late Mr. Motley from seeing his hair parted in the middle, and we have the authority of one Western writer of repute for the statement that throughout the West this mode of wearing the hair is looked on as an indication of serious mental and moral infirmity. It is very hard, also, to convince some of our temperance men that a German divine whom he sees drinking beer in a garden on Sundays, or tossing off hock at his dinner, is not a very loose fish in all the relations of life.

But this is not all. We can readily believe that there was a sneer in Porter's mind, and perhaps on his face, when discussing Pope's strategy with a member of Pope's staff. It was hard for any military man to have much confidence in it after seeing Pope's account of it in his first general order, and least of all for a corps commander of the force on whose past operations the general order was a kind of contemptuous criticism. Considering what human nature is, it was not wonderful, too, that Porter expressed no hopeful interest in Pope's proposed forward movement. But then the history of war shows very well that it does not follow from an officer's expression of want of confidence in his commander that he is ready to betray him on the battle-field or wilfully disobey his orders. The number of generals-in-chief who have secured the complete confidence of their troops is very small. When we think of the great captains who have done so, we have to remember that to each of them was opposed another captain whose army stood by him in spite of defeat and disaster. In fact, there is nothing so striking in the history of war as the extent to which military discipline has been efficacious in making obedience independent of confidence in the general. His incompetency generally destroys the hopefulness and enthusiasm of the soldier, which are so necessary to success in war, but there is an enormous interval between despondency and treachery. The cases in which it has led an officer of any rank within two thousand years to betray his leader may be counted on one's fingers. There was nothing in Porter's career previous to 1862 to upset this presumption in his favor. Moreover, Colonel Smith thought well of him and knew nothing against him; nevertheless, such is his confidence in his own powers as an interpreter of manner, that in a first interview of a few minutes, during which Porter was "gentlemanly and courteous," he not only made up his mind from Porter's tone and look that he was going to commit a monstrous crime of extraordinary rarity, but that he (Smith) would be morally justified in murdering him. Nothing would have shocked Whately more than the thought that his book was likely to produce physiognomists of this self-confident and sanguinary temper.

As regards Judge-Advocate Holt we have this to say: Courts-martial are bound, we believe, by the common-law rules of evidence. We speak as laymen and under correction when we affirm that Colonel Smith's account of the impression produced on him by Porter's manner, and what he said about it to Pope, would not have been allowed to go to a jury, and ought not to have been admitted by a court-martial. But granting that it was proper to let it in for what it was worth, even in a capital case, its flimsiness was so plain that it was indecent, we repeat, for an elderly lawyer, summing up the case afterwards in the calm of his library, for the President's guidance, to pick out this piece of testimony for special emphasis, and to compare, in the gaudy rhetoric of a dime novel, Smith's inferences from a stranger's manner to the working of a law of nature, like the emanation of the perfume from the flower. We say deliberately that the man who did this with the view of inflicting lifelong ruin and misery on a fellow-creature ought and deserves to have his retirement embittered by the recollection of it to his dying day, and the more active the part he has played in public affairs the deeper his remorse ought to be. What Colonel Smith means by "personalities" we do not well know. We have been commenting on the evidence of a witness on the trial of a man for a capital offence, and on the professional conduct of one of the counsel. We cannot do this by the aid of algebraic signs. We have to mention names. Besides, if these complaints of "personalities" are proper, ought not General Porter to be heard on the subject? What would he call the Smith testimony and the Holt summing-up? Was not Colonel Smith a little "personal" when he proposed to himself to shoot him for being "sneering and indifferent?"—Ed. Nation.]

THE NEW CALIFORNIA CONSTITUTION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As you are already aware, the election last Wednesday in this State has resulted in the adoption of the new constitution by a majority the extent of which is not yet known, but which will probably reach 10,000. The result has taken everybody by surprise. So little was it looked for that on the afternoon of election day the *Evening Post*, of this city, came out with a triumphant rooster at the head of its columns in celebration of an assured defeat of the instrument; and until the actual figures began to come in bets, and even large odds, were freely offered that the city would give a majority of several thousand (instead of the actual 1,400) against, and that the new constitution would be defeated.

It is, perhaps, too soon for any one, either on the spot or at a distance, to take a comprehensive view of the situation. The business community of San Francisco, who have fought well and been beaten, are

naturally a little downhearted in the hour of defeat, but they have had hard rubs ere now, and are not the men to give way to despair. This constitutional experiment has excited so much interest at the East that I offer no apology for making a few remarks. Persons at a distance are liable to make the mistake of considering the adoption of the new constitution simply as a victory of Kearney and his sand-lot followers. If it were so it would be a matter of national importance. Some few figures based on the returns of the election (which are yet incomplete) may help to modify this impression. The Workingmen's party has always had its chief strength in the cities and larger towns. The returns from 33 cities and towns, including San Francisco, giving a vote of 400 or over, show a total of about 76,000, giving a majority of 1,900 against the constitution. Selecting the ten cities and towns in the State giving over 1,000 votes, the total vote is 61,000, with a majority of 4,400 against. The vote of the State is in the neighborhood of 140,000. A comparison of the returns with the map shows that the outlying agricultural counties have uniformly gone for the new constitution, and that the principal centres of population and the mining counties have opposed it. It therefore follows that the people of the cities are quite competent to deal with the hoodlum and sand-lot elements, and that the strength of the new constitution has lain in the agricultural districts.

The fact is that the new constitution has been framed and carried through by a system of log-rolling, under which the farmers have been bribed by the exemption of their growing crops from taxation and by a fiscal system which, apparently at least, transfers much of their burdens to capitalists and traders. There seems no reason to suppose that the designs of the farmers are communistic or revolutionary. They have united with the sand-lot faction to gain certain ends, some practicable and some impracticable, but there is no enduring bond of union between the two classes.

What with a crushing railroad monopoly, managed with consummate skill but with no attempt to conciliate public opinion, the temptation of mining speculation, a climate which makes agriculture as generally conducted akin to gambling, and the Chinese disturbing element, the circumstances of California are peculiar. In my opinion it is by no means a fair conclusion that the adoption of the new constitution is the point of an entering wedge destined to shake the country. With all its absurdities the new constitution embodies some useful reforms, and it is capable of amendment without much delay, and it is the interest of every one who has anything to lose that it should be interpreted speedily and in a liberal spirit. Some of its more objectionable faults are the result of blundering, and will be amended by common consent as soon as their effect is understood ; others are in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, and as such will be inoperative ; whilst others will probably be found to be impracticable and be explained away by the courts. Though many public and private interests may suffer, there seems every reason to hope that the industry and business of a State with such resources as California will speedily adapt themselves to the new order of things.

RICHARD WEBB.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 9, 1879.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : A recent article in the *Nation* on the constitution lately submitted to, and now adopted by, the people of California has been very generally read, and has attracted attention here in many circles. As an evidence of this, and as a somewhat noticeable fact, it may be stated that in the pulpit of our leading Presbyterian church, on last Sunday evening, it was read by the minister when speaking on the subject and against the new constitution. The criticism contained in that article, while in the main fair and intelligent, seems severe ; and in view of the fact that the constitution has now been adopted, not by a very large majority, but by a majority that leaves no doubt as to the decided will of the people, it is due to us as a community, and to those who may be interested in our industrial and political progress, to have stated more precisely the real significance of this event. The great danger is that many in other States may misinterpret this event and draw unjust and erroneous inferences, as unfair to a large and intelligent class who have steadily advocated its adoption as to that other class who have as steadily and persistently opposed it.

In the first place, the constitution itself is by no means the dreadful instrument it is claimed to be, nor quite such a novelty in American politics as it is represented. The two latest State constitutions adopted before this are those of Missouri and Texas—the former in 1875, the latter in 1876—and in each are clauses similar to those which have been so severely criticised in the constitution now adopted in this State. The subjects placed beyond the power of special legislation in the California constitution are almost identical with those similarly proscribed in Texas. Our most thoughtful statesmen and publicists have strenuously for a long time advocated this limitation on the power of the legislature, and in some measure a clause against special legislation is a distinguishing feature of our late American constitutions.

Another "novelty" which has been pointed out is the provision that private property taken or "damaged" by the right of eminent domain shall be first paid for. Now, this word "damaged" is found in both the Texas and Missouri constitutions, and was there inserted on the highest authority. Chancellor Kent, in one of his decisions on this point, the doctrine of which has been highly endorsed, lays it down that it is a principle of equity to allow compensation *before* private property is taken for a public use, and this compensation should be given to one suffering a consequential damage. (See Gardner *v.* Newburgh, 2 Johns, ch. 161.)

Again, the clause empowering the legislature to "regulate or prohibit" the buying and selling of certain stock-certificates has been much condemned, and its effect dreaded ; but it should be remembered that while the constitution says the legislature "may" or "shall" do a certain act, that it is still *discretionary* with the legislature to carry out the provision. It has lately been determined, under a similar provision in Missouri, that the legislature cannot be compelled to make laws, as where taxation is authorized for a certain purpose. (See St. Joseph *v.* Patten, 62 Missouri Rep. 444.) It is true that where a provision requires no law to execute it, there it becomes a law by virtue of the adoption of the constitution—the constitution becomes self-executing. There are many provisions in the new constitution which are of the class above mentioned—those left *discretionary*. I am far from approving such provisions, but I mention this to show that the effects will be by no means so disastrous as they are believed. I cannot further take space to point out other provisions that will be found, after examination, to be as little open to serious objection. The article on taxation, I admit, may occasion some perplexity, but it certainly will not be so dreadful in its operation as it is claimed, nor will it harass persons in the way it is imagined. Already there is preparation being made to adjust ourselves to the new order of things, and before long it will be seen that California progress and enterprise will be little impaired or thwarted by this "new departure," as it is termed.

But a word as to the agency or the factors that have produced all this. There can be no greater or more egregious mistake than to assert that this constitution is the offspring and the legitimate effect of a spirit of communism. It does a large class a serious injustice to have this impression go abroad. It is true that many of those affected with this spirit have favored and voted for its adoption, but its adoption has come from other causes that have been working silently but strongly for some time, and are now fully known and felt. I may classify those supporting the constitution in this manner : 1. There is the thriftless, impoverished element, who are always willing to have a change ; 2. Another class, who are suffering from grievances, such as over-taxation and the like ; 3. A class well-known in American politics in every State, who aspire to hold office, and take advantage of a new movement ; 4. Another class, who simply want a change ; and, lastly, an intelligent, industrious element, who have carefully studied the needs and defects of the present situation, and conscientiously desire to remedy and supply them by a new organic law. Now, there is a larger proportion of the latter supporting the new constitution than has been suspected. These will be sufficient to take control of the organization under the new system, and prevent the influence or domination of elements that have identified themselves with the movement in support of the constitution.

It is very certain that no great disaster, no lasting check, will be suffered from the adoption of this constitution. American, and especially Californian, enterprise and intelligence can be very readily adapted to new circumstances and exigencies.—Respectfully,

JOHN PROFFATT.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 8, 1879.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : The article in No. 718 of the *Nation* on "The New Constitution of California," which has since been adopted, has suggested some considerations from another point of view, which are perhaps no less important than those there presented.

The all-important question now is, What has led to the weakening of

the power of the classes that usually dominate in civilized communities —the classes embodying the wealth, intelligence, and cultivation of the community—to the extent made manifest by the present state of affairs in that State ? Theoretical or imported socialism and communism have not obtained the footing in California that they have secured in the cities of St. Louis and Chicago, and another solution of the question must be offered. Briefly stated, I think this solution must be found in an unprecedented accumulation of money-power by a moneyed class of exceptionally low standard.

The organization of society, the subordination of its various strata, is only apparently maintained by the forces of law and the difficulty attending the institution of a change. Underlying these more or less obvious restraints there are moral sanctions which are not less essential to the maintenance of the submission of the lower classes to the established order of things ; and, however harsh the differences of condition between the dominating and dominated classes may at times appear, the disposition to revolt is in most cases effectually restrained if these moral sanctions are not violated or essentially weakened. First, there must exist a moral sanction to the title to wealth—*i.e.*, it must have been acquired by means which the ordinary moral sense of the community deems honest ; and, second, there should be such a use made of wealth that it shall compel from the same ordinary sense a decent degree of respect for its possessors ; and it is to the loosening of these ordinary sanctions to wealth and power in the popular mind that the present singular insurrection against civilization owes, for the most part, its success. Of the moneyed class in San Francisco it may be safely asserted that there is no city of equal importance in which that class embodies so many great fortunes acquired by means which are dishonest *to the common understanding*. It is notorious that the rapid growth of California in material wealth has led to the acquisition of colossal fortunes by a low order of men. The newspapers have long familiarized us with the unprincipled combinations which they have employed in their operations. The speculations and peculations of the mining, timber, water, and land rings have been all but open. The politics of the State have been controlled, and every branch of the government—the judiciary included—has become implicated in a widespread charge of general corruption or submission to a coarse and unscrupulous money-power.

Again, the existence of this class has given birth to an ostentatious extravagance and luxury which of necessity display themselves in coarse forms. San Francisco is well known for its flaunting and undisguised immorality in respect to the relation of the sexes. The effects are seen in the great frequency of divorces and the large number of female adventuresses to be found there. Hence the charge of immorality so repeatedly and offensively made against the rich by Kearney.

These things have given rise to the sand-lot orator, and point to his denunciations of the "money kings of Nob Hill." They have encouraged the lower classes to feel and believe that they are better than "their betters," and better fitted and equipped to fill their places in the community. We must recollect that the people of California have known and read of little else concerning the classes above them except what is vicious and demoralizing : corrupt judges, bribed legislatures, purchased officials ; corrupt and, in their results, cruel combinations and manipulations by the mining corporations; "land-grabs," and "jumping" of mines. The discontent of the lower classes has received strength and encouragement from a large portion of the business community and of the tradespeople under the influence of the depression in trade and industry, which is popularly ascribed to the merciless fleecing of the community by the mine magnates.

This unsoundness in the organization of the community is of long standing, and has now borne bitter fruit. There is, of course, no evidence to support the notion that the lower classes in California are the moral superiors of the upper. It is sufficient that the former believe this. Indeed, there is no lack of evidence to show that the possession of wealth there as elsewhere is being followed by the cultivation of the arts and sciences and the spread of refinement and cultivation; but the people have gauged the wealthy classes by their most conspicuous and influential types, men like Flood, Mackey, O'Brien, and Ralston. The corruption of wealth in such hands, and its abuse by men of this stamp, have given a degree of moral force to the demagogues of the sand-lots, and enabled an agitation of the lowest kind, led by men of the most brutal type, to succeed in changing the fundamental law of the State.

The conditions which obtained in California are exceptional. The success of this movement there may encourage similar ones elsewhere, but they are not likely to succeed in the older communities, for where civilization has not fallen into disrepute its weapons can scarcely prove ineffectual. The misfortune which has befallen California may serve to impress upon the minds of the wealthy class that there is a moral responsibility in the possession of wealth and power, and in its use and exercise, which cannot be utterly neglected. S. B. L.

New York, 132 Nassau Street, May 14, 1879.

Notes.

B. WESTERMANN & CO. send us Parts 2 and 3 of the new edition of Stieler's Atlas, containing maps of Belgium and Holland, Southwestern Germany and Switzerland (northern part), Great Britain (southern part), Polynesia, etc., with Strassburg and Metz and Antwerp among the side-maps. Two plates are given of a relatively small-scale map of the United States (four plates instead of six as in the previous edition), but curiously enough they are both inscribed "West Indies."——G. P. Putnam's Sons have begun the publication of a quarterly journal called *Neurological Contributions*, of which Drs. Wm. A. Hammond and Wm. J. Morton are the editors, if not the sole contributors. The first number is full of topics possessing a painful interest, and is by way of compensation even elegantly printed.——Mr. George E. Davenport, Medford, Mass., has published a pamphlet catalogue of his herbarium of North American ferns north of Mexico, with notes of locality, collectors' and donors' names, and critical remarks, and partaking "more of the character of a hand-book than of a mere catalogue." A special object to be promoted by the sale is the improvement and completion of the collection as originally planned.——From Lindsay & Baker, Philadelphia, we have received a reduced steel engraving of the head of Washington after the well-known portrait by Stuart. It has been well and tastefully executed in line and stipple, by Mr. H. Wright Smith, and appears to us a successful reproduction of the original likeness. A portrait of another Revolutionary worthy, Governor George Clinton, after the bust of Ceracchi, in possession of the New York Historical Society, comes to us from A. S. Barnes & Co., who have had it engraved on steel, by H. B. Hall & Sons, for the June number of their *Magazine of American History*.—— The subject of wood engraving is being sensibly treated, with excellent illustrations, in the current issues of the *Magazine of Art* (Cassell, Petter & Galpin). The third paper, by Mr. Henry Holiday, appeared in the May number.——At the last meeting of the Maine Historical Society, in Portland, on the 15th, papers were read from Judge Godfrey, of Bangor, on Claude la Tour and Judge Edward Kent, by Hon. I. Washburn on the Northeastern Boundary, and by Hon. Wm. Goold on Sir Wm. Phips. Mr. Washburn's paper will perhaps be published as a third volume of the Documentary History of Maine.——The Haydn Society of Portland produced on the 15th inst., for the first time in America, McFarren's oratorio "John the Baptist," with Mr. Hermann Kotzschmar as director. The parts were taken by Mr. John B. Coyle, jr., *John the Baptist;* Mr. A. E. Pennell, *Herod Antipas;* Miss Nettie A. Milliken, *Salome;* and Mrs. A. E. Goudy, *Narrator*. This society, which has a very honorable rank among the musical organizations of the country, has produced under the same leader a number of other works for the first time in America—*e.g.*, Mr. Paine's "St. Peter," in 1873 ; Randegger's "Fridolin," Handel's "Theodora," in 1876.——Parts 2–4 of Fink's 'Musikalischer Hausschatz der Deutschen' (New York : L. W. Schmidt) completes the ninth edition of this ample collection of popular songs, which, first published in 1842, and held in uninterrupted favor ever since, has now undergone its second revision to keep it abreast of the times. More than a tenth part has been removed to make room for substitutions ; and by way of heaping the measure the present editor, Dr. Langer, appends as Nos. 1001–1004 Robert Franz's Op. 40, No. 1, a newly-printed song by Constantin Schubart, Op. 3 of Brahms, and Op. 173, viii., of Raff. For a frontispiece there is a steel portrait of C. M. von Weber, who of all the great masters figures oftenest, we think, in this collection. The classification is into Folk-songs, songs of youth, songs of home and native land, student songs, soldier and huntsman songs, convivial songs, romances and ballads, *Minnelieder*, songs in praise of nature, devotional songs, songs of mourning, and miscellaneous. The notes are partly historical, but mostly indicate how the several pieces should be sung.—— Parts 7 and 8 of Koolman's 'Wörterbuch der Ostfriesischen Sprache' (A —— Gütjen) complete the first volume of this interesting and thoroughgoing dictionary. In a brief and modest preface the author explains that the fulness of the etymological discussions, which is open to the

objection of unnecessarily swelling the size of the work, is due to an irresistible desire to satisfy himself as to the origin of every word. He adds a goodly list of "sources," and promises to sum up in an "afterword" his latest conclusions on moot points of derivation. His publisher is H. Braams, Norden.

—Persons having letters from the late William Cullen Bryant in their possession or under their control will oblige his family by sending them addressed to Miss Julia Bryant, office of the *Evening Post*, 208 Broadway, New York. We are authorized to state that such letters will be received under whatever restrictions the proprietors may choose to impose, and the originals will be returned so soon as they can be conveniently copied.

—Mr. John Fiske sails this week for England, and, by invitation of Professor Huxley, will deliver next month in London his six lectures on "America's Place in History," which gave so much satisfaction when delivered last winter in Boston in the Old South Church. Englishmen of varying degrees of eminence long ago discovered America as a profitable field for an occasional lecture-tour, and it is high time that a return should be made in kind—that our authors, for example, should, like Dickens, or Thackeray, or Froude, follow their works across the Atlantic. Mr. Fiske's adventure is not wholly unprecedented, but it is almost as much of an incident as if it were quite original. We say this partly from the nature of his theme, for after the five heads—the Discovery of America, Spanish and French Explorers, the Struggle between France and England, the Thirteen English Colonies, Causes of the Revolution—comes the sixth, the English Race; and here Mr. Fiske indulges in some speculations as to "manifest destiny" which even exceed the Jingo conception of a Pan-britannic Confederacy, for they include the universal Yankee nation in the race-leadership of the world. Mr. Fiske's hearers, we believe, will be both pleased and instructed by what he has to say. As his stay in England will be short, we may expect to have the opportunity of hearing him in this city next fall. We may say of him, as we said last week of Mr. Kirk, that his appearance on the platform is of good omen for our lyceum system, for whose regeneration all cultivated men should labor.

—The June *Harper's* begins the fifty-ninth volume of this Nestor of the monthly magazines, and introduces also some changes in the internal appearance to which the veteran reader must accustom himself by degrees. The pleasurable effect of a rightly proportioned page is not capable of analysis—is at least for most of us entirely subtle; and before the judgment can freely pronounce between old and new the eye must recover from the spell with which long use has bound it. The new page retains the length of the old, but is considerably wider, and the type is enlarged throughout the several departments, so that ease of reading is greatly increased. The loss of a hundred words or so to the page will not trouble the right-minded, and there is an obvious gain on the pictorial side from the greater breadth for illustrations. These last are as abundant as ever, while some are of uncommon beauty of design, and in the best manner of the new school of engraving. Two portraits, never before engraved, of Peter Stuyvesant and wife, after Vandyke, are especially noteworthy. Mr. H. M. Robinson gives a very lucid account of "The Honorable Hudson's Bay Company," in the easy literary style which has made his articles on the same subject in other magazines so attractive. Here he deals with the organization and management of the corporation on which depend the aborigines of the northern half of this continent, and gives an insight into the modes of promotion in the service, the subdivision of the enormous territory by forts and trading-posts, the annual exchange of goods and peltries, the stated mail and supply system, etc., etc. We are told that while "the list of goods ordered from England this year has exactly the same items as that of 1779," and while trade is still carried on by barter, with the beaver skin for the unit, money values have latterly become known, "and the almighty dollar is rapidly asserting its supremacy in savagedom." In his current paper on "Berg und Thal" Col. Waring graphically describes the ascent of Monte Tofana, the remembrance of which he would not surrender for the price of a first-rate hunter, and which he would not make over again for the hunter itself. Mr. E. P. Whipple's "Recollections of Agassiz" are interesting if rather diffuse; but there is nothing new in them, and they are, as Agassiz himself said of Dr. Hitchcock's book on the Connecticut Valley "bird"-tracks, "dees-creep-*teeve*, and not com-par-a-*teeve*." Mr. Pyle, who, we observe, is being soundly berated by the Virginian "Peninsular-Canaanites" for his unflattering account of their progress towards civilization, has happily made good his escape across the Maryland border, into the oyster and strawberry region, which also is not without its interesting monuments of a patriarchal aristocracy now extinct. Miss Logan's article on the "Grand Days of Histrionics"—a period as mythical as the "good old days" which college sophomores get enthusiastic over—is avowedly made out of Mr. Baker's unworthy volumes on "English Actors," which we reviewed recently. But where Mr. Baker merely hazards an erroneous impression—as, for instance, his suggestion that possibly the "drunken scene" of Robertson's play of "David Garrick" might be founded on fact—Miss Logan makes a bold misstatement. The article is inaccurate and inadequate, especially in its treatment of Garrick and Mrs. Jordan, and has no unity of purpose; it seems, indeed, to have been written solely to justify the engravings—a danger to which the illustrated magazines are constantly exposed.

—*Scribner's* puts its best foot foremost when it gives the first place to Mr. Russell Sturgis's "Fine Arts at the Paris Exposition," a retrospective paper giving a clear idea of the lay of the grounds, an admiring description of the palace of the Trocadéro, and some account, with fine illustrations, of a few striking pictures and statues. Mr. Vedder's "Young Marsyas," engraved after a drawing by the artist himself, cries out for him against the contemptuous treatment of his French critics. Chapu's "Gratitude," Dubois's "Charity," and Albert-Lefeuvre's "Jeanne d'Arc" are reproduced in a manner for which we cannot but be grateful. Mr. Herbert Smith, pursuing his Brazilian narrative, begins the ascent of the Amazons, which he styles "the Mediterranean of America" by what we must consider a rather forced analogy. He takes us into the rubber-producing wilderness along its banks, and shows the *seringueiros* who gather the crude gum to be the victims of exactly the same oppression on the part of the small traders as the negro cotton-growers of the lower Mississippi. Prof. Boyesen discourses of the University of Berlin, its origin, its government, the recruitment of the faculty, etc., and sketches the characteristics of the leading professors, including those whose portraits, engraved with great spirit, accompany the article, viz.: Lepsius, Curtius, Hermann Grimm, R. Virchow, Helmholtz, Th. Mommsen. Mr. Allen C. Redwood adds another to his list of clever papers based on his experience in the Confederate service, his theme being this time "With Stonewall Jackson" in the second Bull Run campaign. We can only mention Mr. C. C. Buel's historic review of the attempts to pierce the American Isthmus with an international ship-canal, and the first of a series of papers on Edison and his inventions. Mr. George S. Merriam, who discusses "Some Aspects of Matthew Arnold's Poetry," endeavors to show by copious citations how this poet "represents the doubts and sadness and unsatisfied aspiration of his time," and also to point out the changed spirit and temper of his later creed, as revealed in "Obermann Once More," with its doctrine of service instead of isolation, and its "sense that joy and peace are not a lost treasure of the ancient world."

—The annual meeting of the Metropolitan Museum of Art was held this month in a room of the new building in Central Park. The annual report of the trustees was read, but we defer comment upon the state of the Museum and its new situation and new circumstances until that report shall appear in print. It is to be hoped that the mere possession of a much larger and presumably less combustible building will aid the efforts of the trustees, and that private collections and separate works of art owned by private collectors will begin to gravitate toward the Museum: first as loans and for safe keeping, and by and by as gifts and as bequests. It appears by the daily papers that an important step has been taken toward more complete organization by the creation of the office of "Director-General." For eight years, and ever since the first hiring of the Dodworth house in Fifth Avenue, much of the work of the custodian and compiler of catalogues has been performed by members of the Executive Committee. Mr. Hutchins has been a devoted and valuable officer, and since Mr. Bland's appointment as Assistant Secretary he and Mr. Hutchins have done all that they could do; but obviously the staff was insufficient, and the voluntary labor of the trustees could not always be continued. General di Cesnola is appointed to the office of Director-General, and at first this appointment seems a strange one, as that well-known discoverer of ancient art-treasures has not been known as a student of art in general. But the circumstances of our American museums and galleries of art are so different from those of the great institutions of Europe that the same rules do not apply to them, nor can the same customs always hold. Our New York Museum lacks money; without money it can do nothing; without a great deal of money it can do but little. It is now dependent for its annual running expenses, for salaries and for fuel, on the capricious favor of city and State officials,

and the rather grudged appropriations of the Legislature. It has no fund from which an income is received; it has no surplus for the purchase of works of art; the community has not been very friendly to the enterprise so far; and, to the discredit of the rich men of the community, few of them have been willing to help it to any considerable extent. The peculiar need of the moment is, therefore, popularity, repute, public favor. How this need is to be answered is the special business of the trustees; and General di Cesnola's well-known energy and executive power, his popularity and large acquaintance at home and abroad, seem to show that the immediate requirements of the directorship have not been overlooked.

—Mr. Rummel's second recital, on Thursday last, was fully as interesting as the first. The chronologically-arranged programme opened again with Bach—Prelude and Fugue in C from the "Wohltemperirtes Clavier"—and terminated with compositions of the masters of our own times. Bach's Prelude and Fugue were again admirably played. We feel inclined to think that fugue-playing is one of Mr. Rummel's strongest points. In Beethoven's C sharp minor sonata—the "Moonlight"—the artist surprised us. He played the first movement, the andante, with a tenderness and delicacy of expression which we have not known in him before, whilst the stormy, passionate finale—Presto agitato—was entirely wanting in that fire and vigor which we have always recognized as Mr. Rummel's strongest characteristic. Comparisons, we are told, are odious; but whoever has had the privilege of hearing Rubinstein's rendering of this movement, one of the finest efforts of the greatest living pianist, will not easily forget the impression produced by it. Mr. Rummel was most successful with Schumann's "Études symphoniques," which were played with splendid spirit. One of the remaining numbers deserves particular mention, viz., the "Étude" by Paganini-Liszt. It is one of twenty-four studies originally written for violin solo by Paganini, and dedicated "agli artisti." This inscription indicates the character of the composition, and rightly warns off the amateur performer. In the original form it is the most difficult music ever written for the violin, and in Liszt's arrangement it is certainly the most difficult music for the piano. "Whoever can master these variations," says Schumann, "may comfortably travel through the world, and he will certainly return home with the combined golden laurels of Paganini-Liszt." The number chosen by Mr. Rummel was not one of the most elaborate of the collection, yet it contains passages of enormous difficulties, and was so excellently played that this performance alone would ensure him a high rank among the piano-forte players of our times.

—The ninth volume of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' ninth edition (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.), is rich in articles for students of science, art, or economy, prepared by specialists. Such are "Finance," by Prof. Thorold Rogers; "Fine Arts," by Prof. Colvin; "Fisheries," by Mr. Holdsworth; "Flight," by Prof. Pettigrew; "Foraminifera," by Dr. Carpenter; "Forests," by Dr. Cleghorn; "Fortification," by Col. Nugent; and "Function," by Prof. Cayley. "Flight," "Foraminifera," and "Fortification" are richly illustrated. Among the more interesting biographies are those of Faraday (by Prof. Maxwell), Fénelon, Fichte, Fielding, Fox, Franklin (by Mr. John Bigelow), and Froissart. The chief historical article is the history of France, which has the dimensions of a book. This is, however, not only far inferior in value to the similarly extensive productions in the preceding volumes of the 'Encyclopædia'—Poole's portions of "Egypt" and Freeman's of "England"—but marred by glaring blunders and omissions, which render the entirely new part of the history, properly falling within the sphere of the ninth edition, unworthy of so excellent a publication. The eighth edition may be primarily responsible for the statement that Sebastopol "fell on the 10th of September" (it fell on the 8th), but it is the new article which tells us that the treaty of Zürich (1859) was "ratified in October" (it was concluded in November); that "on that same day" (August 2, 1870) on which "the emperor's reconnaissance drove the Germans out of Sarrebruck" "General Douay was attacked and defeated at Wissembourg" (he was attacked two days later); that in the same month the murderous fighting took place on "the 16th at Gravelotte" (the battle of the 18th is known as the battle of Gravelotte); that Thiers was a member of the Government of National Defence (which we hear for the first time); that "in December, 1870, at Versailles, the King of Prussia was proclaimed head of a new empire of Germany" (he was proclaimed on January 18, 1871); that "the new Republican Government of France" established at Bordeaux in February, 1871, "had M. Grévy as President, and Thiers as chief of the executive power" (Grévy was president *of the Assembly*); and that "M. Thiers, with infinite toils, and with journeys from court to court, . . . succeeded in getting terms of peace agreed to" (for that purpose he travelled only from Bordeaux to Versailles). The omissions in this portion of the history are equally striking. After Sedan we hear only of Paris and Metz, and that when both these cities had surrendered "the war elsewhere died out almost at once"; but there is not a mention of the battles fought near Orleans, Amiens, Bapaume, Le Mans, St. Quentin, Belfort, etc., etc., or any allusion to the advance of the Germans beyond Paris; nor is a single German commander in all that war mentioned by name. Ten lines are devoted to the Commune and the second siege of Paris, and the only names occurring in these lines are Paris, Versailles, and MacMahon. Worse than all this, and, in fact, one of the falsest statements we have ever read in a respectable book, is the reference (p. 624) to the "Quadrilateral . . . formed by the great fortresses of Peschiera," etc., of which "Legnano stands on the Lago di Garda, which runs up into Switzerland." Now, the truth is that the name of the latter fortress is not Legnano, but Legnago; that, like Peschiera, it never was a great fortress; that it does not stand on the Lago di Garda, nor near it; and that this lake does not run into Switzerland, if it runs at all, but into Tyrol.

—The English Dialect Society has begun its publications for the present year with a valuable supplement to the Glossary of the Cumberland Dialect reprinted last year, also edited by Mr. William Dickinson; and a batch of reprints of minor glossaries—general, Wiltshire, East-Anglian, Suffolk, and East Yorkshire—edited with a sure hand by Professor Skeat. Of these last the gem is Mr. Spurdens's East-Anglian supplement, but both volumes are full of curious reading, especially for Americans. In the Cumbrian *ampassy, and*, we have the analogue of the Suffolk *abisselfa* (A, by itself, A); the former word denoting the character *&*, by corruption from *et per se* (that is, *et* as distinguished from *etc.*). The following are likewise Cumbrian: *fadderless stew*, potatoes stewed without meat; and *joop*, a short upper garment or jacket worn by females, whence *joop't*, to be domineered over by a woman. "The wife, instead of saying 'my husband,' calls him *ours*." From the larger volume we select: "*coffin*, a basket, which preceded the use of boarded coffins," thus anticipating Mr. Seymour Haden; "'to throw the *helve* after the hatchet'—having adventured in a losing speculation, to engage further in it"; "*mealer*, a moth that covers with meal: but commonly pron. (but wrong) *miller*." On p. 61 there is an admirable description of a horn-book, whose alphabet (*criss-cross-row*) was "in the shape of Christ's cross; the consonants in the vertical, and the vowels in the horizontal, part." Mr. Skeat's terse notes and comments are always instructive. Thus, apropos of Akerman's remark concerning the Southern dialects that "the *w* is often sounded before a vowel, as *stwone* for stone," we are reminded that the "standard English *wun* for one" is a survival in polite speech of this dialectal peculiarity. Under *cat's-cradle* (*scratch-cradle*) we learn that "*cat's*, like *scratch*, is a corruption of *scratch*, F. *crèche*, a crib." And the learned editor's pricking of fanciful and fraudulent etymologies is as amusing as it is faithful.

—The Society has now been in existence six years, and with reasonable diligence expects to finish its task in four or five years more. It has deposited all its collection of books, as the nucleus of an English Dialect Library, with the Central Public Library in Manchester. Though its membership is large—300, besides 44 public libraries—it would be greatly aided by a moderate increase, say to 400; and it seems as if the difference could easily be made up in this country, where at present only six libraries and two individuals (including a bookseller) are subscribers. The annual fee is one pound, or to Americans twenty-two shillings, which covers the postage; and the printed return is a very liberal equivalent. We are promised this year the second part of the valuable collection of Plant-names already noticed by us, and a List of the Local Names of British Fishes, Marine Animals, and Fishing Appliances, by Mr. Thomas Satchell, derived from more than a hundred places on the coast of the United Kingdom, and numbering some 800 terms. A complete glossary of the dialectal words and forms in the Paston Letters is among the future performances, of which a gratifyingly long list is given in the Sixth Annual Report prefixed to Mr. Skeat's reprints. The treasurer of the society is Mr. George Milner, Moston, Manchester; the publishers are Trübner & Co.

—One of the heaviest and most honorable enterprises ever attempted by a publishing house is the series of "Grands Écrivains de la France," now in course of publication by MM. Hachette & Cie. It is their intention to issue in uniform volumes of an ample octavo size, at a reasonable price (seven francs and a half a volume), the complete works of all the great writers of France. Each author is edited separately by a compe-

tent hand, who, however, works under the general direction of M. Adolphe Regnier, the editor of the whole series. A biographic notice is prefixed to the first volume of each writer's works ; a special introduction precedes each work ; the text is compared with the original manuscripts if they exist, and with all the important editions ; ample variorum notes are at the bottom of each page ; all other notes are relegated to the end of the production they elucidate. All existing correspondence of the author and all fragments are included. Ample indexes and a lexicon of the writer's vocabulary are appended. Corneille (12 vols.), edited by M. Marty-Laveaux ; Malherbe (5 vols), edited by M. Ludovic Lalanne ; Racine (8 vols.), edited by M. P. Mesnard ; and Mme. de Sévigné (14 vols.), edited by M. Monmerqué, are now complete. The works of La Bruyère, La Rochefoucauld, De Retz, and Molière are in course of publication. La Fontaine, Pascal, Boileau, and Saint-Simon are in preparation. The Molière will probably be completed in about ten volumes, of which the fourth is just out. The first three volumes were edited by the late Eugène Despois, who has now been replaced by M. Paul Mesnard, the editor of Racine in the same series, and not as well known as a Moliérist as was M. Despois. But this fourth volume shows no falling off in the even excellence of the whole series ; it is the most important thus far issued, as it contains "Tartuffe," to which masterpiece three hundred of its five hundred and sixty-eight pages are given up. When completed, this edition of Molière will rival as a working edition, if it does not entirely supersede, the fine edition of M. Louis Moland. But of new editions of Molière there is no end, and of books of all sorts about Molière there is an infinite abundance. One of the most curious is a translation of a medical treatise, 'De Clysteribus,' published by Regnier de Graaf in 1668, which now appears as 'L'Instrument de Molière,' because it discusses the great comic dramatist's favorite weapon of assault against the quackery of medical science in his time. Molière's hatred of medicine did not prevent, it is pleasant to know, his having a doctor for one of his best friends ; and when he asked the king for a post for his physician, his majesty jestingly asked what the doctor did for Molière. "He orders me remedies," replied the grave humorist ; "I do not take them, and I get well." The new edition of this curious treatise is illustrated in a manner better fitted for the professional library than for general circulation. While the French admirers of Molière have never organized themselves into a Molière society akin to the English Shakspere societies, they have at last a special organ. Of *Le Moliériste*, a monthly review, edited by M. Georges Monval, the archivist of the Comédie-Française, and devoted wholly to Moliériana, two numbers have appeared.

—In view of the wide-spread belief that two intra-mercurial planets were observed by Professor Watson during the total eclipse of last July, astronomers will no doubt read with great interest a very elaborate discussion of the subject by Professor C. H. F. Peters, in numbers 2,253 and 2,254 of the *Astronomische Nachrichten*. We call to mind that Professor Watson's plan of observation was to point his telescope on an object, and then mark the direction of the pointing by making pencil-marks on two paper circles attached to the axes of the instrument. The places where the marks were to be made were indicated by a pair of wire pointers. Professor Peters first considers the probable errors of the observations as given by Professor Watson. Instead of five minutes, as Watson estimates, he is sure that from the elasticity of the pointers and the difficulty of making a pencil-mark to nearer than one seventieth of an inch, the probable error must be twenty minutes of arc on his circles. This corresponds to one-seventieth of an inch in the position of the pencil-mark. He then shows that the differences between the positions of the two planets correspond to that between the two stars, ϑ Cancri and ξ Cancri, in their neighborhood when allowance is made for this probable error. Therefore, if Professor Watson had not pointed on the sun and marked its position on his circles, there would have been no doubt whatever that the two objects that he saw were those two stars and not planets. But, on comparing his pointings on the sun, there is a discrepancy of three-quarters of a degree with the positions of the stars—a discrepancy, it will be seen, more than twice as great as the probable error which Professsor Peters himself estimates. The latter thinks that a plausible cause for this error is found in the different circumstances under which the markings were made for the stars and for the sun. "For the latter the pencil-marks could be made with full daylight and with leisure, for the former, on the contrary, there was haste and semi-darkness." "Is there to be wondered at a little bending of the wire, a little parallax amounting to only one-thirtieth of an inch ? for that is the equivalent of three-fourths of a degree upon the circle used." He regards Mr. Swift's observations as absolutely valueless, and directly contradictory to those of Professor Watson. There is no occasion to insist on this point, as Swift himself has since shown that the two planets he saw could not have been identical with either of Watson's, and has, therefore, maintained that there must be at least four Vulcans. The writer then goes on to an equally critical examination of the supposed observation of unknown planets in transit over the sun, and shows them to be utterly without foundation. He lays great stress upon the fact, already noted by others, that "with few exceptions only persons otherwise wholly unknown as astronomical workers have been favored with a view of the mythical planet. Since the time of Carrington all the spots have been counted, measured, photographed, but never a trace of Vulcan has been found by the astronomers engaged in that work." One of his most interesting conclusions in this direction is his comparison of the supposed observations of Mr. Lummis on March 19, 1862, with observations made by himself on the same day. He seems to show beyond all doubt that what Mr. Lummis saw was an ordinary solar spot, and that its supposed motion resulted from a mistake very easily made in recording his second observation.

THIERS.*

M. JULES SIMON gives us upward of a thousand pages on the history of his country during less than two years and four months, and we can say without hesitation that there is in all his narrative not a page too much. This judgment is not based on any brilliant literary merits of the book, nor on its originality of view or keenness of philosophical analysis--for it consists of unadorned and very plain recitals—but on the unusual importance of its subject, which deserves to be studied in all its fulness, and the calm and straightforward way in which the writer narrates the events of the period—events in which he was himself no mean actor. The history of the period is complex, and yet strikingly marked by a kind of epic unity. The hero, who undertakes to lift up prostrate France, and ransom her from the invader, encounters internal foes and perils ; he has to combat a monstrous insurrection and the spirit of reaction which it envenoms ; he stifles the former and succumbs to the latter—but not before achieving his task. Few books of history will so forcibly as this teach how far popular passion and the desire to rule or ruin can go in their madness, and how great a redemption political wisdom, matured and purified by bitter experience, may achieve under the most adverse circumstances.

"The 8th of February"—the reader will excuse our not copying the translator's Gallic form—is, strictly speaking, not the beginning of M. Thiers's government, but the day of the elections which led to its establishment on the 17th of that month. To these elections the first chapter is devoted, and mainly to the contest between the Paris branch of the Government of National Defence, represented by M. Simon himself, and M. Gambetta, the dictatorial chief of the delegation at Bordeaux, who had decreed the ineligibility of entire classes of Bonapartists. The author vindicates, of course, his own action, but he carefully avoids speaking harshly of M. Gambetta, writing at a time when the ex-dictator, the *enragé* of 1871, has become a main pillar of stability to the new edifice of French republicanism. Nor does he in any part of the work betray an undue inclination to make himself prominent, especially at the expense of his colleagues in the Government of Defence or in the Cabinet of M. Thiers. He warmly praises or defends Jules Favre, Jules Ferry, Ernest Picard, Trochu, and chiefly Rémusat ; and, after telling of Gambetta that while fighting for the deliverance of Paris, *extra muros*, he "created armies and generals, won battles, repaired defeats," etc., he may be pardoned for producing, near the close of the book, a letter of M. Thiers which almost equally—and, we believe, more deservedly—eulogizes "M. Jules Simon." The latter is always spoken of in the third person.

When M. Simon speaks of Gambetta's creating generals and winning battles, it is, apparently, not a desire to conciliate an opponent or to flatter a popular favorite that inspires his words, but a patriotic inclination to discover a little French glory amid the disasters of 1870-71. He also speaks of "victories" of Chanzy, of the "glorious struggle" carried on by Paris and the provinces, and of the "admirable courage" evinced

* 'The Government of M. Thiers, from 8th February, 1871, to 24th May, 1873. From the French of M. Jules Simon.' In two volumes. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879. 8vo, pp. 533 and 506.

'The Life of Louis Adolphe Thiers. By François Le Goff, docteur-ès-lettres. Translated from the unpublished manuscript by Theodore Stanton, A.M.' New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879. 12mo, pp. 353.

by Jules Favre as a negotiator. His patriotically-charitable way of judging men conspicuous in recent French politics extends even to the very actors in the tragic and tragi-comical scenes which the Commune of Paris enacted before the eyes and the yawning cannon of the conquerors of France. Delescluze, Vermorel, Dombrowski, La Cecilia, Vallès, Félix Pyat, Rossel, and even that most meanly-selfish and unscrupulous of revolutionists, Cluseret, are treated in a manner which shows that the writer is more inclined to recognize any kind of merit than to brand infamy; Courbet, Grousset, Rochefort, and similar political fools almost entirely escape mention; Urbain and other wretches are forgotten. Yet, if M. Simon does not endeavor to emulate Sallust or Tacitus, or even a Louis Blanc or Delord, in sketching contemporary characters, he does not recoil from fully unfolding the picture of woe and shame which mob-ruled and madness-stricken Paris presented between the 18th of March and the 28th of May, 1871. The horrors of those days were not exaggerated in the telegrams of the press, which few will have forgotten. "One's heart sickens at such recollections; but if these catastrophes are to be the last, there must be no shrinking from the terrible task of relating them." He shrinks, however, from relating the horrors of retribution—the summary executions by the military at the capture of Paris, the tragedies of the plain of Satory, the wholesale deportations—which accompanied or followed the hellish orgies of the hostage-killers and palace-burners. He completely ignores them, barring an incidental allusion. Were they not excessive? Are they not "to be the last"? What was M. Thiers's share in the implacable rigor which dictated them? Was he only the instrument, or the grieved spectator, of the vengeance of the reactionary Assembly? Or was he, too, convinced that the salvation of France demanded such hecatcombs? There is nothing in the book to dispel our doubt, the shadow on the memory of its hero.

M. Simon writes no panegyric on M. Thiers, only a political history of his presidency. But this history, as far as it goes, is, in all its plainness, a panegyric. The actions, the attitude, the words of M. Thiers during this period—and we see only the septuagenarian statesman completely detached from his varied past—breathe wisdom, patriotism, almost antique grandeur. When he assumed power he asked the Assembly at Bordeaux what they had to do. To free the land from the enemy; to recall the army from their foreign prisons and reconstitute a military power; to create order, reconstruct the disorganized administration, check ruinous expenditure and re-establish credit; to send back the mobiles to their fields and workshops; to reopen the intercepted highways and rebuild the demolished bridges; to revive labor. This was the only policy conceivable at that moment. As to the form of government, monarchy or republic? "When we shall have raised up bleeding France, now lying low; when we shall have healed her wounds and renovated her strength; then we shall restore her to her own guidance." The Assembly, he acknowledged, was sovereign and could make a constitution, but he expected it to be wise enough to forego the exercise of its power for the sake of union. His own duty, though named Chief of the Executive of the French Republic, was "loyal dealing towards all the parties which divide France and divide the Assembly." "If we succeed in effecting reorganization it will be done under the republican form and to its profit"; but "I give you the word of an honest man, not in one of the reserved questions shall any resolution be taken; no solution shall be effected by a breach of faith on our part." This was his share in the "pact of Bordeaux."

The first act of the new Government was to be the purchase of peace at the price of French provinces. The representatives of Alsace and Lorraine protested against the cession even before the constitution of the Government, and the Assembly heard their declaration with deep emotion. It was suggested to delay the discussion, but M. Thiers insisted upon an immediate decision: "One thing alone is worthy of you, worthy of France, worthy of true patriotism: it is that you declare yourselves at once, so that your will may be made known. To put this off to-morrow would be puerile. Be assured of this, you cannot screen yourselves behind any government which you may institute. Have the courage of your opinion; either war or peace." The Assembly referred the declaration "to the wisdom and patriotism of the negotiators."

The negotiators, Thiers and Jules Favre, immediately departed for Versailles to meet Bismarck. The terms dictated by the conquerors were crushing. Thiers exerted all his powers to save Belfort. The Chancellor seemed inexorable.

"Well then!" cried Thiers, "let it be as you will it, Count! These negotiations are nothing but a sham. We appear to be discussing, but we are merely to pass under your yoke. We ask of you a city which is altogether French; you refuse: this is to admit that you have determined upon a war of extermination. Make that war then! Ravage our provinces, burn our houses, slaughter the inoffensive inhabitants; in a word, complete your work. We will fight you until our last breath. We may be defeated, but at least we shall not be dishonored."

Bismarck seemed moved—the loose talk published by Dr. Busch does not show this, but Bismarck's heart may be much more humane than his talk; he referred the question to his master, and the final decision was: We enter Paris or keep Belfort. "Nothing," replied Thiers, "can equal the grief which Paris must feel in opening the gates of its unconquered walls . . . Nevertheless it is ready to drink the cup to the dregs, so that one bit of its soil and a heroic city may be preserved to the country. We thank you, Count, for having afforded Paris the opportunity of ennobling its sacrifice. The mourning of Paris shall be the ransom of Belfort . . ." Jules Favre is responsible for the authenticity of these fine utterances. Bismarck has ridiculed the scene, but even when the ransom money was to be weighed he proved to be somewhat better than a Brennus.

Alsace and part of Lorraine to be ceded, Paris to be entered, five milliards to be paid—was it not a disgraceful treaty? "Let him who speaks of shame stand up!" exclaimed Thiers in the Assembly, on his return. Of the 120 regiments with which the Empire began the war 117 were made prisoners at Sedan and Metz. New armies were created by the Republic. "Where are they, these armies that sprang from the earth? In Germany. We have left only 200,000 recruits under arms. The *levée en masse*, supposing it possible, would not give us an officer or a sergeant. . . . It is not the feebleness of France that I come to plead; I would die rather than plead that . . . I only want to tell you that your organization has been shattered, and that you cannot put it together again in a few days." The treaty was accepted.

The Germans entered Paris and retired, but held the forts on the right bank of the Seine. On the conclusion of the armistice some of the best elements of the population had left the city—to breathe the air of the country, to restore their health, to see their friends, or to renew their business relations; the turbulent elements, banded together under the Central Committee of the federated National Guards, made the insurrection of the 18th of March. Generals were massacred, troops deserted their flag, the Government and the remnants of the army withdrew to Versailles. Thus Paris, scarcely provisioned after a five months' siege by invaders, was again to be besieged by the French Government. Within her walls she was a prey to the wildest excesses of popular frenzy, a frenzy bred of fear of reaction and chimeric dreams, of disgust and despair, of ignorance and want of faith, of *ennui* and hunger. The same disease infected and disturbed the large cities in the provinces. France was threatened with dissolution. To reorganize the army, to keep down Lyons, Marseilles, St. Étienne, and Bordeaux, to preserve the neutrality of the Germans, to win credit amid chaos, to provide for the ransom and the daily needs, to reconquer Paris; to do all this without wrecking the Republic on the shoals of reaction: this was the task of M. Thiers in those days of unutterable anguish. Yet the old man—he just then completed his seventy-fourth year—was equal to the task. He remained calm, courageous, firm, active, and energetic. His prudence and patience equalled his skill and versatility, and thus he conquered. The army was reorganized and its future laid on a solid foundation, Paris was reduced, the ransom paid without a crisis and the territory liberated, order restored, the national credit saved, the Republic preserved. As to the last point, the following is a clear statement:

"It was plain enough that if he succeeded in reconstituting the army, the administration, and the finances under a republican government, these great results would confirm and consolidate the Republic. He did not work with a view to this result, and he said so; but this result did not alarm him, and so he said also. This position was at the same time so well defined and so well justified that he advanced in the confidence of the Left with giant strides. It might have been believed during the first few weeks that the Right would never throw him over. But those who saw beneath the surface, and who followed closely the movement of parliamentary opinion, did not fail to perceive before long that the battle would come from that side. . . ."

Parliamentary opinion—that is, the opinion of the majority of the Assembly—and M. Thiers, and with him the opinion of the country as manifested in partial elections, were moving in opposite directions. He knew from the start that there was no room on the imaginary throne of France for three claimants to its possession, and no means of making Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists agree on a plan of seating one and unitedly keeping him there against the Republicans. His own achievements, as he predicted it, redounded to the advantage of the latter, whom he taught to be moderate and conservative. The antagonism

of the Assembly, which became daily more pronounced, wrung from him concessions as to the *personnel* of his administration, but personally alienated him more and more from his former monarchical associations; and he quietly proceeded in virtually "founding the Republic without Republicans." M. Jules Simon wondered that he could so long remain at his side, and Thiers, who had saved his independence only by repeated threats of resignation, foresaw that his own overthrow by a hostile vote was only delayed until the liberation of the territory should be effected, none else being able to effect it. When the last convention with the Germans was signed, and he had declared in the Assembly, "The Republic is a fact, it is the legal Government of the country; to wish anything else is to wish and ask for a new revolution, the most formidable of all"—he had to make room for Marshal MacMahon. A few days before he had been forced to accept the resignation of Jules Simon.

The latter, in writing this history, meant to teach politics; he did the one thing with candor, and the other with moderation. Both as a history and a political work his book is an indictment of the Empire, the Commune, and the monarchical majority of the Assembly; but its tone is far from being harsh. The English translation is obviously the product of hasty labor, such as publishers afraid of competition are apt to demand. The proof-reader gave himself little trouble about names. But, whether in the original or in the translation, the two volumes deserve to be read through by every friend of contemporary history.

Le Goff's 'Life of Thiers' is a work of love and admiration, written expressly for the American public, and eminently well executed for its purpose, which was to place clearly before the reader the political character of the statesman and the unity of his life. It is written in a very vigorous style, is attractive throughout, and, in spite of a good deal of partiality for its subject, abounds in sound and lucid information on the history of France within the last fifty years. Mr. Stanton's part in the preparation of the volume was "more than that of translator." He selected and arranged his three hundred and fifty pages from a large mass of manuscript, added explanatory clauses and notes, chiefly of a biographical character, and, "in a few instances, inserted an anecdote or letter, or added a paragraph or two," while closely clinging to the opinions of the author. These additions, on the whole, are valuable enough, and leave no doubt as to the translator's familiarity with French history; but, unmarked as they partly are, they deprive the text of some of its genuineness, and consequently of some of its importance as a production by a French writer of great powers, intimately acquainted with the events and men of his time. The slips committed by the translator, whether in diction or in statements of fact, are few and not of the graver kind. His first biographical note shows such a slip, for Robespierre was not "guillotined," but only arrested "on July 27, 1794—the 9th Thermidor," his execution taking place on the following day. Odilon Barrot was not living in 1878, as the note on page 80 makes him appear to have been; he died in 1873. "Bégère" stands repeatedly for Régère (pp. 135-137), and "January 2, 1869" (p. 184) for January 2, 1870. Want of space forbids us from discussing the soundness of the author's leading view of Thiers, as well as from detailing the many interesting features of his biography, but we can say that the book, unpretentious as it appears, deserves a place among works of a high order of merit.

Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio. To what Race did the Mound-Builders belong? By M. F. Force. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1879.)—The author has gathered together many statements, correct, false, and dubious, and quotations from writers of some and no authority, in generally undigested and sometimes indigestible masses. His essay upon the mound-builders concludes that "they were flourishing about a thousand years ago, and earlier and later," which, though by no means incredible, is a rather vague result to reach after pages of patient reading. Neither is it unlikely that they were, as he asserts, of the same race as the tribes now living. But there are so many errors in the premises for all his deductions that any opponent of his proposition is furnished with a full arsenal for successfully assaulting it.

The title is somewhat misleading, as of "the Indians of Ohio" attention is confined to the Eries and Shawnees. The few pages devoted to the Eries, who were nearly, if not wholly, destroyed by the Iroquois about 1656, suggests the possibility of some of them having escaped, and being identical with the Tongorias on the Ohio and Tennessee in 1720, and with the Tuckabatchies, who, according to tradition, were adopted into the Muskoki confederacy at a time corresponding with the Iroquois victories. This discovery of survivors under changed names of a tribe long reputed as utterly extinct is in accordance with other results of late research; but the theory that the tribe distinctively and historically known as the Shawnees is also to be traced from the Eries, Rigues, or Erigas, which is mentioned by the author, although he does not give it his approval, should be strongly reprobated. The pristine home and migrations of the Shawnees have given much trouble to American ethnologists. Bodies of Indians known by that name, or one *idem sonans*, spelled Chaouanons, Shawanos, Sawanahaac, etc., etc., were noticed as on the Delaware in 1640, in the Valley of the Cumberland in 1680, on the Ohio in 1673, "near Carolina" in 1665, and near Mobile in 1714. The French considered their original seat to have been on the southern shore of Lake Erie, and there is some evidence of their appearance in Florida. In fact there are few of our present States south of the great lakes and east of the Mississippi where there has not appeared notice of a tribe with substantially the same name and at nearly the same time. But that name, not only in the vocabulary of the Shawnees now in the Indian Territory, but with the same root in several of the Algonkin dialects, means "Men of or from the South." It is probable that the term was applied at one time to a variety of tribes by their northern neighbors, and that most of those tribes afterwards became known by other titles than those referring merely to their habitat and migrations. A large number of tribes might thus have been called "Southerners," as the Scotch named the English Southrons, while, again, the English and French would speak of the Spanish and Italians as southern nations. In a corresponding manner, some of the Scandinavian immigrants into sunnier climes obtained and preserved the name of Northmen or Normans, as one of the several tribes called Shawnees or Southerners maintained and adopted that title. This attribution of a common epithet would account for the apparent ubiquity of a tribe which, as actually and distinctively known, was never very numerous, and it would be more natural that any of the Eries who had fled from the lakes into Tennessee or Alabama should have been called Northerners rather than Shawnees.

The linguistic evidence, however, settles the question against the identity of those tribes. It is admitted that the Eries spoke the Huron-Iroquois language, while the body of Indians who have during historic times preserved the name of Shawnees, and whose successive homes in Pennsylvania, Ohio, at Cape Girardeau, and in the Indian Territory, are well known, were clearly Algonkin, and their present speech corresponds with a copious vocabulary taken in 1796. The fugitive Tuckabatchies, however, if a remnant of the Eries, adopted and partly absorbed into the Creeks or Muskokis more than two centuries ago, might readily have lost their native language before any white explorers met them.

Die Culturländer des alten Amerika. Von Dr. Adolf Bastian. 2 vols. (New York: B. Westermann & Co.)—We have here two ponderous tomes filled with an uncouth conglomerate of ethnological ideas, historical facts, personal views, and quotations, and purporting to be American archæology and ancient history. It is preceded by a diary of the great traveller's tour along the western coast of South America, into New Granada and portions of Central America. This diary is remarkably barren of facts concerning the countries visited, whereas, on the other hand, it bristles with distasteful attacks on the Catholic Church, whole pages almost being devoted to the mediæval and other scandals of the papal court—*à propos de bottes.* Still there are some noble pages in this first volume. The description of the Straits of Magellan is one of the finest ever written, but the tableau of the first view of Chimborazo is, on the other hand, an unlucky caricature of Humboldt's "First View of the South Sea" ('Aspects of Nature').

The scientific part of the work proper is very hard to read. Not content with pretending, in a rather undisguised manner, to have founded the ethnology of the future, Dr. Bastian has also a language of his own, which, besides having hardly any grammar, presents such a mixture of human tongues, spoken or unspoken, as to remind one forcibly of the "Spraka International" which a Swiss comic paper once suggested. Bastian "does" successively Peru, New Granada, Central America, and Mexico. He throws together a huge mass of material, but in a strikingly careless manner; quotes largely, though not always aright, and always omits to specify title, volume, chapter, page, etc., etc., limiting himself to the simple name of the author alone. That this is of no earthly use to the student is self-evident. Besides, it gives the whole book an air of conceited negligence which is extremely disagreeable.

Dr. Bastian has always rather vehemently contended that ethnological students should carefully restrict themselves to the collection of ma-

terial and not venture any conclusions as yet. True to these principles, he blindly follows the lead of authors preceding him, in whatever he deems worthy of notice. But not every important feature of the ancient history of Spanish America or of its archæology finds grace with Dr. Bastian. Some of these are omitted in the most unaccountable manner. Thus, while in Peru he mentions the custom which made marriage a matter of the community or kindred, he passes over the "ayllu," which was the kin itself or unit of organization, and which plays such a conspicuous part in Peruvian society with utter disregard. The highly important fact of descent in the female line is casually mentioned in a transition to the question of intoxicating beverages and general drunkenness among the Peruvians. The history of Peru itself is treated in the second volume with the same disregard of common order. He jumps from the traditions of origin to the chiefs, from them to the Chiriguanos, to the legends of the "Orejones," of "Parime," and of the Dorado, inverting the natural order of the last three subjects, and so on, bringing together in the most arbitrary manner things sometimes but remotely connected or having no connection. Besides, he has a faculty of presenting the statements of others in such a manner as to give them undue prominence, thus misleading such of his readers as are not themselves prepared for critical investigation.

To review even superficially the long chapters devoted to other parts of Spanish America would be impossible here. The hurried nature of their composition is shown by such very odd statements as that (in the case of Mexico) the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan was *founded* by *seven families;* that the territory of Tlaxcallan was *surrounded* by a stone wall; that Durán places the home of the Mexicans near Florida (without reflecting how Florida was regarded in Mexico at that time), and a host of similar rather distorted references to other authorities. On the whole, the work is of no value whatever except to such as have access to a large number of original sources. For those Dr. Bastian's ethnological comparisons will always be important, for as far as the eastern continents are concerned he is acknowledged to be high authority.

Soldier and Pioneer: A Biographical Sketch of Lt.-Col. Richard C. Anderson, of the Continental Army. By E. L. Anderson. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879. 12mo, pp. 63.)—The Lt.-Col. Anderson whose life is told in this little book was father of Major Anderson, of Fort Sumter, and himself served with credit through the war of the Revolution. He spent the remainder of his life in Kentucky, and died in 1826, at the age of seventy-six. He appears to have been an honorable and soldierly man, well worthy of a tribute which will be acceptable to the students of our early history. So small a book cannot, of course, give many details. It contains, nevertheless, at least two anecdotes of historical value—one relating to a reconnoissance made by Captain Anderson, under the orders of Gen. Stephen, the night before Washington crossed the Delaware. Washington was very much incensed at this interference with his plan; it turned out, however, that it was really a help to him, inasmuch as "Colonel Rahl, who had been warned of the projected movement, relaxed his vigilance when he learned that his dragoons had driven off the attacking party, and the soldiery gave themselves up to the festivities of the season." The historian Gordon, we are told, confuses Capt. Anderson with Col. Washington upon this occasion. The other story has reference to Gen. Wayne, whose nickname of "Mad Anthony" was due, it is said, to his "furious outbursts of temper, and not his well-known rashness in battle." He had been ordered to support Lafayette in his campaign in Virginia, but took it in great dudgeon that he was put under the command of a "d—— foreigner, and a boy too." Major Anderson (as he was now) succeeded in pacifying him and bringing him to a sense of his responsibility; "he was, though jealous and excitable, a true patriot and a real soldier, and with almost that heat with which he had lately refused to obey, he cried out, 'Tell him I'll jine him! Tell him I'll jine him! By G—! tell him I'll jine him to-morrow!'"

The Secret of Success; or, How to Get On in the World. By W. H. Davenport Adams. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.)—The 'Secret of Success' has a handsome cover, is attractive in both of its titles, and will no doubt sell. When bought it will be fairly worth the money, but, like other books that profess to disclose important secrets, it will not fail to disappoint some buyers. They will have known—anybody knows—that success is to be attained that way: by economy, sobriety, unflagging industry, the three Ps—punctuality, prudence, and perseverance; but where is the patented "knack"? Is there, then, no nimble stratagem for turning all these tedious positions and arriving in the citadel immediately? Come! this is taking our money under false pretences. Mr. Adams has presented all the standard methods, and they are unexceptionable. This is to be said of them on every successive reappearance. A belief in the possibility of impressing them and making them more efficacious in a community which, though it knows them well, has the chronic habit of neglecting them shamefully, is a sufficient excuse for their reissue at any time. Besides, there are always young people coming up who must learn them somewhere for the first time, and to these there is no reason why 'The Secret of Success' should not be a useful gift-book as well as another. The author distinguishes himself from Smiles, Craik, and others of the sort by drawing his illustrations as much as possible from the departments of "business" and "commerce," which he thinks have not been fully utilized heretofore for this purpose. They range over a wide compass, from Thales the philosopher to Thurlow Weed, but are chiefly modern. They include among the rest Mr. W. H. Smith, the present First Lord of the British Admiralty, and we hear gravely and no longer flippantly the details of the polishing up of handles for the attorneys' firm and the rest which resulted in so happy a connection with Her Majesty's navy. Here and there is an anecdote which might well enough be omitted; not that the proper qualifications are not appended to it, but the wicked side is as likely as not to be preponderatingly seductive. Meyer Rothschild was at Waterloo watching the fight as keenly as Wellington. When he saw how it was coming out, he put spurs to his horse, paid eighty pounds to a fishing-boat to take him across the Channel, went up to London, and, relating only the first events, before the arrival of Blücher, "beared" the stock market for his own benefit and made a million pounds.

Elements of Comparative Anatomy. By Carl Gegenbaur. Translated by F. Jeffrey Bell; the translation revised and a preface written by E. Ray Lankester. 8vo, pp. xxvii., 645; 356 figures. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1878.)—Professor Gegenbaur has long been the leading German comparative anatomist. Leuckart and Haeckel occupy somewhat different portions of the zoölogical field, and have not produced comprehensive manuals for the use of students. Until his recent removal to Heidelberg, Gegenbaur was for years intimately associated at Jena with Haeckel, whose 'Generelle Morphologie' he emphatically "recommends as a scientific guide to the whole of morphology." As might be inferred from this, our author, like nearly all German naturalists, accepts the doctrine of evolution as proved; and, as compared with the systematic works of the elder Agassiz, Huxley, Owen, and Rolleston, this is the principal advantage of the present work. A good example of the way in which the "doctrine of evolution appears as the living, moving investment of the dry bones of anatomical fact" is given by the following words concerning the fissures at the side of the neck of the embryo bird, reptile, and mammal:

"Regarded alone, they are inexplicable, but since in a large division of the lower vertebrata they are important organs of respiration, we are able to comprehend the branchial clefts of the exclusively air-breathing forms as arrangements obtained by transmission from lower stages, which have lost their primitive function and remain for a short time only—during fœtal life."

Gegenbaur recognizes the difficulty of finding a distinct boundary line between the lowest animals and the lowest plants, but suggests (p. 68) that "the characteristic of the animal organism may be taken to be that differentiation affects the whole organism." He divides the animal kingdom into the Protozoa—usually consisting of but a single cell—and the Metazoa, including all the rest. These form eight "phyla," among the names of which are the names of only two of the four Cuvierian "branches," and of these "Vertebrata" alone has the Cuvierian signification. With even this subdivision the groups are so comprehensive that many of the statements are unsatisfactorily vague, and, as is unavoidable in a work of such wide scope, lack the weight of personal authority. Notwithstanding the space (more than one-third of the volume) assigned to vertebrates, the author assumes upon the part of the reader a considerable knowledge of human anatomy; this knowledge is not easily gained excepting in medical schools, and it is to be hoped that the work so well begun by Rolleston and Huxley may be carried on until there is a complete account of some accessible form as the type of each class of animals.

Our author frankly admits the existence of almost insuperable difficulties in the preparation of his work; "every question solved leads again to fresh problems, and renders unstable even what seemed to have taken definite form." The editor has done well in calling attention to

some investigations made since the preparation of the work itself, and to some differences of opinion between others and the author. This was especially needed in respect to the nomenclature of the parts of the brain in the vertebrate series; for Gegenbaur, by adopting in one edition and rejecting in another, without giving sufficient reasons, the peculiar views of his pupil, Maclay, has rather impeded than aided the solution of one of the most difficult problems in comparative anatomy. If naturalists would make periodical statements as to previously expressed opinions respecting mooted points of fact or doctrine, in the form of reaffirmation or renunciation, or qualification, or admission of difficulties to be overcome, the work of others would be aided and unprofitable controversies might sometimes be avoided.

The usefulness of the present work to English-speaking students is impaired by the insufficiency of reference to English, French, and American authors. Parker, Wyman, and Rolleston are wholly ignored, even in the editor's additions, and the author's list for Vertebrates includes no American publication; the lists for Acalephs, Echinoderms, Brachiopods, and Limulus, however, include works or papers by the elder and the younger Agassiz, Morse, and Packard respectively. The translation has been well done. The figures are mostly diagrammatic, but clear, and chiefly original. A glossary is needed, and the index should embrace the names of principles and organs as well as of groups. Upon the whole, while the work is indispensable to the working zoölogist, and is adapted to the use of the author's own students, we are not sure that the English translation was called for. The editor, however, evidently has no doubt as to the desirability of the translation or his own ability to superintend it. The opening paragraphs of his Preface contain the personal or possessive pronoun twelve times in as many lines, and his unqualified inclusion of the Tunicata among the Vertebrata (p. xvi.) appears like rushing into a region where Huxley and Gegenbaur have, as yet, feared to tread.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*	
Andrews (Fanny), A Mere Adventurer	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	$1 25
Bryce (T. T.), Economic Crumbs, swd	(Hampton)	
Collins (W.), A Rogue's Life, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.)	25
Dickinson (W.), Supplement to the Glossary of the Cumberland Dialect, swd	(Trübner & Co.)	
Frothingham (Rev. O. B.), The Assailants of Christianity, swd	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)	
Hammond (Dr. W. A.) and Morton (Dr. W. J.), Neurological Contributions, Vol. I., No. 1	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)	
Johnes (E. R.), Briefs of a Barrister: Verses	" "	
Klemm (L. R.), Poesie für Haus und Schule	" "	
Newton (Rev. W. W.), Essays of To-day	(A. Williams & Co.)	2 00
Perry (J. T.), Sixteen Saviours or One? swd	(Peter G. Thomson)	50

Fine Arts.

EXHIBITION OF THE ACADEMY OF DESIGN.—II.

THE common complaint of lack of originality on the part of those pupils who have had the best technical education offered by the Continental schools of the day may be answered in a way that brings home to us in our incompetency the defect of their development. If our plutocrats would show a little of the faith in national talent so freely exhibited by those of their class in England, in Austria, in Russia, or in France, the blank hopelessness which besets the returning student would not deaden his powers as we see it deadening them now at the instant of their expansion. Half-a-dozen of the youthful exhibitors of this season have given proof of the ability to produce extended historical or imaginative works. In any country of Europe these promising adolescents would be set either to paint the ceilings of rich men's villas, or to carve the tympans of their doorways, or to decorate the walls of town-halls and seats of justice, or to fresco church-interiors, or to fill ambitious orders for serious easel-pictures.

The exhibition reveals these young men at the moment when their powers are most highly stimulated, and most ardently enterprising, seated at the sulky manufacture of pot-boilers. Mr. Low, who has proved by his commanding portrait of an American prima-donna how he could revel and exult in the interpretation of social distinction or style, comes forth with a little decorative figure on a gilt panel (585). Mr. Millet, who has been crowned with laurel in a Munich students' procession, shows a degraded likeness (364) of a commonplace burgher. Mr. Chase, who has sent from Europe to a rich American club-house an impressive study of retrospective imagination, exhibits a simple model-copy, infelicitous and empty (471). Mr. Hovenden, besides his *académies*, gives us as earnest of his fancy and his invention only the stupid "Challenge" (509), resembling an insipid Düsseldorf ballad. Mr. Sargent, whose clever brush has before now been exerted on palace ceilings, sends but the Neapolitan sketch (431), like a torn leaf from his album. Mr. Sartain, whose "Narcissus" and lovely heads of contadina and pifferaro have proved to us in former years a power over the figure at once realistic and classic, has since fallen back on little irreproachable Algerian street-views. As for the sculptors, the war has dictated the way in which they are to be deformed. Be a carver of talent, be ambitious to model the graces and the hours and the nymphs, and there comes along a committee of army veterans to tell you that if you can undertake contracts for soldiers' monuments and represent brigadiers in buckram, on that condition you can be an American sculptor and live. The new ambition to decorate city churches and State capitols, and that not by the hands of Italian flower-painters but by cultured thinkers who represent the civilization of the United States, is a movement full of life and hope, and one to be encouraged to the utmost. But it has as yet utilized but two persons. The good faith in which these artists have toiled, giving time and conscience to conceptions which they executed for little pay and with many obstacles, proves the anxiety of our talent to be set at work. There is nothing like the present state of things in any other civilized country, nor has there ever been. In every former renaissance the power of painting was evoked by contemporaneous patronage, and the support accompanied every branch and fibre in the growth. America, in all the inconvenience of an era of cheap education, presents a crowd of capable graduates, offering themselves to a market which believes only in imported talent.

The best imaginative picture in the Exhibition which so sadly demonstrates this unnatural state of things is Mr. Fuller's "And She was a Witch" (421). In a forest red with sunset the priest and the town-clerk drag away a protesting beldame, while another crone jealously denounces the culprit, and a girl flies to her cabin, wild with terror. The posture of the hunted maiden forms a complete, original, and striking statuette, while the melting landscape is pathetic in its drain of evening light. Mr. Homer's best contribution is the "Upland Cotton" (393), thoroughly individual and unborrowed in its effect of dusky figures seen through a tracery of intricate plants which quite enlace the canvas. Mr. Sargent's "Neapolitans" (431)—"too much like Michetti," as he says himself—is a very lovely study, the effect of strong daylight with its blue shadows being quite deceptively dazzling, and the easy modelling of the bathers' naked flesh superbly soft and suggestive. It is not a literal rendering of a natural effect, but it is a highly poetical and inspiring one. Mr. Shirlaw and Mr. Mulvawney contribute heads painted exactly alike (122, 159) of Munich male models in Van der Helst costumes, in which every flesh-surface, whether of bone, cartilage, or pendent muscle, is of exactly the same degree of firmness. It is an insidious kind of stencil-work, finished with all neatness, and nobody not inspired could tell that different artists had done the different heads. The former, however, is by a painter, who has almost approached Munkacsy in his "Bavarian Sheep-shearers," and the latter by an artist whose work executed since is wild, Western, and slangy. Mr. Beckwith's portraits (152, 346) are genuine and direct in execution, if a little empty. The lady's full-length figure is particularly imposing, and has made a hit; but her painter cultivates a peculiar spreading breadth of style which verges on platitude, and in avoiding his master Duran's horror of "trop de choses," is in danger of thinness and Thomas Sully. Eakins's "Dr. Brinton" and his "Pair-oared Shell" (463) show the solid advance made by one of the very few French students who have developed an independent American style since their return. The portrait is as solid as a statue of iron, and full of grim character; the racing subject, though set in too low a key to give the illusion of daylight, is broad, pure, and inexorably true. Miss Moss's likeness of Mrs. Dr. Deems (174) is very graphic, vital, and energetic. Mr. Boggs gives a "Street of Paris" (158) which succeeds in conveying the metallic glint of buildings and pavements just washed by the rain and set out broadly to dry in the sun. Mr. Dana's "Dinant Beach" (164) shows a soft and tender group of lazy seaweed-gatherers in a poetic landscape where it seems always afternoon, and where the light will never emerge from the cloud of melancholy. The "Droit de Bris" (168), or salvage-right of coast-side wreckers, is interpreted by Mr. Swift in a sinister and creepy tableau of men of prey watching for shipwreck. The little haying-scenes of Mr. Swain Gifford are quite equal in quality to Théodore Rousseau; Mr. Inness's "Study" (445) is a lovely upright picture where a climbing tree unrolls its draperies of foliage with all the richness of a darkened tapestry; and Messrs. George and James Smillie both exceed their former efforts in their respective "Goat Pasture" (389) and "Up the Hill" (186).

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Continued from page iii.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 29, 1879.

The Week.

THE Legislative Appropriation Bill, as passed by the Senate, was, in spite of sundry objectionable amendments, accepted by the House on Friday, and has gone to the President for his action upon it. On the same day the Senate by 34 to 12 passed the measure popularly known as the Yellow Fever Bill, but strictly to be designated as "a bill to prevent the introduction of contagious or infectious diseases into the United States," which was the occasion of a very interesting debate. The bill practically supersedes State quarantine, internal and external, and invests the National Board of Health, subject to the President's approval, with extraordinary powers of supervision and regulation for the sanitary defence of the country. The curiosity of the situation was that the ultra defenders of State-rights on all political issues were here, for sectional and party reasons (the South being in mortal dread of a recurrence of the fever), stanch upholders of the Government's right to protect the Union against the sanitary neglect of any State; while Mr. Edmunds and Mr. Conkling and Mr. Hoar denied the constitutionality of the bill even as an inference from the power to regulate commerce. Mr. Edmunds, who lately demonstrated that there was such a thing as "United States peace," denies that the "health of the United States" has any recognition in the Constitution. This matter he considers relegated to the States, along with other details of personal conduct, such as, we may suggest, the regulation of marriage. The noes were mainly Republican, and this gives point to what is really a fresh illustration of the irresistible tendency of the country towards centralization, one party assisting in it (however illogically) whether the other will or not. The Senate has also discussed a bill providing for the redemption of the subsidiary silver coins in multiples of $10 or $20 at the Treasury, Mr. Thurman acutely objecting to it as an unlimited means of procuring gold in exchange for a limited legal-tender of much inferior value. Mr. Edmunds also made the point that the redemption of coin was no part of a Government's business, and that if the bill passed in due time there would be a clamor for the redemption of the depreciated silver dollar.

After a good deal of filibustering the majority in the House succeeded on Saturday morning in passing the Warner Silver Bill, amended but still left in a highly mischievous condition, by a vote of 114 to 97. It is in itself an amendment of seven specified sections of the Revised Statutes, fixing the gold and silver coins of the United States, and providing that the owners of silver bullion may deposit it at any mint for coinage into standard silver dollars, at charges equal to the difference between the market value of the bullion in New York City and the legal-tender value of the coin—said market value to be the value of bullion in coin of the same metal at its legal-tender value in New York and San Francisco for the week preceding the deposit; providing also for the paying out of subsidiary coins in exchange for silver dollars or greenbacks; requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to pay out silver without discrimination (except to Congressmen; Mr. Warner would not allow a vote on this proposition) "in liquidation of all kinds of money obligations against the Government"; making the subsidiary coins legal-tender up to $20; requiring the Secretary to issue certificates for gold or silver bullion deposits in sums of not less than $20, and in convenient denominations of not less than $5, corresponding with the denominations of U. S. notes, these certificates to be receivable "at par in payment for all dues to the United States, including duties on imports," and when returned to be the signal for coining the bullion deposited against them, as the then property of the Government.

It has been a week of rapid changes in the financial markets. A large amount of money was drawn into the Treasury from the banks in settlement of 4 per cent. bond contracts made early in the year, and in payment for ten-dollar certificates. The result was a depletion of the New York bank reserve from a surplus of about $11,000,000 to $5,500,000. This made the rates for money loans irregular; on several days the Stock Exchange rate having been as high as 7 and as low as 3 per cent. The sales of ten-dollar certificates were stopped in the leading cities on Tuesday because it was found that large amounts were taken there by brokers' agents for conversion after July into 4 per cent. bonds, and that the certificates were not going into the hands they were designed for. All the bond issues of the Government were strong early in the week, but in the latter part they declined ¼ to ½, led by the 4 per cents. The passage by the House of the Warner Silver Bill had something to do with the decline, but it was mainly owing to the sales of 4 per cents by speculators. Silver bullion in London advanced to 51*d.* per ounce, and here the bullion value of the 412½-grain dollar advanced to $0.8623. At the Stock Exchange the spirit of speculation ran high, and, although there is no prospect that the Warner Bill will become a law, the inflation which the silver-certificate part of it authorizes gave a stimulus to speculators.

Ohio will soon be the scene of a most exciting political conflict which will have nothing to do with Ohio politics, but will derive its importance from its relation to the Presidential campaign of next year. The two chief candidates for the Democratic nomination for Governor are Mr. Richard Bishop and Mr. Thurman, the former representing the "Tilden wing" of the party, the latter being, of course, a candidate for the Presidency. There seems to be great doubt, however, whether at the last moment he may not decline again, as he has once already, to run, and throw the nomination into the hands of one of his friends. Those who have made a close study of Mr. Tilden's purposes think that his plan is to have Thurman nominated and then overwhelmingly defeated through the aid of Bishop, thus demonstrating that Ohio, like New York, cannot be carried without assistance from him. In the Republican camp Judge Taft and Mr. Charles Foster are the prominent candidates for the governorship, Judge Taft representing the "Stalwarts" and Mr. Charles Foster the "Liberals." Here too the whole aspect of affairs may be changed at the last moment by the appearance on the scene of Mr. Sherman, who has written a letter saying that he is not a candidate for the Governorship and suggesting what kind of a platform he would put forward if he were a candidate for the Presidency. This, it is needless to say, embraces as one of its planks "an honest dollar," a kind of dollar that ought to be popular with everybody, and would probably be found to consist of four honest quarters, ten honest dimes, and so on. The dime and the quarter may be humble, but ought they not to be honest too? Judge Taft is violently attacked by Mr. Foster's friends on account of his share in the "Bible in the Public Schools" decision of some years ago, and it is being conclusively proved by means of interviews with clergymen that "Taft's nomination would cost the party thousands of votes."

We trust Mr. McCulloch is not doing mischief by the hopes he is exciting in the breasts of the silver-men by his conversations about the probability of a remonetization of silver by France, England, and Germany. He had a talk the other day with the reporter of the Boston *Herald*, in which he declared that "the leading business men of England" and "the leading commercial interests of Great Britain all favor the measure." No change so great as the remonetization of silver is likely to be made in England without much enquiry and discussion and agitation, and we must call Mr. McCulloch's attention to the fact that nothing of the kind is yet

visible. There have been articles by two business men of prominence in one of the monthlies in favor of the measure, but we do not know of a single newspaper or periodical which advocates it, or, if in favor of it, gives much notice to it. It has not been debated in Parliament or recommended by any Parliamentary committee, and, in fact, has assumed no prominence whatever in public among the remedies recommended for the prevailing distress, while a change in the tariff is loudly called for by a considerable body of persons not without influence. Moreover, we cannot think it quite safe even for a gentleman of Mr. McCulloch's wide experience to lay it down that the immense yield of the silver-mines with which we are now threatened "would be counterbalanced by the wide diffusion of the metal in the shape of currency," for he knows as well as any one that the greatest difficulty of the silver question is to secure this "wide diffusion." In fact, there never was a question in which it was less safe at this moment to trace out any plan of action.

The death of Mr. William Lloyd Garrison on Saturday night, at the ripe age of seventy-four, was not simply the close of a life of extraordinary completeness, but may be said to mark also the final triumph of an idea which began to fight more than two thousand years ago, and which, though it found strongest and most marked expression in the anti-slavery agitation within the present century, has in reality revolutionized politics and created the modern State. We mean the idea that nobody exists for anybody else's benefit, and that every man is entitled to a fair opportunity of making the most of himself; in short:

> "That not a worm is cloven in vain,
> That not a moth with vain desire
> Is shrivelled in a fruitless fire,
> Or but subserves another's gain."

The idea has had no more uncompromising and tenacious champion than Mr. Garrison, and he has had the rare good fortune to see all opposition to it die out before he himself had to rest from his labors. We must reserve until next week a fuller appreciation of those labors and of him.

The report of the Assembly committee on the Brooklyn Bridge is a rather inconclusive document. They report that the bridge when finished will obstruct vessels with masts more than one hundred and thirty feet in height; or, in other words, that many sailing vessels will have to lower their topmasts in order to pass it. The question of the navigability of the East River, however, is a national and not a local matter; and, if there is any truth in the stories about the damage the bridge is going to do to navigation, the whole matter ought to be investigated by the United States through a competent committee of engineers. Such an examination was made some years ago, and if the plan of the bridge has been since changed so as to make the favorable report then obtained inapplicable to the present structure, the same authority should be appealed to again. The idea that the report of an Albany Assembly committee on the subject should carry any weight would probably have never occurred to anybody but political "workers" who were anxious to use the bridge for their own purposes. Anywhere except in New York the construction of a great public work of this kind would have been placed from the first in the hands of competent and disinterested men, with authority to build it and pay for it. Under our system it was begun twelve years ago and is not finished yet. It was to have cost $3,000,000, and it will probably cost $15,000,000. It was started as a stock company, and then "unloaded" on the two cities; it is still the foot-ball of the politicians and the courts, the Comptroller of this city having within the past year endeavored to make a little cheap popularity out of a refusal to advance the money due from the treasury for its construction. It is a curious illustration, too, of the barbarous condition of the public mind on economical questions that the bridge is from time to time bitterly denounced by New York newspapers as built wholly in the interest of Brooklyn, as if an additional highway between two cities containing each a million or so of people could possibly benefit one without benefiting the other.

There have been during the past fortnight one or two pleasant and hopeful signs of returning—we do not like to say what, lest we should give offence—on the part of the Republican press. The New York *Times* on the 20th acknowledged that the tone of the "reputable and influential newspapers" of the South on political questions is "temperate and conciliatory," and that it is not fair or honest to quote the "three or four trumpery sheets," like the Okolona *Southern States*, as fair expressions of Southern opinion. The practice of quoting these "trumpery sheets," both by members of Congress and by the Republican press, and representing them as fair exponents of the kind of feeling we have to deal with at the South, for the purpose of firing the Northern heart, has been much followed of late, and the sheets in question have, of course, profited by it as an advertisement, and made their "treasonable utterances" hotter and stronger than ever. If this sort of thing were done by an editor in social or commercial life—that is, if he were to produce and commend to the confidence of his friends, as a representative and trustworthy man whose word might be relied on, a rascally adventurer, living by his wits and despised at the place of his residence—it would be considered a disgraceful performance. As the world goes just now it is pleasant to see such practices repudiated by a leading Stalwart paper. Conscience is, doubtless, asserting its sway even under the "bloody shirt." Many an editor and orator is, perhaps, beginning to beat his breast and cry in the watches of the night, "Who is the colored man that I should tell lies for him! What is the party that I should play scavenger to it!"

The troubles arising out of the Iowa Central foreclosure case, in which imputations were cast on Judge Dillon, are not yet over. Judge C. C. Cole, formerly of the Supreme Bench of Iowa, like some other eminent lawyers, wrote private letters making charges against Judge Dillon in the case, which he was not willing to make publicly, but his correspondent published extracts from the letters, and this brought Mr. Cole's conduct under the notice of the Iowa bar. An attempt has been made to disbar him by an application to the U. S. Circuit Court. He demurred on the ground that his letters were privileged communications, but Judge Miller ruled that there was no demurrer or law in the matter; that if the court thought he had behaved improperly, privilege or no privilege, he would have to go. He has, however, got a postponement until October, when he expects Judge Dillon will not be sitting, as this gentleman has been offered a professorship by Columbia College, which he has accepted.

Considerable amazement was excited a few weeks ago by the appearance of a volume on Spiritualism from the pen of Mr. Kiddle, who has filled the office of Superintendent of the City Schools, and filled it most efficiently, for a great many years. The belief avowed in the volume that he was in constant communication with the other world would probably not have injured him, but he was so incautious as to publish the communications in prose and verse received by him from various illustrious dead persons, and these were of so silly a character and so unlike anything that can be found in their works that the public was forced to the conclusion either that the Spirits despised Mr. Kiddle and amused themselves at his expense, or that he was mistaken in supposing that he was in communication with them. The former theory naturally touched the pride of the citizens. That Socrates and Shakspere and Edmund Burke should talk such infernal nonsense to a municipal officer of Mr. Kiddle's position was more than they could stand, because it seemed as if these famous men thought lightly of our educational machinery. On the other hand, if Mr. Kiddle supposed himself to be in communication with eminent Spirits when he was nothing of the kind, did it not argue, they asked themselves, that he was what is called "out of his mind"? The latter hypothesis, as the less wounding to the public self-love, found most acceptance, and the newspapers had begun to teem with strong medical arguments in favor of his dismissal when he relieved the Board from all embarrassment by resigning. His book, however, has had a great sale as a curiosity. Few persons will want to keep it, and the best thing

we can wish him is that his Spirits will let him alone. If the specimens of their conversation he has furnished are correct, they are the greatest bores that ever infested a respectable man's house.

The Freeman case in Massachusetts, in which a man murdered his little daughter, with the idea that he was imitating Abraham in showing his faith, and in the expectation that God being satisfied would stop him before he struck the final blow, is not unnaturally connected in the public mind with Mr. Kiddle's communications from the Spirits, and both are treated by many as indications of the same form of insanity. Freeman's delusion, however, seems to be shared by the sect to which he belongs, "the Second Adventists," the chiefs of which are said to be astounded by the Lord's failure to restore the child to life, and he himself remains firm in his conviction that he did the right thing, and feels keenly the blow that will be dealt to his creed in case he is acquitted on the ground of insanity. The provision the Catholic Church makes, in the form of self-mortification, for unsoundness of this sort, is a safe if not healthy vent for it. The Catholic fanatic too always acts under sacerdotal guidance, which makes him a less dangerous person than the Protestant devotee of "the right of private judgment."

An article by Mrs. H. B. Stowe, who spends half her year at the South, in the last number of the *North American Review* seems to indicate, on the Stalwart theory, that she has been the victim of very brutal treatment at the hands of "the brigadiers" and "red shirts." How little regard these men have for sex, any more than for color or age, may be inferred from the account she gives of the progress made by the negroes within fourteen years in education, in self-respect, in the accumulation of property, and even in the exercise of political rights. Mrs. Stowe's prominence in the movement which led to emancipation and her continued interest in the colored race may serve to give some idea of the barbarities by which these stories must have been wrung from her. What Dr. Cooke underwent doubtless compared but feebly with the ruffianism by which this unfortunate lady has been compelled to publish such an article on the eve of a very important election in Ohio.

Preparations for the second invasion of Zululand have nearly been completed in South Africa by Lord Chelmsford, and the plan in its main features resembles the former one—an advance in three or four separate columns, leaving fortified depots behind them as they go, but with gaps between through which an enemy like the Zulus will have but little difficulty in passing. Mr. Forbes, the *Daily News* correspondent, telegraphs that it is condemned by the best heads in the Colony, and it now seems as if the Home Government was afraid to let Lord Chelmsford try to carry it out. Sir Garnet Wolseley has been appointed both civil commissioner and military commander of Natal, Zululand, and Transvaal, Sir Bartle Frère being relegated to the province of Cape Colony, and Lord Chelmsford passing into a subordinate position in the field. This, of course, is simply a mild way of letting the two authors of the war down easy. The Ministry incurred a serious risk in retaining Lord Chelmsford in command after the disaster at Isandula, because had he failed to relieve Ekowe it would have fallen before popular indignation. The chance of retrieving himself was due to the fact that he is a great favorite of the Court set, and especially of the Duke of Cambridge; but this opportunity having been afforded him he goes out. The general belief in the colony seems to be that the war will run into a second campaign. John Dunn, an Englishman who lived long enough among the Zulus to become a sort of chief, and has now a tribe of his own which he has carried over to the British side, thinks they will attempt no more pitched battles, but confine themselves to raids on the colonists, a sort of operation against which it will be difficult to guard without a very large force.

The public in England are naturally a little mortified to find that the attacking force at Gingelova, which put the British on the defensive behind their wagons and entrenchments, was not larger than their own, and that Lord Chelmsford was not willing to let them come to close quarters before opening fire, by which the execution done might have been vastly greater. He was evidently afraid of the Zulu rush, and if they had once got over the line the young lads who now compose the bulk of the English rank and file would certainly have had no chance against them, hand to hand. In fact, there is general lamentation over the lack of old soldiers under the new system of short service, and there does not seem to be much compensation in the increase of numbers, for the regiments sent on active service have to be raised to their full complement by reducing others to skeletons. The Afghan and Zulu wars will do good service, however, by bringing home to the English people the folly of attempting the sort of rôle which the Beaconsfield Ministry traced out for the country last year without a complete change in the military system—without, in short, resorting to the conscription. The Zulus, in fact, have given the finishing touch to the exposure of the Jingo folly by compelling Lord Salisbury to let Russia have things her own way in Rumelia and Bulgaria, and showing the silliness of bringing 7,000 Sepoys to Malta as a threat.

The most interesting piece of recent news from France is the programme of the extreme Radicals as produced by Dr. Clemenceau, who is universally looked on now as the ablest man of that faction, and the man most rapidly rising into power and prominence, and the one most likely to take Gambetta's place, in case the latter as he grows older should become too conservative. In a speech to a large meeting of his constituents of the eighteenth arrondissement, in Paris, he denounced the Senate as a fifth wheel to the coach; demanded more liberty for the press; advocated the conscription of theological students for service in the army; direct instead of indirect taxation; free-trade; a change in the officials of the Ministries of Justice, Finance, and Foreign Affairs; complete amnesty; the pardon of Blanqui. He further reprobated the Ferry bills about education on the ground that the existing laws, if properly enforced, would do the work more efficaciously. He also demanded fair play between the clergy and the infidels, for, said he, "The Catholics have the right of insulting you in their pulpits, their congresses, and their newspapers, while any one who attempts to reply to them comes into collision with the law for the protection of religious morality."

An International Congress is sitting in Paris under the presidency of M. Lesseps to discuss the ways and means of carrying out the greatest engineering enterprise yet projected—the piercing of the isthmus between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by a ship canal. The scheme has occupied men's minds in a greater or less degree ever since the Spanish conquest, and the first survey for it was made as long ago as 1829, and all that is necessary for comparison of the merits of the seven or eight rival lines has now been done, and the result is before the Commission. All of them involve either a system of gigantic locks or of gigantic tunnels, but the choice of the Commission seems now to be confined to the Nicaragua route and the Panama-Aspinwall route, one to cost $180,000,000 and the other $240,000,000; and the last is said to be the favorite, and would take twelve years for completion. It is the French scheme.

News has been received this week of the arrival in Behring Straits of Prof. Nordenskiold, the intrepid Swedish navigator, who left Gothenburg early in the summer in the steamship *Vega*, and when last heard from, after doubling Cape Tcheliuskin, and reaching the mouth of the Lena on August 27, was ice-bound not far from Wrangell Land. The first part of this achievement was something unprecedented in Arctic voyaging, but the entire circumnavigation of the north coast of Asia, ending, as is Professor Nordenskiold's intention, in a return to Sweden *via* the Suez Canal, may justly be ranked among the wonderful performances of our age. The geographical and scientific results of this expedition must certainly outweigh its commercial importance, and full reports of the winter experience of the *Vega* will be awaited with interest. What effect this success will have on Mr. James Gordon Bennett's expedition to Behring Straits we cannot judge.

THE PRESENT ASPECT OF THE LEGAL-TENDER QUESTION.

MESSRS. BUTLER and Chittenden have undertaken to bring before the Supreme Court, by means of a test case, the power of Congress to issue or keep afloat legal-tender paper money in time of peace.

Whatever of fallacy, when tested by the rules of constitutional construction, may lurk in the doctrine that Congress has any power to make paper a legal-tender in time of war which does not belong to it equally in time of peace, that doctrine certainly furnishes the only possible point of departure from the decision in the legal-tender cases, and its assumption is, to a certain extent, justified by the course of the argument in the opinions delivered in those cases. That assumption is, of course, the ground upon which the test case is brought. The court decided in the legal-tender cases that in time of war Congress has power to make paper a legal-tender. Whether it possesses that power at all times whenever it may see fit to exercise it, was expressly left undecided. It is asserted that in consequence of recent acts of Congress the legal-tender quality of Government paper now rests on legislation had since the close of the war. In the revision of the statutes in 1874 the original legal-tender acts of 1862 and 1863 were repealed and the legal-tender provision re-enacted. Moreover, in 1875 Congress passed the Resumption Act by which the volume of the legal-tender currency was to be contracted to three hundred millions before January 1, 1879, and on and after that date the Government notes were to be redeemed on presentation in coin. By force of that act legal-tender paper would have passed out of existence. To forestall that result Congress, in 1878, under the stress of the inflation mania, passed an act prohibiting the Secretary of the Treasury from retiring or cancelling legal-tender notes, whenever they might be received into the Treasury under any law, and directing that they should be reissued, paid out again and kept in circulation. The contention is that the act of 1878 is unconstitutional. Thus, after the lapse of ten years, this great question again presents itself, this time in a form to render its determination of much greater consequence in its bearing on constitutional law and the public well-being, though of far less importance, for the moment at least, in its relation to private contracts. The importance of the case as one of constitutional law consists not so much in the particular decision to be rendered upon the power of Congress over the matter of legal-tender, as in the fact that if that power is sustained at all it must apparently be upon principles of construction never before recognized by the Supreme Court, and which if logically carried out would result in the practical surrender of most of those limitations upon legislative power which the Constitution has thus far been supposed to secure.

Moreover, a perusal of what may be called the documentary history of the unprecedented events which led to the reversal of the judgment in Hepburn *v.* Griswold serves to recall the fact that the legal-tender question has been the occasion of political events affecting even more vitally, if possible, the public welfare than the constitutional question to which that matter has given rise. For such acts as are there recalled to mind there is no constitutional remedy, and no security against a repetition except through a vigilant public opinion.

The judgment of Hepburn *v.* Griswold was reversed and set aside on the application of the Administration by the following process, described fully in a recent article of Mr. Brooks Adams in the *International Review:* The Supreme Court, at the time the case was decided, was about to be enlarged. In 1863 an act of Congress had increased the number of the Court from nine to ten. In 1866, three years later, when it was notorious that the judges were overworked and the business of the court in arrears and increasing, Congress enacted that no vacancy on the bench should be filled until the number of associate justices should be reduced to six. This apparently inexplicable proceeding is very easy of explanation. Congress was then engaged in the contest with President Johnson. A vacancy had occurred on the Supreme bench, and Johnson had sent in a nomination to the Senate. To avoid the odium of refusing to confirm a respectable appointment, the Senate procured the passage of this bill. In the House the proposition was to reduce the number by one, thus exactly covering the existing emergency; but the Senate insisted on discounting the contingencies of death and resignation to the extent of three. In 1869, as soon as General Grant had become President, Congress enacted that the number of judges should be increased to nine, the act to take effect from the first Monday of December of that year. When Hepburn *v.* Griswold was argued the court consisted of eight members, being a full court under the act of 1866. As is stated in the opinion, the case was decided in conference November 27, 1869, by a majority of five to three, the court being still full. Judgment was read and agreed to January 29, 1870, and was to have been delivered in court and entered January 31, but was postponed until February 7, to give time for the preparation of a dissenting opinion. February 1 Judge Grier resigned, February 18 Judge Strong was appointed, and March 21 Judge Bradley was appointed. March 31 Attorney-General Hoar, representing the Government, moved the Court to reopen the question decided in Hepburn *v.* Griswold. It will be remembered as a singular distinction of the late Chief-Justice that, while as Secretary of the Treasury he had given his assent to the legal-tender provision, when the question subsequently came before him in his judicial capacity he did not hesitate to hold it unconstitutional, though at the expense of his own consistency. Laudable as such an act is, it is only what every upright judge is repeatedly called upon to perform in the discharge of his ordinary judicial duties. The books are full of instances where a judge concurs with his brethren in overruling a decision rendered by himself when sitting in the lower court. In allusion to this circumstance, and by way of a statement of the facts given above, as to the composition of the Court which decided the case sought to be reopened, the Attorney-General addressed the Court as follows:

"A statute upon the constitutionality of which this Court at a time when by law it consisted of nine judges, did, by a majority of only four to three, enter its judgment, with two vacancies upon the bench; and it stands, therefore (reducing it to its essence), that upon the judicial opinion of a single man, whose voice turned the majority, the great question is adjudicated. And if—which is a supposable case—it turned out that it was an opinion about which even the deciding judge of the Court had entertained a different opinion at some other time, it would come down to the point that on the differing opinions at different times of his life of a single man the whole constitutional power of Congress and the Executive . . . was for ever to be subverted and set aside, and expunged from the practical powers of this nation by the judgment of this Court; and upon the question whether it was necessary for the exercise of admitted constitutional powers, deciding that necessity is a judicial question and not a political one."

The opinions of the new members of the Court were necessarily perfectly well known, and unless technical considerations intervened the issue could not be doubtful. The question decided in Hepburn *v.* Griswold was allowed to be reargued in the cases of Knox *v.* Lee and Parker *v.* Davis, commonly called the Legal-tender Cases, when the constitutionality of the legal-tender laws was affirmed, and Hepburn *v.* Griswold expressly overruled. The two new members of the Court united with the former minority of three, so that the Court stood five to four. Thus five justices concurred in the first opinion, and five overruled it. From his place on the bench the Chief-Justice said that the circumstances of the reversal were "unprecedented in the history of the Court."

The argument of the Attorney-General in the legal-tender cases was, in effect, that Congress had discretion not only as to the choice of the means among those authorized, but also as to whether its proposed measure was a means at all in the sense of the rule. Of course, on this theory, the fact that Congress has adopted a particular measure for the execution of a granted power amounts to an opinion on its part that that measure is a proper and necessary means. On this theory there would be nothing for the Court to de-

cide, and its occupation would be gone. The doctrine of the Attorney-General was not anywhere endorsed in the opinion of the Court; but in repudiating for the Court any pretension to the exercise of "legislative discretion" some expressions occur which seem to indicate a tendency to ignore the force of the vital distinction pointed out above. The novelty of the doctrines thus advanced was recognized by the Chief-Justice in his dissenting opinion, and the doctrines themselves expressly repudiated. "It is unnecessary to say that we reject wholly the doctrine advanced, for the first time, we believe, in this Court, by the present majority, that the legislature has any 'powers under the Constitution' which grow out of the aggregate of powers conferred upon the Government, or out of the sovereignty instituted by it. If this proposition be admitted, and it be also admitted that the legislature is the sole judge of the necessity for the exercise of such powers, the Government becomes practically absolute and unlimited."

It is the tendency towards such new theories of constitutional construction indicated in the legal-tender cases which renders the pending case of such interest. It seems probable that in that case these theories will be expanded and applied. Such would be the natural course. If these theories, now for the first time suggested from high places, become the settled doctrines of the Court, the system of constitutional limitations upon the power of Congress will be practically transformed into that of parliamentary omnipotence, since the number of express prohibitions in the Constitution is very small, and except as to those the Supreme Court would have abdicated its powers. In the times of the earlier onslaught by the other departments upon the judiciary, the judges held such theories of the character of the constitutional limitations and of the true function of the Supreme Court as caused them to perform that first duty of a judicial tribunal—the maintenance and definition of its own jurisdiction—with vigor and effect.

The circumstances connected with the reversal of the judgment in Hepburn *v.* Griswold serve to show that the method by impeachment is not the only one by which the other departments may, under exceptional circumstances, seek to overthrow the established judgments of the Court, when those judgments are not in accordance with their wishes. The judiciary is now the depositary of substantial powers as a co-ordinate branch of the Government. But if the principles of constitutional limitation on the powers of Congress, foreshadowed in the legal-tender cases, become the settled doctrines of the Court, encroachments by the other departments, however unscrupulous the majority or imbecile the opposition, will be no longer to be feared. The antagonism of the legislative to the judiciary department, which culminates in violent times and under intolerant leaders, results from the efforts of the judiciary in the discharge of its duty to maintain the constitutional provisions in restraint of legislative omnipotence. If the Supreme Court comes to the conclusion in effect that no such restraints exist, or that Congress shall be the judge of the constitutionality of its own acts, Congress will have no further cause for complaint, and the judiciary will withdraw into secure insignificance. The legislative lion will have escaped from the meshes of the logical net woven for him by the framers of the Republic.

THE "NEW DEAL"—A STUDY IN CITY POLITICS.

THERE is no duty which the press owes to the public more important than that of explaining from week to week and from day to day the real meaning of the political events which in the history of New York crowd so thickly upon one another's heels. There is hardly any which it fulfils with more painstaking and conscientious assiduity. Not even its hortatory office—the function of insisting every fall upon a popular rising against the "One-man power"—is more faithfully discharged than is the duty which arises from time to time, between the days of elections, of explaining to the people what the servants clothed by them with the various municipal trusts created by the interesting collection of laws known among politicians as "the Charter' are about. This explanation is by no means a simple task, for it involves not only a familiarity with the principles of ethics which the habitual practice of journalism is apt to weaken in some minds, but also a complete conversance with the facts of the case, which usually involves much "reportorial" investigation, and sometimes the endurance of harsh language and even blows from those who are invited to furnish the information the public need. Still the work is done, and well done; and seldom has it been more thoroughly done than in the case of the "deal" in the Board of Aldermen last week by which Mayor Cooper's Republican nominations were confirmed, and his anti-Tammany nominations were rejected by means of a union between the Republican and Tammany aldermen.

According to the *Times*, the immediate cause of this combination was the utter failure of "the meeting of delegates from the several Assembly districts composing the Fifth Senatorial District," a meeting which at the time it was held does not appear to have attracted an amount of public attention commensurate with its importance. It was the "Ninth District people," however, who were at the bottom of the whole thing. "Hunter or no one" was the ultimatum of the Ninth District people, "Hunter" being Mr. Gilbert J. Hunter, a man, as we understand it, of great prominence in the Ninth District, though less known elsewhere. With the Hon. Mr. Jacobus, who is a Republican member of the Board of Aldermen, representing the interests of Mr. Hunter, and the Hon. Messrs. Hyatt and Hall (anti-Tammany) acting with him, it was impossible that any of the Mayor's nominees should be confirmed "unless help could be obtained from outside." Meanwhile Comptroller Kelly had not been an inattentive observer of the dead-lock between the Mayor and the Aldermen, produced by the obstinacy of the "Hunter or no one" party, and what he desired above all things was to "save Tax-Commissioner Wheeler." There is said to be little doubt that Kelly, before the "deal," had pledged to him in the Board "enough votes to prevent the confirmation of any one who should be nominated for the office" held by Mr. Wheeler, so that with Kelly it was "Wheeler or no one," just as with Jacobus it was "Hunter or no one." Matters being in this position, the *Times* rather obscurely says that "things worked into such shape," apparently without the intervention of any human agency, that Kelly, "quietly sitting and waiting in his office, and holding in his hand the nine Tammany Aldermanic votes, saw the Republican Party leaders come to him offering proposals." What they said when they came in, or what Kelly said in reply, has not yet been made public; but it was at this interview that the "deal" was settled, and the arrangements for it were completed by Monday of last week. It does not, however, seem to have been communicated to Mr. Jacobus or the anti-Tammany aldermen.

It was not until the Board met on Tuesday that the "deal" was made known, and the excitement which followed, according to the *Herald*, was intense. If strong men did not weep, it was only because this is not a Presidential year. The Anti-Tammany members looked "dejected and unhappy"; the Republicans were "noticeably nervous"; the Tammany members, on the contrary, were in high spirits. A "new deal" is apt to affect the spirits in this way. Alderman Stewart was made chairman, and as he took the chair he too looked "pale and nervous." The session which followed is declared by the *Times* to have been one calculated to astonish any respectable taxpayer who was present "for the first time," though, as no such citizen seems to have been among the audience, this does not appear to be of much consequence; and the facts which the *Times* puts forward as the grounds for its remark—a gross want of familiarity with the rules of grammar and of parliamentary law, and a tendency to refer to each other in debate as "he" and "him"—were hardly calculated to excite surprise among any citizens who were there.

The first move in the "deal" was calling up the nomination of Mr. French as Police Commissioner. On the subject of this nomination Mr. Haughton made an address of considerable length. He pointed out that the Police Board ought to be kept non-partisan under all circumstances; but he felt obliged to denounce the nomi-

nation of Mr. French as an attempt to "foist a non-resident into one of the best offices of the city government," and as an "insult" "to the one million and more inhabitants of this city." He thought that if some leaders of the Republican organization saw fit to "make bargains and deals, it is the business of the people to know it," and, what is more, "the people will be very likely to pass a swift and sure judgment upon their action." He then called upon his colleagues to "think well before taking final decisive action," adding that "the men who vote for Mr. French will be marked men." An "outburst of applause" greeted Mr. Haughton's remarks, and "the crowd in the chamber became almost wild with excitement." Mr. Strack then remarked that he desired to call the attention "of his colleagues and of the citizens present" to the most "infamous and unparalleled" job "ever conceived in any Board of Aldermen." He pointed out that in the last campaign, when Mr. Cooper was elected, we fought for "home rule"; and now "all that we fought for is to be lost" by the appointment as Police Commissioner of a man from Sag Harbor, Long Island, a town which he somewhat vaguely described as "a little place almost at the east end of nothing, with a board nailed across it." He deplored the selfishness of "the element in the Board that was at the bottom of this latest deal." These persons, he said, "were actuated by greed of patronage and power," and cared nothing whatever for "home rule"; a fact curiously illustrated, according to Mr. Strack, by the employment in a certain city department of persons who live in "New Hampshire and other States" and "bring their lunches with them." He also told a story of a policeman whom he had met who had been here so short a time that he did not know the names of the streets on his own beat; on which Mr. Burns suggested that he must have come from Germany, of which country Mr. Strack is believed among the aldermen to be a native. After this Mr. Jacobus spoke very strongly against the nomination, and darkly declared that "when a king and another potentate joined hands the city would surely be at their mercy," having in mind apparently a "deal" of a somewhat monarchical character. Mr. French was then confirmed. Mr. Van Cott's nomination as Fire Commissioner was next taken up, and caused some discussion between Mr. Jacobus and Mr. Morris, Mr. Morris maintaining that Mr. Jacobus was "run by a few men on the other side of the house," and Mr. Jacobus insisting in reply that Mr. Morris was habitually elected by the aid of Tammany Hall police captains. This debate does not seem to have changed any votes, and Mr. Van Cott's nomination was confirmed. The remainder of the nominations included in the "deal" were confirmed or rejected without discussion.

The morals drawn by the press from the "deal" are not altogether the same. The *Evening Post* thinks that the combination between the Tammany and Republican aldermen was wrong, but it does not agree with Mr. Strack that the object of the election last fall was to secure "home rule"; it considers "the emancipation of the city government from the gross abuses which were the fruit of Tammany misrule" to have been the object of that election. It intimates the opinion that an alliance with "the very body that was defeated" upon that issue must cast a doubt upon the good faith of the Republicans, but it does not think that the reputation of Tammany can be made any blacker than it was before. The *World* thinks the deal the result of a not wholly unnatural alliance between "Mr. Arthur's aldermen" and "Mr. Kelly's aldermen" against "Mr. Cooper's aldermen." It recalls the fact that Mayor Cooper and an anti-Tammany majority of the Board of Aldermen were elected last year by an alliance of Democrats and Republicans who believed that the vital condition "of reform in the conduct of our municipal affairs was to purge our city politics of the influence of Tammany Hall," and declares that Mr. Cooper has not done this. It adds that the "most interesting question" of "practical politics" connected with the deal is "what consideration" the Republicans gave for the votes of the Tammany aldermen, and declares that, according to "common rumor," it was "the retention in office, through a refusal to confirm any appointment of a successor, of a certain Tammany officeholder who annually receives from the taxpayers of this city at least ten times as much in the way of emoluments as his services can possibly be imagined to be worth to them"—an identification of the person referred to by no means as specific as we could wish. The *Herald* treats the subject with levity, and says that there is some connection between the "deal" and an after-dinner speech made by Kelly a few months since at the Lotus Club. The *Times* says that the "deal" shows the "utterly untrustworthy character of most of the Anti-Tammany aldermen," and says that "it presumably involves a repetition of the corrupt bargains under which the influence of the Republican party has been used in the past to subserve the lowest partisan and personal ends." The same idea is expressed more tersely by the *Commercial Advertiser*, which declares that "the Republicans on all occasions have suffered dishonor and disgrace by cuddling with blear-eyed Democracy." The *Tribune* and *Express* take a different view of the matter. The *Express* says that the "deal" was "not the result of a bargain, but a determination to break up the bargaining which a set of unprincipled Anti-Tammanyites have been engaged in for weeks, obstructing the work of the municipal government, and sacrificing the public interest to further their own personal ends." The Tammany aldermen "sacrificed their own feelings, and their party interests, perhaps, to the public welfare, and they deserve commendation for their course." The *Tribune* says that the "Tilden-Robinson organs" may now be expected to raise a hue and cry "that the Republicans of the city have made a new alliance with Tammany Hall," when "there has in fact been no alliance of Tammany and the Republicans" at all. "The simple truth is, that the Republican combination with the Anti-Tammany factions last fall to elect Mr. Cooper mayor has not resulted in such reforms in the city government as were expected, and has given little reasonable ground for continuing to expect them"; while "it *has* resulted in greatly strengthening Mr. Tilden's chances."

There is another lesson of great importance in this crisis which our esteemed brethren have strangely overlooked, and that is the necessity the "new deal" shows of our citizens attending more closely to their political duties. It is of no use for our leading merchants and lawyers and railroad men and ministers of the Gospel to think that they have discharged their duty by voting their party ticket. The members of the Board of Aldermen are nominated in party primaries, and unless the respectable classes of the community take part in these what hope is there of securing a good Board of Aldermen? The recent deadlock in city affairs which was got over, as it always is, by a "deal" was clearly produced by a want of harmony between the Mayor and Aldermen. The better classes of our voters, in their anxiety to save the city from Tammany Hall, and to preserve "home rule" last fall, overlooked the necessity of securing good aldermen, and omitted to take any part in the meetings at which they were nominated. This supine neglect of their duties ought not to be passed over in silence by the press, and we trust that before next fall some means will be taken to arouse the public to a sense of the importance in municipal government of a minute attention by each citizen to the duty of securing the nomination of good men.

The "deal," too, we regret to say, is calculated to shake in many minds the old time-honored doctrine that a Republican city politician was sure to be a better man than a Democratic city politician, and that whatever offices you could give to the former you saved from Satan. It really begins to seem as if the notion we have long fought against, that one was about as good as the other, was correct. This is an awful thought, which we wish we could conceal from the young.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY AND THE GROSVENOR GALLERY.

London, May 15, 1879.

I FIND by counting the advertisements on the first page of the *Times* that more than a dozen exhibitions of pictures contend at the present moment for the patronage of the London public, but in the small space of this letter I can only speak—and that very briefly—of the two prin-

cipal houses. The Academy and the Grosvenor have been open since the beginning of the month. The absence of what the French call "grande peinture"—painting in which style plays a part—is as striking as ever at the former institution, where anecdotical art and little pictures addressed directly to the pocket of purchasers who demand a great deal of familiar point hold undisputed sway. I can recall only two or three things at the Academy that have any pretension whatever to nobleness. One of these is a large canvas by the new President, Sir Frederick Leighton, an "Elijah in the Wilderness," representing the brawny prophet asleep on a rock and visited by the angel who brings him a jug of water and a loaf. This picture was one of the ornaments of the English department at the Paris Exhibition of last year; but in spite of this fact, of its ambitious intention, and of an execution as brilliant in many ways as Sir Frederick Leighton has accustomed us to look for, it cannot be called a success or commended as an example of the author's best skill. With Mr. Poynter's "Nausicaa and her Maidens," however, it does solitary duty at the Academy as an appeal to interest on simple grounds of beauty of design. Mr. Poynter's picture, which was much talked about in advance, has proved, I believe, a general disappointment. It was known that some of the most beautiful women of the London world—in which so many beautiful women are to be found—had stood to the artist for the figures (by which I mean the faces) of Nausicaa's companions, so that on the day of the private view people flocked to the picture with the interesting hope of recognizing beneath the desultory drapery of the Homeric period the aristocratic heroines of the photograph shops. These ladies, however, are not thought to have been favorably represented, and indeed the picture strikes me as having a good deal of almost inexplicable awkwardness and ugliness. It is a very different affair from the same artist's charming representation of the "Race of Atalanta," which was exhibited a few years since—a work with which it challenges comparison by its shape and style. The painting seems dry and dull, the color harsh and displeasing, the composition by no means happy. Of course, when young ladies are playing at ball they are obliged to stand at a considerable distance from each other, and this fact has introduced into Mr. Poynter's picture a series of empty spaces, blank intervals, to which he has not always succeeded in imparting interest. In the case of the most considerable of these *lacunæ* he has resorted to the expedient of representing a little naked boy, bounding across the field of vision with as wide a stride as possible. But in point of fact this little naked boy is the principal object in the picture; he jumps, as the French say, at the eyes, and there is something almost ludicrous in his exaggerated gambol. The redeeming point in Mr. Poynter's canvas is a certain elevation of intention, a search for nobleness and suggestiveness of line and form, a care for style.

Two pictures for which it would perhaps be claimed that they rank themselves under the head of "peinture de style" are the "Esther" and the "Vashti" of Mr. Long, who at several successive exhibitions has attracted attention by clever archæological representations of oriental subjects. The two works I have just mentioned ought to have been hung in juxtaposition; but, for reasons not obvious to the casual visitor, they are separated by the space of several rooms. They are imaginary dramatic portraits of the two Biblical ladies whose names they bear; but in spite of a certain sort of skilful elaboration of touch they strike me as capital—indeed, as quite inimitable—examples of the trivial tendency of contemporary English art. Mr. Long has, I believe, a great reputation; he makes a great figure in the London picture-market, and this fact, in the presence of his light, thin, small, undeveloped manner of painting, with its lack of breadth and boldness, of light and shade, is a measure of the standard and the taste that prevail here. Neither in France nor in Germany would Mr. Long pass as an important or even as a particularly competent painter.

There is usually at the Academy a so-called "picture of the year"—a picture that has a thicker crowd in front of it than any other. If I say that this distinction has not this year fallen very obviously upon any particular work it will, perhaps, seem but another way of saying that the crowd at Burlington House has been everywhere so dense that it is hard to say that the spectator is more tightly squeezed in one place than in another. But I suppose it would be a fairer statement to recognize the rather evenly balanced claims to conspicuity of two very clever productions of Mr. Fildes and Mr. Pettie, who may be said to divide between them the distinction of which I just spoke. Mr. Fildes's "Return of the Penitent" has the honors of a crowd, and it very well deserves them, being a very strong and brilliant example of that relish of a human interest which is the most marked characteristic of the British school. It represents a group of country people in a village street—an old farmer leading his big cart-horse back from the plough, three or four old and young women, a couple of children—who have stopped to stare at a young girl who has prostrated herself at the door of a rustic dwelling, and who, as it stands sternly closed against her, lies there huddled together with her head buried in a passion of grief and shame. We are left to perceive that she has lost her maiden innocence, and that, having been deserted by her lover, she has made her way back to her father's house only to find herself treated as an outcast, or left at least to do public penance on the doorstep. The penance is very public indeed, and the incidents it brings with it are indicated by Mr. Fildes with that moral ingenuity, as I may call it for want of a better name, which English painters have so largely at their command in the treatment of such subjects, and which, as a general thing, fills their public with a kind of comfortable sympathy. Mr. Fildes's picture, which is large and abounds in detail, contains some very charming painting—it is indeed charmingly painted throughout, and the different figures with their various gossiping, pitying, criticising attitudes, are excellently studied and full of significant touches. The thing possesses in a word, in a high degree, the story-telling quality which marks the maximum of so much of the English art of the day. But, at the risk of seeming very dry and cynical, I must say that I find it hard to express my sense of the latent bad taste of such a performance—of a certain quality in it which would make it a misery to possess the picture and have it hanging constantly before one's eyes. The vulgarity of feeling which has prompted the painter to twist into a pictorial effect a subject altogether moral and dramatic, and seeming bruised and injured by the violence done it—this vulgarity is not flagrant or visible on the face of the work; but after one has looked at the picture for three minutes it becomes quite confounding, and one turns away from so much misapplied cleverness with something of the annoyance produced by the sight of a serious social blunder.

Mr. Pettie in his "Death Warrant" has less of a story to tell, and his picture is more of a picture. A young king (who may be Edward VI. of England) is seated at the council-table with his old ministers, one of whom offers him a parchment and pen; which he, looking away and with the tears rising to his blue eyes, neglects to take. Mr. Pettie is a colorist, and a warm and powerful one. He inclines rather to the abuse of reds and yellowish browns, but he has done nothing so fine as this important work, in which the heads of the old men, bald, bearded, and sagacious, are treated in a thoroughly painter-like way. Mr. Millais, who is usually first spoken of in connection with any exhibition of the Royal Academy, may almost be said on this occasion to be conspicuous by his absence. He has no composition this year, and of his several portraits only one is of striking interest. It is true that this one—a remarkable rendering of the at once strange and familiar physiognomy of Mr. Gladstone—is a brilliant success. The resemblance is extreme, although the expression of the face is singular and a little pushed in the direction of parody. I have heard the thing cleverly described as "Mr. Gladstone repenting that he had not become after all a Bishop." He stands with his features rather rigid and his eyes uplifted and filled with a sort of visionary glow; but it must be remembered that light animation is at no time the characteristic of his countenance, and that his eyes are always extraordinary. Mr. Millais has apparently wished to offer an image of his mystical, theological, episcopal side; but at any rate he has produced a very manly, masterly, simple piece of portraiture. There is no detail save in the head; the body is scarcely treated at all. But the thing has the great quality—it lives, it looks, it expresses something. It is true that what it expresses will perhaps gratify Mr. Gladstone's enemies as much as his friends.

At the Grosvenor (which, with its beautiful rooms, its thinner attendance, and its interspaced, low-hung pictures, is a very agreeable change from the material conditions of the Academy) Mr. Burne Jones is, as usual, the chief "actuality." He makes a less striking appearance this year than the two preceding ones; but his contributions are important and highly characteristic. I have no space to describe either the "Annunciation" or the four smaller pictures, in which the painter has told, with the accompaniment of a running motto ("The heart desires, The hand refrains, The Godhead fires, The Soul attains"), the story of Pygmalion and Galatea. These things are open to all of the same criticism which has been lavishly bestowed at any time upon their author, and which, in spite of his reputation for having established what is called in London a "craze," strikes me as being much in excess of any adulation that he has received. At the same time they have, to my mind, as much as ever the great merit—the merit of having a great charm.

The weak side of Burne Jones, his limitations, his defects, are perfectly admissible. I should never hesitate to grant that, according to the principal count in the indictment of his critics, he is "morbid and unnatural." But I should maintain that somehow he yields a high quality of pleasure from out of the midst of these perversities, and that as things go just now in England I prefer an artist with interesting faults to an artist with vulgar ones. Burne Jones is a painter to take or to leave, and it is very easy to understand the state of mind of the people who dislike him. To many people he will always seem essentially dreary. I confess, however, I have but a limited sympathy with the critics who are perpetually asking why he is not half a dozen things that do not in the least belong to his genius. "He *ought* to be so and so—he ought to be joyous and healthy and amusing." This is a very common dictum, but it is a very meaningless one. I should be very sorry to pretend to say what Mr. Burne Jones "ought" to be; and for the present I content myself with noting that his "Annunciation" is full of admirable work and beautiful expression. For the mystic Pygmalion I care rather less.

I can do no more than mention three or four other of the best things at the Grosvenor. There are half a dozen excellent portraits and two remarkable ones. The first of these is a quite superb head of Mr. Watts, by himself, executed some years since. This is perhaps the most distinguished picture of the year. It lacks the relief and reality of Millais's Gladstone (of whom Mr. Watts has also a portrait, executed some years ago, and very inferior to each of the works I mention), but it is finer and more exquisite, and it covers the multitude of sins embodied in the artist's two misguided compositions, "Orpheus and Eurydice" and "Paolo and Francesca." The other portrait I speak of is a representation on a large scale of a City magnate (Mr. Thomas Chapman, chairman of the Committee of Lloyd's) by Mr. Gregory, who won himself such honor last year. Mr. Gregory's present work is a most vigorous and delectable piece of painting—full of reality, animation, expression, and all sorts of strong points of execution. It is an example of an "official" portrait (it was painted for the Committee) made thoroughly interesting. Mr. Whistler is, of course, present at the Grosvenor; he has three characteristic examples. One of these, a large portrait of a young girl (a dancer at one of the theatres) skipping a rope, is in no sense a pleasing or a successful work. The second, also a full-length portrait of a lady (an "arrangement in brown and black"), has a great deal of solid merit, but very little charm. The third (a "harmony in green and gold—the Pacific") is a small sea-scene—a wide harbor or bay, with a number of ships at anchor. It is in its way a little masterpiece, with an enchanting tone and a wonderfully light and airy rendering of what the poets call the "watery floor." I am sorry to add that this remarkable picture, the most valuable and interesting that I have seen from Mr. Whistler's hand, was painted many years ago. If he had never done worse than this he would have been at present an accepted, and not a contested, genius. XX.

THE CLERICAL FORCES IN FRANCE.

PARIS, May 9, 1879.

THE Parliamentary recess has been spent in getting up the steam power which will enable the Legislature and the Government to advance or its opponents to pull it down. In the Councils-General the clerical party gathered all their forces to battle against the Jules Ferry Bill on Public Instruction. I am sorry to be obliged to record that their success has been very much underrated by the Havas Agency. They have brought into the field an imposing army, which is better disciplined and more systematically trained and led and homogeneous than the one on which M. Jules Ferry leans for support. In 33 departments, the law forbidding the Councils-General to pass political resolutions, or *vœux*, has been broken through. 1,143 cantons are represented in this opposing force. Now, each canton sends a delegate to vote at the senatorial elections of every department, as well as at the Council-General, and he represents a majority of the communes which go to form a cantonal region, and which are also electors in the second degree. Gambetta, in a speech at Belleville, once spoke of the Senate as the Grand Council of the Communes. It will thus be seen what danger there is of the majority in the Senate being shifted at the next partial renewal of that body from Left to Right, if this opposing force remains up to that time unbroken.

The Councils-General which refused to weigh upon the Government or Legislature amounted to 28. Quite erroneously they have been set down as hostile to the Ferry measure. They merely remained within the bounds of legality in expressing no opinion upon it. No doubt, among the representatives of the 829 staid cantons into which the 28 departments are divisible there were some scores of priest-led members; but they were swamped by those whose silence may be interpreted as an approval of the bill.

Of Councils-General which in their anti-clerical zeal expressed a hope that M. Jules Ferry would carry his measure in every article through the Assembly there were 13, representing a total of 390 cantons, a respectable quantum of motive power, and showing in four districts an accession to the Republican party. One of the 13 is Bouches-du-Rhône, of which Marseilles is the political centre, though Aix is the chief town and the seat of a law faculty. Another is Var, the reddest department in all France, and the one which offered most resistance to the *Coup d'État*. What is remarkable there is the extreme Radicalism of the small towns and villages, which are more fervid than Toulon itself. The third is Doubs, by which a De Merode was returned eighteen months ago to the Senate. The population there has many points of contact with Switzerland and Neufchâtel, and the men, who are in the urban districts largely engaged in the watch-making trade, are ruggedly sturdy and hard-headed. Since the Duc d'Aumale went to command the garrison at Besançon, the chief town of Doubs, the Republic has gained in strength there. The Protestants were alienated from the cause of Orleanist monarchy by the aggressive attitude the clericals assumed, and the population generally was disgusted at the servile manifestations the duke's presence called forth in official circles. Meurthe-et-Moselle, one of the 13, has been rendered intensely Republican by the immigration from Alsace and Metz of trading Jews, manufacturers, and working people. Fair Nancy, its capital, was captured in the last days of the Empire by four Uhlans. In Gard, which is also comprised in the baker's dozen, the Protestant suffrage has got the upper hand of the Catholic, as is shown in the warm support given by the Council-General to the Ferry bill. The Bonapartist influence is nearly extinct in Saône-et-Loire, where the great iron-master of Creuzot, Eugène Schneider, used to lead the population agglomerated round the mines and forges to the ballot-box previous to the Franco-German war. In Loir-et-Cher Republicanism and anti-clericalism become more accentuated. M. Fousset, the new Protestant deputy, took the lead in the Council-General sitting at Orleans. In Vosges there was a sweeping majority for M. Ferry, who is a representative of that department. The vote of the Council-General is to some extent due to the influx of Alsatians. In 1871 this department sent M. Buffet, a Clerical Reactionist, with, however, at that time a veneer of parliamentary liberalism, to the Assembly at Bordeaux.

In four departments the majority showed itself favorable to a pruning of the bill. They were Haute-Loire, Oise, Puy-de-Dôme, and Somme. In the first of these departments, the chief town of which, St. Étienne, provides ladies all the world over with fancy cravats and ribbons, Bonapartist and Orleanist interests are as well looked after by mill-owners and mine-directors as they are in Le Nord and Pas-de-Calais. But great voting power is disposed of by Democratic committees which, however, for reasons I shall further on explain, are weaker than they were a few years back. In Puy-de-Dôme the race is homogeneous, honest, sober, hard-working, slow, and sincerely Catholic without fanaticism. It is the part of France in which tourists have least reason to complain of sharp practices in the lodging-house and mercantile classes. M. Bardoux, late Minister of Public Instruction, and the immediate predecessor of M. Jules Ferry, presides over the Council-General of Puy-de-Dôme. He rather pressed a resolution tending to show confidence in the Government, which was passed on his giving an assurance that at Versailles it would not be interpreted as showing approval of the Ferry bill. In Somme, where the ancient fiefs of Aumale and Eu are situated, and where the Comte de Paris now resides, twenty against seventeen were disposed to support the Government. However, three of the majority voted under protest, and merely to give proof of a desire to conciliate. The resolution would have been only carried by a single voice had not a sudden death prevented two clerical members from attending.

I have touched upon the fact, brought out, I am assured, in prefectorial reports addressed to M. Lepère, that in some of the industrial centres of France Democratic committees do not wield as much political power as they did a short time ago. What data the prefects have to go upon I do not know. There have not been municipal elections in the provinces nor caucus meetings, which are unknown in France. Lyons,

Creuzot, Marseilles, Toulon, and the forges and factories of Lorraine are up to the level of M. Gambetta's Romans programme. A retrograde movement is noted at St. Étienne, in Le Nord, Pas-de-Calais, and some parts of Normandy where Republicanism was gaining ground two years ago. The populations in those places are not enlightened or ardent in their political faith, and they are now suffering from the collapse of trade which manifests itself all the world over. Distress draws them to the Church, which in hard times likes to be the great alms-distributor, and to appear as if seeking to reconcile general and particular interests. The orders which devote themselves to works of benevolence and to primary instruction acquire a fast hold in such a manufacturing crisis as the present, when there is not a burning faith in the institutions and the principles of which the Church of Rome has been since the first Revolution the arch-enemy. There can be no doubt that in populous places, where the eyes of militant free-thinkers are upon them, the orders, and more especially female communities, well discharge the duties they have vowed to accomplish. It is also no less true that while the artisan is on the side of radical reform or sweeping change, his wife clings to the sisterhood which takes charge of her children while she is engaged at the mill or the pit's mouth. The lay schoolmistress has neither the leisure nor the charity to wash and comb dirty pupils. She takes for granted that the wretched mother has time and strength to cleanse her children, so the unwashed girl, brought up in a grimy atmosphere, is sent home in disgrace or punished, which does not mend her habits, until she is old enough to make herself tidy; and poverty does not ripen fast the intellectual faculties or the sense of personal dignity. When primary instruction in a manufacturing centre is confided to religious orders the nuns are directed, as an exercise in humility, to cleanse the little unfortunates who come to them to be taught. Nuns also distribute bread and soup at the Bureaux de Bienfaisance. They direct the crèches where babes are kept during the hours their mothers are in the factory. Orphanages are founded under charitable auspices. Spiritual directors extract large sums of money for them from rich and frivolous penitents. The industrial, no less than mental, training to which children reared in these asylums are subjected is of an inferior kind to that given them, say, in Belgium, in municipal schools; still, it is an immense advance on the prison to which, according to French law, the young vagrant, who has nobody to answer for him or to protect him, must go until the age of twenty-one. To combat victoriously the Church of Rome in her struggle for political supremacy Republicans must borrow her best weapons. Pity must be given a place, and a large one, in their institutions. Justice must be coupled with mercy, and both based upon a wide pedestal. In these days of universal trade collapses, when the most solid fortunes are liable to disappear in an hour, and, to use a forcible American image, there is only a sheet of brown paper between the workingman's family and the bottomless pit, charity is not only a social bond but a political necessity. The "fraternity" inscribed on the public buildings must be no vain word if the Republic is to come victorious out of the battles which she will soon have to fight with her enemies.

Opposition to the return of the Chambers to Paris is more feeble in the Senate than it was before the recess. The Bonapartists, who were with the Royalists, are falling from them. MM. Paul de Cassagnac, Robert Mitchell, and other soldiers of fortune, who have not much to live upon beyond their deputies' salary, agitate for the translation of the Parliament from Versailles to the French capital. M. Rouher, who dislikes the railway journey, harks in with them, and the fishers in troubled waters look forward to the return of the Legislature being a source of feverish agitation and of *émeutes*. The Left Centre, which made a show of dogged opposition, is beginning to yield. M. Laboulaye has no store of loaves and fishes at Glatigny to distribute among this group, which has a very "lively sense of favors to come," and thinks it the duty of the moderate and honest legislator to be on fairly good terms with every *de facto* government, whether it be headed by a Cæsar or the incarnation of Demos. As a guarantee against the predominance in Paris of the Municipal Council a project is being quietly elaborated for making the Chambers the paymaster of the Prefecture of Police, the budget of which has been heretofore voted by the civic representatives of Paris. As to the local habitation of the Legislature, it is proposed to enlarge for the Deputies the Palais Bourbon, and give the Luxembourg to the Senate until a new house is built for it on the site of the Palace of the Council of State. Nobody bites at the scheme to run up a lodging for the representatives of universal and restricted suffrage on the place where the ruins of the Tuileries now stand. Gambetta, when consulted on this point, shrewdly observed: "Do you not think it better to avoid storing up political combustibles so near the Louvre?"

The overplus of more than 30,000,000 francs in the revenue derived within the last four months from indirect taxes is a fact which will enhance the good name of the Republic, and add to its strength at home and abroad. It is also susceptible of being used as a telling argument against the mill-owners and great land-holders who agitate for a return to the protectionist régime in force under Louis Philippe. In support of this agitation the Agricultural Society of France has published a report on the maleficent effect of free-trade on real estate in France. The value of land has gone down six years' purchase in Champagne, the chalky plains of which only feed sheep. To the importation of South American wool this fall is attributed. The squires of the fat, arable Beauce and Brie clamor for a resumption of the sliding scale to release them from the competition of the wheat-growers in the valley of the Mississippi. In the report I speak of it is shown that, while wheat is cheaper than it was twenty years ago, bread is dearer and the workingman not so well off; *ergo*, American cereals ought to be kept out of the market. The truth is that, what with the rise in house-rents and the increase of municipal taxes in France under the showy and extravagant administration of Imperial prefects, the loaf would be quoted at a famine price in the market returns if it were not for Russian and American grains.

Gambetta is in Italy. He went there to ask the Marquis de Noailles if he would be ready to exchange his diplomatic post at Rome for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the event of M. Waddington falling on the Blanqui question, or any other which might be raised by the majority in the Chamber in order to secure a more Republican premier. What answer was given by M. de Noailles I know not; but I learn that since the Speaker crossed the Alps he has written to his lieutenants in the Chamber to say that he thinks it would be impolitic to take issue with the Government, if it can possibly be helped, on the validation of Blanqui. The excitement caused by the election of Bordeaux is, I am glad to note, subsiding. Should his election be ratified, the Bonapartists talk of putting Bazaine forward as their candidate in Corsica. If returned, I am sure the ex-marshal would never be admitted to sit in the Legislature. He was degraded; Blanqui never was. On the score of unworthiness (*indignité*), apart from legal technicalities, the Chamber would have the admitted right to say to Bazaine: "You shall never be suffered to enter this House." C.

Correspondence.

THE DREADFUL BRIGADIERS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your article on "Sham Political Warfare," in No. 723 of the *Nation*, you say: "Nevertheless it is strictly and literally true that the object of the war . . . was to bring these 'brigadiers' back to Congress and compel them to participate in the working of the Government under the Constitution. That is what the restoration of the Union meant."

True it is; (1) but did we bring them back to work under the Constitution as it was when they left us, or as it *now* is, clarified, as the victors believe, by the blood of two hundred thousand men? (2) Are we to be so magnanimous as to forget and forgive, and restore by repeals the old, old laws? (3) Did we believe for a moment when we brought them back to this work that they would dare to question what we have foolishly imagined to be the settled issues of that bloody contest; (4) Pray what was settled by that expenditure of blood and treasure? Was it State sovereignty? A Congressional majority says not. Was it emancipation?

I am neither an alarmist, a Stalwart, nor a supporter of Grant or of Tilden. No "gloom" at the prospect of approaching revolution has been cast over my household. But when such dangerously feasible plans are announced for the restoration of the old régime as the majority now openly publish, when it is boasted that with a favorable Executive the Supreme Court can be increased and packed "to decide the reconstruction acts as well as the two fraudulent amendments unconstitutional, and thus restore the Constitution of the fathers," I must confess, Mr. Editor, that this line of conduct does not seem to be a participation "in the working of the Government under the Constitution."

5. Shall I believe that all these threats by the "brigadiers" will end in smoke? But what came of similar talk in the years before '60? Did it end in smoke? Did we not then call it "Sham Political Warfare"?

Is it safe to trust in the sincerity of the "brigadiers"? Pray answer me these sincere enquiries. H. G. L.

CHICAGO, ILL., May 15, 1879.

[1. As it now is. 2. You are to be as magnanimous as you please, but you are to be governed under the Constitution by the acts and resolutions of the majority of the legislature, whether they repeal "old, old laws" or make new ones. 3. We do not know what you believed; everybody's beliefs differ, but unless you were a very simple-minded person you must have expected that in a free country, especially after a civil war, plenty of bad men and good would "dare to question" all sorts of things. 4. You will find what was settled for political purposes in the Constitution and the Revised Statutes and in several decisions of the Supreme Court. You must not trust to your own feelings on these points. A Congressional majority has said nothing about "State sovereignty." It has repealed some laws about the regulation of elections which were passed by another Congressional majority. This is the way free government is carried on. The best thing for you to do, if you do not like the conduct of the present Congressional majority, is to argue with those who voted for it in such fashion that they will vote next time for a majority of the other party. You will thus prevent all the dismal things foreshadowed in the last part of your letter from ever coming to pass. 5. The "similar talk" before 1860 ended in a bloody civil war. This, however, is a strong reason for thinking it will not end in the same way again. When you see a man walking towards a big hole into which he once fell and broke his thigh, you do not conclude, do you, that his design is to fall in again and break the other thigh? Great wars settle things among rational beings, even if they be naked savages.—ED. NATION.]

SOME ASPECTS OF THE NEGRO CONTROVERSY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As the public seems so much interested in the negro question, your readers would perhaps like to hear something from a credible witness living in the central county of South Carolina. As to the *Times's* story about "shooting negroes on Christmas," etc., I depone that I have been a resident of "the Falk" of Richland, sometimes by its enemies called "the dark corner," where there is a very large colored population, for nearly seven years, and have not known a single instance of a white man's killing a negro. In a paper called the *Christian Statesman*, which one would think ought to be sure of its facts, the recent emigration is declared to have been *purely spontaneous* and *solely due* to the white man's *greed and oppression*. Such a statement in a paper professedly seeking moral and political reform, and circulated, I presume, mainly among the educated classes of the North and West, would seem to imply a very dense ignorance in regard to this whole question on the part of its supporters.

What may be the facts in regard to the relations of the negro laborer and his white employers in the Southwest I cannot say from actual observation, but in this part of the country I aver that the negro is as well treated and as little imposed upon as could be expected, human nature hereabouts being of the normal type. Everywhere, alas! men are tempted to abuse power and to practise extortion, and the negroes, being poor and ignorant, would suffer more or less from covetous greed whenever they came in juxtaposition with a superior race; but that they are more imposed upon by Southern people than they would be by Northern people or Europeans, or that there is any peculiar feeling of *hatred* to them felt by Southerners, I emphatically deny. We naturally don't wish to be ruled by them, and when by our enemies a race issue (politically) was forced upon us we were obliged to accept it; but apart from that, so far as I know, the feeling towards the negroes generally entertained is kindly. When laborers all over the civilized world are discontented and continually at war with their employers, is it to be wondered at that the negro laborer should in some instances (as in the Southwest) evince similar symptoms?

One principal cause of the negro's slow progress is his own *want of thrift*. They are, generally speaking, like children as regards the use of money. A child in a toy-shop will give his only five-dollar bill for a penny whistle if it strikes his fancy, and so the surplus money of the negroes is ordinarily all squandered about Christmas for what they fancy, whiskey being largely consumed. When their cotton money is expended they bring their corn, then their peas and fodder, then their cotton-seed, and consequently must begin the next year on credit and buy back the very corn which they sold in trade at 50 cents for $1 50 per bushel; and on an average, I believe, this surplus, representing the earnings of a year, would be squandered in the same way if it was thrice as large. Some of them have by industry and exceptional thrift gotten on and accumulated property. This proves for the mass that it is not in their circumstances, but in "themselves that they are underlings."

Believing that you aim at the truth in this and all other questions, and that the value of this testimony will be enhanced by confessing the authorship, I make bold to send it, appending my name and title.

J. H. TILLINGHAST,
Pastor Zion Church, etc.

EASTOVER, S. C., May 9, 1879.

P. S.—The writer does not, be it understood, deny that the poor negroes are victimized to some extent by Southern greed and craft. Nor does he seek to *condone* it for an instant, but would rebuke that prejudiced or hypocritical denunciation of Southerners as "sinners above other men." What else was to have been expected but that such a population, naturally indolent and self-indulgent, endowed with intellectual capacity about on a level with Anglo-Saxon children in their teens, when turned loose suddenly upon the world would come to grief? As well expect "Moses" not to meet a sharper "at the fair."

THE LATE COLONEL ALSTON.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Montaigne closes one of his essays by saying: "In the judgment I make of another man's life I always observe how he carried himself at its close; and the principal concern I have for my own is, that I may die handsomely—that is, patiently and without noise." Measured by this standard your language in a March number in respect to Col. Alston, slain under the roof of the State-house of Georgia, though at the moment apparently justified by facts, is an estimate of him which those who knew him best regret should be accepted, and which the evidence adduced at the recent trial of his assailant has proved to be unjust.

Robert A. Alston, though reared in Charleston, came of the "Halifax Alstons," men of standing who had attained reputation in the Carolinas before the days of the Republic. It is true that they were "sudden and quick in quarrel," but I am not aware that they were charged with the errors and vices for which we must seek an apology when we discuss the character of too many public men that we know; they seemed to have kept to the spirit of the legend of the Fairfaxes as a rule of action, "*Say and do.*" "Men's evil manners live in brass," and pending a great criminal trial it is not difficult to see that there were many motives for giving wide publicity to the alleged reputation of the family for violence—to the story of the *Herald* that "all the Alstons died with their boots on." Yet I would not say that the "correspondents" were advised of the use that might be made of such stories. It must not be forgotten that the traditions of agricultural districts savor of the permanence of the soil, and are but slowly uprooted; that the South owes its virtues as well as its follies to its position and its pursuits, that its interests are land interests, and have been continuously since the days of Raleigh and Albemarle, of Fairfax or Oglethorpe. It is not a century since private differences among the better classes of England were often enough settled with the straight sword or pistol, and we know that neither Hamilton nor Clay, Jackson nor Houston was superior to the tyranny of this tradition of the middle ages.

That the subject of these remarks was of a better mind and would have escaped the fate of too many of his family, the writer of this communication is personally advised. I know him as men only know each other who have shared the same bivouac, slept often under the same tree, in weary marches in the changing seasons together made friends with the summer and winter constellations, endured the heat of the one season and the slant rains of the other, soberly watched the dawn break of days either of which might be determined "*ultima dies*" to either or both. His purposes, like those of most of us, failed sometimes of worthy execution, but he had the better traits of his race in a marked degree. He said: "I shall teach my son the primitive virtues—to ride, shoot, and speak the truth." As a soldier he used his position in such a manner that *sans reproche* might not be separated from *sans peur* in any discussion of his conduct, as many who wore the uniform of blue might testify to as well as I.

In the Sherman march his residence shared the fate of war: doors and shutters unshipped, furniture plundered; his mother, advancing in years, left by the retiring army with an enemy at the open door heretofore unknown to the Alstons—want; nevertheless, during the summer of 1865 he addressed a letter to the *Tribune*—commented on editorially by Mr. Greeley—suggestive of ideas far in advance of the current opinion of the South at that day, admitting the conclusiveness of the settlement made by the arbitrament of arms, and seeking for his section every advantage, under such admission, which under a republican theory of government must be extended to the common citizens of a common country. Since then he has followed civil pursuits creditably, doing no violence, as I am aware, in practice to the theory of civil conduct he had suggested. I trust you will agree with me that in the discussion of an evil wide-spread in the South, perpetuated by family traditions and enforced by arguments every well-wisher to society would challenge, such a man as Alston, slain by an adjudged assassin, should not for the errors of his family or the last fault of his career be selected "to point the moral."

ARTHUR W. ANDREWS.

GALVESTON, TEXAS, May 17, 1879.

Notes.

HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO. publish immediately 'Detmold,' a story, by W. H. Bishop, which appeared last year in the *Atlantic;* and 'Mono-metallism and Bi-metallism,' by J. B. Howe.——G. P. Putnam's Sons have nearly ready 'The Great Fur Land,' by H. M. Robinson, of which the magazine-reading public have already had an agreeable foretaste.——A select volume of sonnets, called 'Afternoons with the Poets,' is in the press of Harper & Bros.——R. Worthington announces 'The Souvenirs of Madame le Brun.'——A translation of Emanuel Geibel's 'Brunhild,' preceded by a brief account of the Nibelung Saga, by Prof. G. Theo. Dippold, of Boston University, is announced by Ginn & Heath, Boston; also a school edition of the 'Agricola' of Tacitus, edited by Prof. W. F. Allen, of the University of Wisconsin.——The third part of Mr. Leypoldt's 'American Catalogue' (Lenoir to Ri) is nearly ready, and will be published by A. C. Armstrong & Son, who hereafter will assume the business management of this admirable work. The fourth part, completing volume i., will probably not be delayed beyond September 1.——The Clarendon Press, Oxford, says the *Academy*, has engaged to publish the Philological Society's English Dictionary, of which Dr. J. A. H. Murray, now president of the society, is to be the editor. It will include all English words since 1100, and will illustrate each word, sense, and century with a complete quotation. In bulk it will be four times the size of Webster, and will be completed, it is hoped, in ten years, Part I. being set down for 1882. All who desire to help as "readers" will obtain hints and printed slips by applying to Dr. Murray, Mill Hill, Middlesex, N. W.——At the further sale of George Cruikshank's drawings and prints in London, on May 1, a pencil-drawing of Dickens as a young man, seated, brought $102 50.——Williams & Norgate, London, have put forth the prospectus of a Theological Translation Fund intended to cover the expense of translating into English and publishing "the best results of recent theological investigations on the Continent, conducted without reference to doctrinal considerations, and with the sole purpose of arriving at the truth." Principal Tulloch, Prof. Jowett, Dean Stanley, James Martineau, H. Sidgwick, C. Kegan Paul, and T. K. Cheyne are among the sponsors of this enterprise. With the help of free donations to the Fund it is calculated that subscribers of one guinea annually can be supplied with three octavo volumes annually. The works of Keim, Baur, Kuenen, Bleek, Zeller, Hausrath, Nöldeke, Schrade, Scholten, Pfleiderer, etc., are among those specially contemplated. B. Westermann & Co. are the American agents.——We lately noticed the forthcoming *Art Amateur*, and now we have before us the prospectus of the *American Art Review*, "a journal devoted to the practice, theory, history, and archæology of art." The managing editor will be S. R. Koehler, assisted by Dr. Wm. C. Prime and Charles C. Perkins; and the publishers will be Estes & Lauriat, Boston. The magazine is to appear monthly, and will resemble the *Portfolio* in giving with every number forty pages of letter-press and three full-page plates, one at least of these being an etching by a celebrated European artist. A series of original "painter-etchings" by American artists is also contemplated, besides reproductive etchings from the works of early American artists. Altogether the *Review* has a very promising outlook, and we have no doubt will be well worth its twelve dollars.——Mr. Arthur Gilman, Cambridge, Mass., has now ready Circular No. 3 in relation to Private Collegiate Instruction for Women at Harvard, giving the courses of study for the year 1879–80. Details for chemistry are yet wanting. The Harvard Examinations for Women in this city, in twelve sessions, conducted by Prof. Child, began on the 28th instant and will close on the 4th of June.——The telegraph announced some time since that Ivan Turgeneff had been expelled from Russia, but the St. Petersburg correspondence of the Vienna papers gives a more detailed account of the affair. It appears that the Government was offended at the enthusiasm with which Turgeneff's lectures were greeted. Accordingly, the St. Petersburg superintendent of police called upon him and gave him plainly to understand that the Government had learned with displeasure that his person was made the object of "exciting manifestations," and that it would consider it a favor if he would put an end to such manifestations by going abroad. After Turgeneff's departure he was formally proscribed—*i.e.*, banished for life.

—The Cincinnati Public Library published last year a monthly, or nearly monthly, Bulletin of recent accessions, which were bound together afterwards with classified and authors' indexes to the whole. This formed, with the exception of the catalogues to all the fiction published in 1876, the only catalogue accessible to the public since 1871, when Mr. Poole's of the 30,000 volumes then in the library was issued. The Library contained at the end of January 114,311 volumes and pamphlets, of which 11,603 were pamphlets. Since the beginning of this year, previous to which a broadside of titles (like that formerly used by the Boston Public Library for the use of the intended card-catalogue) was also printed, the Bulletin has been issued in a modified form with larger type, which will serve in different forms of printing as a monthly Bulletin, and as title-slips to be pasted for the card-catalogue. In their present form of cataloguing the pages of each volume are given with, we should judge, nearly bibliographical fulness. Some indication of the number of pages seems to be of some use, and the precision of the Cincinnati method, though it is doubtfully ever useful, is yet good and easily justified on the principle of doing a piece of work thoroughly. These Bulletins publish no notes excepting as indicating contents, or number of editions, etc.; and, as a matter between a librarian and his board of managers, we are not aware that he can be expected to do anything more. If he stores the books properly, and publishes a finding-list, in whatever form may seem best, anything further, as a bibliographical or comparative account of his books for the benefit of the public, is altogether supererogatory. A public may be grateful enough, and should be, for such work as Mr. Winsor did in Boston, but we do not understand how it can be supposed that a board of managers pays for such work in its librarian's regular salary. A class of literary experts and general and special students might well be attached to a library to instruct the public as to the merits of books, and their labors might be published with the Bulletins, but their functions would not differ from a critic's. No one supposes, probably, that the meritorious works of persons specially fitted for the task are to serve as a rule for all librarians.

—Mr. Cutter, at the Boston Athenæum, continues his very agreeable lists of additions, with selections from the best critical notices, which have the merit of being very interesting without committing the librarian himself to the views expressed. In case of a marked difference in the criticisms opposite opinions are sometimes given. With the number for April 1 Mr. Cutter begins to follow the altered spelling of "ten" words recommended by the American Philological Association, which are enumerated as ar, catalog, definit, gard, giv, hav, infinit, liv, tho, thru, wisht. In the number for April 22 a phonetic character for *ng* was used throughout, but it appears to have been set up in this instance by a misunderstanding, and does not occur in the last list. The Young Men's Association of Buffalo, by the way, is added to the number of the libraries for whom the Athenæum prints a special edition of its annotated list.

—The June *Atlantic* opens with a study of the condition of the operatives in Fall River by the anonymous contributor whose articles upon the laboring classes have attracted such wide attention. His report is, on the whole, more favorable than would be expected; he finds the source of the troubles of the operatives not in low wages or the grasping tyranny of the mill-owners, but in unhealthy sanitary conditions, bad and wasteful cooking, ill-ventilated and crowded tenements, sensational and socialistic reading, lack of healthful amusement, and the like. The operatives were generally contented, and were not in want; they were not individually much interested in labor reform; discontent and want were found among the unemployed, who were mainly not men who had

been discharged but new-comers in search of work. The female operatives he finds a more moral class than is usually supposed. The article deserves a careful reading for the uncolored information it contains and for the closing suggestions, which seem to us more practical than those which this writer at first put forth. This article is followed by a piece of plain-spoken and vigorous criticism, such as is rarely printed in this country, upon "Art in Engraving on Wood," by one of the best of Anglo-American engravers, Mr. W. J. Linton. He gives an excellent sketch of the early history of cutting on wood, but he warms up to his subject as he comes to what is called the "new departure," to illustrate which he takes up for detailed criticism the recent portraits of Emerson and Longfellow in *Scribner's*, and other minor cuts in the same magazine. He does not spare condemnation and ridicule; he writes vigorously, but it is clear that the source of his feeling is respect for his art and no other motive. He reserves his bitterest word for those who use "the fine-tooth comb"—*i.e.*, a multiple graver by which several white lines are engraved at once; he points out the faults which result from its use so plainly that the most unskilled tyro can see his meaning. To read his article and refer to the illustrations in *Scribner's* and *Harper's* that he mentions will be an excellent lesson to any who wish to learn what makes the merit of a wood-cut. At the same time, if we except the multiple graver, Mr. Linton's strictures are really aimed less at those who cut the blocks on which Mr. Wyatt Eaton's and Mr. Kelly's coarse cartoons are photographed than at the artists themselves. The question, therefore, is one of draughtsmanship, at least primarily, and we should like to have another chapter from Mr. Linton on the proper mode of drawing on wood. The detail and definition of Bewick and his school, particularly in their backgrounds, seem opposed to the practice of tint-drawing which Mr. Linton recommends as the "more effective and painter-like method." Among the other articles Mr. Howells's story, "Buying a Horse," is entertaining and realistic, and "Irene the Missionary" goes on with more sprightliness; Mr. Aldrich makes a short plea for Dobson's poetic merits, and Mr. Warner extracts freely from Harrison's "England," under the title of "The People for whom Shakspeare wrote." The article by Mr. Beard upon the "Physical Future of the American People" is also deserving of mention. He prophesies a vigorous and healthy race in the thirtieth century.

—The question of the legality of State laws forbidding the marriage of blacks and whites has recently come up in Richmond before Judge Hughes. The laws of Virginia make such a marriage a penal offence, punishable with imprisonment. In violation of this law, Edward Kinney, a Virginia negro, had gone into the District of Columbia with a white woman, also a resident of Virginia, and there contracted a marriage with her, perfectly valid according to the laws of the District. On his return he was sentenced to the penitentiary, and applied for a writ of *habeas corpus*, on the ground that he was in custody in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States. It was contended, first, that the imprisonment was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, making all natives of the United States citizens of the United States and of the State where they reside, and prohibiting any State from making or enforcing any law abridging the privileges of citizens of the United States, and from denying to any person within its jurisdiction "the equal protection of the laws." Judge Hughes decides that this does not prevent a State from abridging the privileges of its own citizens, and that its powers in this respect are those of sovereign governments, which of course may regulate the domestic relations of their inhabitants as they see fit. He cites the Slaughter-House and a number of other cases to show that the privilege of marrying belongs to the class of rights which a person has as a member of society, and is not in any way derived from his right as a citizen of the Union. Further, a statute prohibiting marriages between blacks and whites, which operates upon both races alike and equally, cannot be said to deny to any one "the equal protection of the laws." Section 1977 of the Revised Statutes provides that all persons shall have the same rights as to the making and enforcing "contracts" that are enjoyed by white persons. This has no application to the case, because it only refers to legal contracts. What are legal contracts must be determined by other considerations. Besides this, the section does not embrace contracts of marriage, any more than does the clause of the Constitution forbidding States from passing laws impairing the "obligations of contracts." As to the departure of the parties from Virginia for the express purpose of marrying in the District of Columbia, it appears that this also was made a penal offence by the Virginia statutes. It was maintained that the provision of the Constitution requiring each State to give "full faith and credit" to the public "acts, records, and judicial proceedings" of the other States had an important bearing on the case; but Judge Hughes decides that this could have no further effect than to render indisputable the fact of the marriage and its legality under the laws of the District.

—The case is to be reheard, we believe, when Chief-Justice Waite is next in Richmond; but it is hardly possible, whatever disposition may be made of the *habeas-corpus* application, that the decision as to the effect of the Amendments upon the law of marriage can be shaken. In fact, it is a remarkable illustration of the confusion as to legal rights produced by the war that any one should have dreamt of attempting to upset such a law on the ground of unconstitutionality. It may be very unfortunate that the subject of marriage is not regulated by a national law, and many inconveniences and abuses may be pointed out which spring in great measure from the absence of such a law; but inconvenient or not, the notion that the States are prohibited from regulating the whole matter, or that the United States can intervene and ratify or annul marriages invalid or valid according to State law, is an idea which we should *à priori* have supposed could only obtain lodgment in the mind of a disciple of Justus Schwab or Citizen Maddox. It is noticeable, by the way, that the decision points to a means of making fraudulent divorces difficult to obtain which seems worthy of the attention of reformers. If laws affixing to marriages made outside of the State for the purpose of evading State laws the same penalties that would attach to them if contracted within the State are valid, there would seem to be no reason for not punishing persons obtaining fraudulent divorces in the same way. If, for instance, it were made a penal offence for any citizen of New York to procure a divorce outside the State for any cause which would not be a good cause within the State, it would at least have this effect, that persons who went to Illinois or Connecticut to procure such divorces would not return to New York; and the general adoption of such measures would make the few States which retained a lax divorce system a sort of matrimonial Botany Bay; and this is exactly what all States ought to be which attempt to break down the barriers thrown by society around marriage. All this we say without any reference to the Virginia law as to marriages of whites and negroes, which we regard as quite needless. The marriage of whites and negroes on any considerable scale is prevented by the natural aversion to such marriages on the part of the whites, and hence there is no need of any law on the subject. "Miscegenation" is an old bugbear which would never have attracted any one's serious consideration had it not been for the excitement and passion which any question connected with slavery aroused before the war. Southerners succeeded in persuading themselves at one time that there was a "hellish radical plot" on foot in the North to corrupt the blood of the white race by a system of promiscuous intermarriage; and many a conservative white parent in the old days before the war reasoned himself into the belief that it was necessary for him to vote the Democratic ticket in order that he might escape the danger of having his daughter "marry a nigger."

—The hottest summer of the decade was approximately predicted to occur the present season by Piazzi Smyth, "Astronomer-Royal for Scotland," as he signed himself in *Nature*. His argument was: "Between 1837 and 1876 three great heat-waves struck this part of the earth [Great Britain], in 1846½, 1858, and 1868$\frac{1}{10}$. The next such visitation may be looked for in 1879½, within limits of half a year each way." Our acceptance of this forecast, published in September, 1877, is weakened by the failure of his simultaneous prediction of severely cold weather a year and a half before and after said heat-wave—*i.e.*, during the winters of 1877–8, and of 1880–1 if we may judge of Scotland from the neutral nature of the winter of '77–8 in this country.

—Breitkopf & Haertel, in Leipzig, have commenced the issue of a series of pamphlets, at a mark apiece, on musical biography, analysis of compositions of note, æsthetic questions, etc. They are to appear at irregular intervals, like the several series of brochures on scientific subjects. The four numbers which have so far appeared are on J. S. Bach, Wagner's "Siegfried," Schumann's "Faust," and the history of pianoforte music. From Leipzig also comes the news of the death of Richter, the distinguished musical theorist and cantor of the Thomaskirche. In him the Conservatory loses a man who has done more than any one else to establish its world-wide reputation. He has published a considerable number of compositions, embracing the departments of chamber-music, opera, oratorio, and pure vocal music. His settings of several psalms are regarded as his best efforts. His reputation, however, rests chiefly on his theoretical works. Of his admirable treatise on harmony eleven editions have been published in Germany, and it has

been translated into several languages. Equally valuable are his text-books of counterpoint and fugue, whose weakest point is their bad literary style. As a man he is said to have been cold and reserved, except to his intimate friends. Nothing definite as yet is known in regard to the successor to his post, which was once held by the great Bach himself.

—In Italy two events have taken place which deserve to be recorded. Beethoven's glorious Ninth Symphony has received its first performance in Rome, and Mendelssohn's "Elijah" in Milan. According to German correspondents both the execution and reception were all that could be desired, although, of course, the ultra-Italians could not see the trees on account of the forest. They wanted to know what had become of the "melody." They kept quiet, however, and what that means those know best who have been in Italy. A Frankfort paper not long ago gave an amusing account of the behavior of which the Italians are still guilty in their opera-houses. Not only does everybody talk as much and as loudly as he pleases, but when, after an interval of dreary recitative, a fine melody arrives, several of your neighbors are sure to take it up and hum it along, and not *pianissimo* either. Besides this, ladies bring their squalling babies with them, and in the intervals between acts the members of the orchestra practise their solos.

—In some respects even this state of affairs appears to be preferable to the conditions to which composers are subjected at the other extremity of Europe, at St. Petersburg. Absolute despotism there extends not only to social, political, and literary affairs, but also to the publication of church music. The publishers of a new mass by Tchaikoffsky were recently visited by a deputation of the police, who confiscated all the copies issued, and forced a promise out of all the publishers not to print the composition again. Of this affair the *N. Berliner Musikzeitung* gives the following explanation: There is in St. Petersburg a great dignitary, the director of the Imperial Chapel, without whose permission no new sacred music whatsoever can be printed. Bribery and favoritism are the only motives by which his dictum can be controlled, and thus it has happened that while many an unknown composerling has been given an opportunity to afflict the world, men of real talent, like Glinka and Tchaikoffsky, are compelled to lock up their manuscripts in their desk or send them to Germany. This state of affairs is all the more surprising, since, in other respects, a good deal is done in the Russian capital to promote the interests of good music. Rubinstein, for instance, has been honored with various offices and functions, the title of hereditary nobility having, among other things, been bestowed on him. New works, also, are commonly received without the traditional prejudices so prevalent in other regions. Berlioz in his day was nowhere received with so much enthusiasm as in St. Petersburg, and Wagner has long since been introduced there. In less than two years he will also, without doubt, effect his entrance into the city which professes to be the brain of the universe. The Parisians are getting to be heartily ashamed of their irrational method of mixing up artistic with political affairs, as was shown the other day when the first act of "Lohengrin" was for the first time performed in their city with great success, not on the stage but by the courageous Pasdeloup in one of his popular concerts. The Parisians may console themselves with the knowledge that they are not the only mortals who have condemned what they had never heard, and they now endeavor to whitewash their conduct by pretending that their opposition was entirely based on political motives. But surely it would be too great a compliment to Wagner's rather commonplace, sarcastic comedy on the French to attribute to it the demonstrative enmity of a whole nation during almost ten years. One cannot help suspecting that a little want of musical culture also had something to do with the matter when one reads in the *Journal des Débats* that at a recent concert by the pupils of the Conservatoire the name of Schumann also, for the first time, figured on the programme.

THE COLOR-SENSE IN MAN AND ANIMALS.*

THE teleological and anthropocentric view of nature, which regards every marvellous contrivance and every object of beauty as having been specially so created for the delight and gratification of man, never received a ruder shock than when the careful observations and experiments of Darwin, Lubbock, and H. Müller put into a clear light the wonderful relations between the vegetable and the animal world—between flowers, insects, and birds, and the peculiar manner in which they react on one another. The varied and grotesque forms of the orchids and many other plants, instead of having been devised for the amusement of the botanist or the lover of nature, were shown to be developments of originally simpler forms, gradually modified by natural selection for the purpose of enabling particular winged insects or birds to visit them and deposit, in return for some nectar or honey, a few grains of pollen brought along from another flower just visited, thus enabling the former plant to secure the benefits of cross-fertilization and thereby gain an advantage over its rivals in the struggle for life. The same reasoning likewise applies to the colors and perfumes of flowers and fruits. Darwin showed that color is absent in flowers which are fertilized by the wind, and occurs only in those which are fertilized by the agency of insects; whence the inference that there must be some causal connection between the color-sense of insects, birds, and mammals and the origin of colored petals and fruits, whose function must be to attract guests for the purpose of fertilization or the dispersal of seeds, by guiding them to the nectar or the sweet juices of the plants.

The clear establishment of this principle and some of its consequences, by an accumulation of all the evidence bearing on it, is the chief task which Mr. Grant Allen has imposed on himself in his new volume, which, to a certain extent, may be regarded as a continuation of his former work on "Physiological Æsthetics." The color-sense of birds and butterflies, he thinks, has metamorphosed the world. Certain large masses of color in the inorganic world, such as the blue sky, the green sea, rocks, minerals, and precious stones of various hues, sunsets and the rainbow, as well as the green leaves of the forest and the diverse tints assumed by them in autumn, are due simply to conditions of molecular structure which it is the business of physical science to explain. But the countless hues of flowers, fruits, birds, and insects—these, he maintains, owe their existence in these places entirely to the color-sense of bees, butterflies, humming-birds, and other animals. To establish this theory it is necessary to prove two things: first, that the lower animals really share with man the power of discriminating between the various spectral colors; and, secondly, that there is in the vegetable world a natural tendency toward the production of colors other than green, thus affording natural selection an opportunity to bring about the changes in question through the agency of the brute color-sense. The first point is put beyond all doubt by the anatomical structure of the eyes of the lower animals (the presence of cones in most of them), by the careful experiments of Lubbock and Darwin on ants and bees, and by the existence of protective, warning, and imitative colors in so many species of animals, which prove that the enemies from which they are thus concealed must have a sense of color, for otherwise all these devices would be utterly useless. The second point Mr. Allen succeeds in putting on an equally secure basis in a long chapter on insects and flowers, which on the whole is the most original and valuable part of the book, although some of the details are open to doubt.

The author shows in an ingenious manner how all the active parts of plants which *accumulate* energy with the assistance of the solar rays are usually rendered green by the presence of the pigment known as chlorophyll; while, whenever any part begins to *expend* energy, as in buds or in the young sprouts of various bulbs, it tends to assume tints of red, blue, or violet. Now, plants are selfish enough not to expend energy unless, either directly or indirectly, there is something to be gained by it. In early geological epochs, when all flowering plants were as yet fertilized by the "unconscious wind," energy had to be thus expended in the production of vast quantities of pollen, in order to make sure that so unreliable an agent would actually accomplish its duty. This necessary over-production of pollen in wind-fertilized plants may still be seen nowadays in a pine forest, where the floor is often thickly covered with the precious yellow dust. At a later epoch, however, when insects had made their appearance on the face of the earth, a convenient method offered itself to plants by which to secure much more favorable chances of fertilization at less cost to their vital energies at that time.

"The stray flowering species which grew at rare intervals in the midst of the calamites and lepidodendra must have offered special attractions to insects (or their undifferentiated ancestors) in the shape of soft, edible, nutritious pollen. And as the insects travelled from one flower to another, carrying on their legs or heads the fertilizing powder, they would supply the plant with a cheaper and more certain means of impregnation than that afforded by the wasteful wind. Accordingly, any plants which offered special advantages to insects, in the shape of pollen, sweet juices, or soft edible matter, would thus obtain an extra chance in the general competition for a share of the earth's surface, and hand down the peculiarity to an ever-increasing brood of descendants."

* 'The Color-Sense: its Origin and Development. An Essay in Comparative Psychology. By Grant Allen, B.A.' Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co.

In connection with these various baits would be developed, in course of time, petals and other attractive structures; and as these belong to the expenders of energy, they would tend to be of other hues than green, and would thus serve the insects as guides to their food. While in this manner the visits of insects gradually developed the colored petals of flowers, these, by way of reaction, continually improved and refined the color-sense of the insects, thus explaining the two oracular sentences in which Mr. Allen sums up this part of his work: "Insects produce flowers. Flowers produce the color-sense in insects."

So far, passing over a few details, we are in entire accord with the author, who, in truth, has only been working out some of the corollaries which necessarily follow from Darwin's fruitful theory of cross-fertilization. In fact, it would hardly be too much to say that the essence of all Mr. Allen has to say on the colors of flowers and fruits is contained in the 'Origin of Species' in the paragraph on Beauty, which is one of the most suggestive and wonderful pages in all scientific literature. But when we come to the question of colors in *animals* we no longer follow the author. He accepts and defends Darwin's theory of sexual selection, which attributes the fine colors and other ornaments of male animals to the deliberate and conscious (æsthetic) choice by the females of the more beautiful males. This doctrine has never received the approval of many even among those who in natural selection went full length with Darwin; and in 'Tropical Nature' Mr. Wallace has advanced a series of arguments against it which to us seem unanswerable. Mr. Wallace insists that in organic nature it is not so much the presence as the absence, and the peculiar variations, of color which need accounting for. He points out that color is a normal product in the surface-structures of animals, and is proportionate to integumentary development, being, therefore, most apt to occur in such delicate structures as the wings of butterflies and the feathers of humming-birds and peacocks. Brightness and intensity of color are, moreover, correlated with the greater vigor and activity and the higher vitality of the male. Now, as it is the strongest and healthiest males which will have the most complex and highly-developed dermal appendages, they will also be the most brightly colored; and, since they will have an advantage over weaker rivals in securing desirable females, they will also leave an equally vigorous and attractive offspring. *Natural* selection, therefore, accounts for all the phenomena in question, and, such being the case, the laws of scientific reasoning forbid the introduction of a new and superfluous principle of explanation. Mr. Allen, however, thinks he can save sexual selection by limiting its scope and contending that "only those animals display beautiful colors, due to sexual selection, in whom a taste for color has already been aroused by the influence of flowers, fruits, or brilliant insects, their habitual food." This, indeed, narrows down the problem, but does not remove any of the objections. For we may grant that in general those animals which live amidst flowers and fruits have a finer color-sense than others of different habits—a theory which is also supported by revelations of microscopic anatomy of which Mr. Allen does not appear to be aware—and yet it does not at all follow that these birds and insects are therefore competent to receive æsthetic pleasure from color intense enough to induce them to base their choice of mates on the slight variations in the brilliancy and harmony of tints in them. If we adopt the suggestion of Mr. Wallace, that the coloration in many cases is determined by the necessity of recognition at a distance, we have all that is here needed to account for the development of colors which do not come under the head of protective, warning, and imitative. Mr. Allen forgets that though evidence exists that in some cases females do exercise a choice of males, yet in no case has it been shown that this choice is determined by any peculiarity of coloring in the male. Add to this that in the vast majority of cases it is the bright-colored male, and not the dull female, that makes the selection, and that in the case of gaudy butterflies and caterpillars the exercise of an æsthetic taste in selecting a mate is altogether out of the question, and we must come to the conclusion that Mr. Allen has failed in his attempt to restore Sexual Selection to its lost position. Such, at any rate, is our conviction, after repeatedly perusing all the literature on this question, which is as yet not very extensive, though rapidly growing in extent. The senses of taste and smell are so directly connected with the vegetative system of animals that we may assume perfumes and sweet juices to be distinctly pleasurable to animals. But the ear and eye are so thoroughly intellectual in function that it seems most probable that the specialized colors and songs of birds are developed for purposes of discrimination and distinction of species, like the colors of flowers, rather than as means of æsthetic attraction to individuals of the opposite sex.

After thus differing with the author of the 'Color-Sense,' it is with all the more pleasure that we wish to record his complete success in demolishing in subsequent chapters the so-called historic-development theory of Gladstone, Geiger, and Magnus, which asserts that the color-sense of man is of recent origin—so recent, indeed, that Homer and his contemporaries had only vague ideas of red and yellow, while the more refrangible rays which constitute green, blue, and violet light seemed not to exist for them at all; and that even yellow and red gradually disappear from literary records as we go back a few centuries more, so that about three thousand years ago all men must have been totally color-blind. Almost as strange as this amazing theory is the fact that at first even some leading men of science, like Wallace and Haeckel, seemed disposed to accept it, although a careful examination of facts has now led to the conclusion that it is one of the most unsubstantial theoretical soap-bubbles ever blown by a scientific amateur. Mr. Allen adopts two methods of refutation. From archæological records he gains evidence that among the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, India, China, Mexico, etc., all the principal colors were discriminated and employed for decorative purposes at a period long antecedent to that in which Geiger would place the beginning of the color-sense in man. Secondly, he prepared a number of circulars, which were forwarded to missionaries and government officials in all parts of the world, for the purpose of ascertaining the present condition of the color-sense among savages and semi-civilized tribes. The replies received "bore out *in every case* the supposition that the color-sense is, as a whole, absolutely identical throughout all branches of the human race." And, as he adds humorously, he has his opponents here by the horns of a dilemma from which they cannot escape. If they assert that the development of the color-sense is a question of relative culture, not of chronological order, he confronts them with the case of the modern savage; and if they assert that it is a question of chronological order, not of relative culture, they are silenced by the case of Egypt. It is to be hoped, accordingly, that we shall hear no more of these speculative fancies of philologists on matters psychological.

By the present volume, which, we may add, is written for the "general reader," and thoroughly intelligible and even fascinating throughout, Mr. Allen has not only made a valuable contribution to the youthful science of comparative psychology, but, in connection with his former work, he has done much in the way of relieving æsthetics from the opprobrium which the vicious methods of German metaphysicians had cast on it, as on all philosophy in general. 'Physiological Æsthetics' and the 'Color-Sense' may be regarded as the forerunners of a rich literature, which will utilize and develop the scientific theories of beauty given to the world by Darwin and Helmholtz.

The Vicar of Morwenstow. A Life of Robert Stephen Hawker, M.A. By S. Baring-Gould, M.A. (New York: Thomas Whittaker.)—This eccentric vicar was born in the south of England, in 1804. His wits were first shown in boyish pranks which made him the terror of the village, and were put to their first practical use at the age of twenty, when, on hearing that his father could no longer afford to pay his expenses at Oxford, he immediately started off and proposed marriage to his godmother, then forty-one years old and possessor of a comfortable annuity. By this manœuvre he got his degree. Soon after he became a priest of the Anglican Church, and in 1834 was made vicar of Morwenstow, a hamlet on the coast of Cornwall, near the ruins of Tyntagel Castle, opposite Wales, and formerly the haunt of wreckers and smugglers. Here he spent forty uneventful years in the discharge of his duties and the display of his oddities. So far as we can make out, he was "the show" of the place, and many came every year to see the venerable church and its extraordinary vicar. He must have made a picturesque figure as he welcomed them; he was clad in a claret-colored coat with long tails, blue fisherman's-jersey with a red cross woven in where the Lord's side was pierced, fishing-boots above the knee, a flesh-colored beaver hat without a brim, and crimson gloves. He was for a time accompanied in his walks by a tame pet black pig, which followed him into ladies' drawing-rooms. He was fond of animals. We are told that "he was usually followed to church by nine or ten cats, which entered the chancel with him and careered about it during service. Whilst saying his prayers Mr. Hawker would pat his cats or scratch them under their chins." We find him writing to a friend for a lamb: "All my pets are dead, and I cannot endure my lonely lawn. I want some ewe-lamb 'to be unto me a daughter.' . . . I want soft-eyed, well-bred sheep, the animal that was moulded in the mind of God the Trinity, to typify the Lamb of Calvary." But his devotion to animals did not interfere with his kindness to men. He was a

liberal distributor of bottles of brandy and whiskey, it seems, in his parish; but of spiritual consolation, though we believe there was no lack of it, there is little record in this book. One of his principal occupations was the burial of the bodies of sailors wrecked on that dangerous coast, and the care of the saved, should there be any so fortunate. There is more than one vigorous account of storm and wreck or pathetic tale of distress told in the vicar's own words. He was superstitious and mystical—"mediæval" and "oriental," the author says; he believed in witches, and could point out an old woman who had bewitched his pigs. If he made an error, however, he was witty enough to clear himself. Once, for example, he built a barn on an exposed position against advice, because, as he said, "I have placed the sign of the cross on it, and so the devil cannot touch it." Soon a gale tore the roof off. "The devil was so enraged," he said, "at seeing the sign of the cross on my barn that he rent it and wrecked it." He believed that "there was an atmosphere which surrounded men, imperceptible to the senses, which was the vehicle of spirit in which angels and devils moved, and which vibrated with spiritual influences affecting the soul." So he believed in signs, in the danger of plucking one of a circle of toadstools for fear of death in the family, in the death of the absent being announced by a crack of the table, and the like.

Besides this superstition and foolish eccentricity, he had a better endowment—a patient endurance of humble duties, a sympathetic and charitable heart, the courage and practical working power of an athletic man, a readiness and perseverance in serving the poor, and, what is most surprising, a spark of poetic fire. He wrote a Cornish ballad which deceived Macaulay and Sir Walter Scott, and several of his poems are full of rough strength and simple feeling. We cannot quote his best work, but here is a squib on Gladstone, with whom he was enraged for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and on Disraeli, who sinned in the matter of the Public Worship Bill:

"An English boy was born a Jew, and then,
On the eighth day, received the name of Ben.
Another boy was born, baptized, but still
In common pariance called the People's Will!
Both lived impenitent, and so they died;
And between both the Church was crucified.
Which bore the brand, I pray thee, tell me true,
The wavering Christian or the doubtful Jew?"

But his verse could descend very far, as in this stanza on original sin:

"Ah! woe is me! for I have no grace
Nor goodness as I ought;
I never shall go to the happy place,
And 'tis all my parents' fault."

Thus, with his verses and superstitions, his friends and pets, storm and wreck, he lived his own life in his own way. His opinions he kept to himself, and would not talk of his dreams and visions. When he was sixty his wife died and he married again. It was apparently an unfortunate step, for he was worried by anxiety over the future of the three daughters his second wife bore him, and she was responsible for his admittance to the Roman Catholic communion in which he died. He seems to have been paralyzed and incapable at the time, but the affair created a scandal and a gossipy report that he had been a Catholic at heart for years. Mr. Baring-Gould makes a very plausible defence, and such long-continued deception from base motives seems wholly inconsistent with the character his acts show he possessed. He published several books in his lifetime, of which the Cornish ballads and the 'Vision of the Sangreal' are the most valuable. Woven in with his biography is a considerable amount of instructive and entertaining knowledge of manners and customs in Cornwall, historic reminiscences and records, as well as legend; those of the Granville letters here printed show how valuable an illustration of life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the large number which were negligently lost in our own day must have been.

Young Folks' History of Germany. By Charlotte M. Yonge, author of 'The Heir of Redclyffe,' etc. (Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. 12mo, pp. 474.)—We are afraid that Miss Yonge is writing children's histories too fast for her reputation. As long as she worked in the field of English and French mediæval history, which she has at her fingers' ends, nothing could be better; when she leaves this familiar field and undertakes to do a similar work for other nations, she shows a lack of adequate preparation. This was seen in her 'Christians and Moors of Spain,' which we reviewed a few months ago; it is still more apparent in this 'History of Germany.' To choose a few examples out of many: Tacitus is said (p. 36) to have got his knowledge of the Germans during the campaign of Germanicus—at least thirty years before he was born; on the next page the German invasions are placed in the sixth century, while in the series of events is mentioned the crossing of the Danube by the Goths, which took place in 375. On page 47 the battle of Châlons is called Soissons. We have regular fiefs in the seventh century (p. 55), and bishops invested with the dignity of count by Charles the Great (p. 64), which did not take place until the tenth century; while Brandenburg and Austria, as well as Carinthia, are mentioned (p. 66) as "marks" organized by this monarch. On page 239 the apocryphal story of Huss's attempt to escape from Constance in a wagon of hay is told as an undoubted fact.

The book is written in the author's animated and generally correct style, and is illustrated with a large number of spirited although rather coarsely engraved cuts.

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Continued from page iii.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 5, 1879.

The Week.

THE President has vetoed the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill. The bill had a rider attached, which repealed the provisions of the Enforcement Act giving United States supervisors appointed by the courts authority to "formally scrutinize, count, and canvass each ballot cast at Congressional elections," and authority to United States marshals and deputy-marshals to challenge and arrest and preserve order at the polls, and prescribing penalties for interfering with them in the discharge of their duties. The message again asserts the right of the Federal Government to regulate Congressional elections, by the usual citations from the Constitution; points out that the act which it is sought to repeal has been in operation eight years, and its constitutionality has not been impugned by any United States court; shows its utility in preventing fraud by reference to the elections in this city and State in 1868, and the report of a committee of Congress composed in the main of Democrats thereon; and closes by dwelling on the necessity of making elections safe and orderly for all classes of voters.

The net outcome of the extra session during the week has been the passage by Congress of the bill providing for the redemption of the subsidiary currency, with a limitation of its legal-tender quality to ten dollars—one more measure in the disastrous series at the head of which stands the Bland Bill. The House failed, 112 to 91, to overcome the veto of the Legislative Bill, and the Democratic caucusing has begun again, with greater vigor and secrecy than ever. In the Senate much time has been unprofitably spent in considering some oddly-expressed but respectably-signed memorials of ex-soldiers and sailors from Rhode Island, alleging violation of the rules of civil-service reform in the Providence custom-house, and Federal interference at the polls in local elections. The debate ran off into the comparative number of votes cast in Congressional districts entitled to equal representation, and Mr. Blaine subjected "Ben" Hill to a severe statistical catechism as to the Georgia districts in which Democratic representatives were chosen "without opposition." The special committee to report on Mr. Pendleton's bill giving Cabinet officers a seat and a voice in Congress, was named on Thursday. It consists of Messrs. Pendleton, Voorhees, Bayard, Butler, Farley, Conkling, Allison, Blaine, Ingalls, and Platt.

The contest in the Ohio Republican Convention is generally admitted to have been a contest between the Grant interest, represented by Judge Taft, the last Grant Attorney-General, and the Sherman interest, represented by Mr. Charles Foster, well known for his hostility to Grantism and carpet-baggery at the South. The ease with which the latter obtained the nomination has excited general surprise, as it seems to indicate that the Grant movement has either greatly declined in strength or never had so much strength in Ohio as people thought it had, and Mr. Sherman has accordingly become more prominent as a Presidential candidate than he has hitherto been. The conduct of the Sherman "boom," which will probably henceforward be very marked, we may be sure will be a very striking example of shrewdness and dexterity. The platform and Mr. Foster's speech of acceptance both show that the essential features of the Grant "boom" are to be carefully incorporated in the Sherman "boom," and especially the idea that everything amiss that has been done in Congress during the present session is the work of the "brigadiers" of the South rather than of the Democratic party as a whole, and must therefore be met by a renewal of the passions of the Civil War—a view which, we need hardly say, nothing in the facts will warrant. In support of it both Mr. Foster and General Garfield paraded themselves before the Convention as converted Liberals, and declared they were as good "Stalwarts" as could be found anywhere, which was anything but a dignified or cheerful spectacle.

The platform pledges the party to free suffrage, equal rights, and the unity of the nation; appeals to the people to arrest the mad career of the party now controlling both branches of Congress; denounces the attempts to coerce the President by withholding the appropriations; castigates the Democratic conspirators for uncalled-for agitation of financial questions, for hostility to the resumption of specie payments, for tampering with an unsurpassed currency system, for reopening sectional controversy by threatening to repeal all war legislation and inaugurate a reactionary revolution; praises the Republican party for the resumption of specie payments, for the refunding of the public debt, and for raising the national credit; condemns the perpetual disturbance of the country; sends greeting to the President and the Republicans in Congress for their resistance to the designs of the majority of the present Congress; castigates the Democratic Legislature of Ohio for fraud and jobbery; protests against the removal of Union soldiers from Congressional offices, and 'cutely keeps dead silence on the silver question, or, in other words, the most important financial question of the day.

The New York *Times* continues to make steady progress in truthfulness and sincerity in its mode of looking at public affairs, so much so that we begin to have hopes even of the *Tribune*. It recognizes in Mr. Foster's late talk an example of how readily "a sagacious and on the whole fair-minded man may yield to the unfavorable influence exerted by partisan managers," and charges him with "espousing the tactics of those who imagine that the revival of sectional animosities will atone for the want of sincerity on other subjects." This is good. A few words now from the same pulpit on the most ponderous falsehood of recent years, and perhaps, considering the numbers and character of the people who circulate it, the most discreditable—viz., that it is the Southern "brigadiers" in Congress who revived the sectional controversy—would do much good. The revival took place in 1876, and was begun by Republican orators, in Congress and on the stump, apparently as part of a prepared plan for saving the Republican party from the natural consequences of the Grant scandals and the carpet-bag scandals, and for avoiding the currency issue. Mr. Blaine opened it in Congress by "prodding," and Vice-President Wheeler announced it as "the key-note of the campaign" in the first speech of the canvass of 1876. We do not say the "brigadiers" would not have behaved in Congress just as they have behaved, even if the Republicans had abstained from provocation; but the Republican responsibility for the first renewal of sectional animosity is an historical fact which admits of no question.

We print on another page a letter from a correspondent in Mississippi who protests against the stories in circulation at the North, where they find ready credence, concerning the violence offered to intending emigrants from that State. What a mischievous use may be made of them was well illustrated last week, when an adventurer by the name of Conway, who had been conspicuous in reconstruction times in Louisiana, and who has lately attached himself to the negro movement westward, called upon the President and represented that boats were not allowed to land and take off the refugees on the lower Mississippi. The President unsuspectingly told him that the navigation of that river was free and the right of locomotion established by law, and that the blacks would be protected in their going if necessary. Conway then intimated that he wanted no other assurance to charter steamboats himself

and rescue the unfortunates who were prevented from leaving the South, and immediately reported the interview to a Washington paper, with the anticipated effect of getting it circulated by the Associated Press. The Louisiana and Mississippi Congressional delegations at once went to expostulate with Mr. Hayes, showing him that he would be represented to the blacks as desiring the emigration to go on, and the Government as preparing to send boats to fetch them. The President saw the false position into which he had been led, and was willing to be taken out of it if there was any way. But his excuse that the answers he had given Conway were based on an alleged condition of affairs was defective in this, that he did not guard against the worthlessness of his informant as he ought to have done.

The majority of the committee on the State debt, appointed by the Constitutional Convention of Louisiana, have presented a report recommending that only $4,000,000 be paid, and that the interest be reduced from seven to four per cent. The consolidated debt at present amounts to about $12,000,000, to which sum it was reduced by a scaling process about four years ago. The bondholders agreed to the reduction because at the same time an amendment was added to the Constitution which secured to them the full payment of their principal and interest as then determined. Now an attempt is made to repudiate most of what was then acknowledged to be the legal debt of the State, on the flimsy pretext that the constitutional amendment was not promulgated according to law, and that the Legislature which passed the Funding Act was an illegal one supported by the Federal military power and not elected by the people. The constitutional amendment was adopted, however, in regular and legal form, and its validity and binding force have been repeatedly acknowledged by the State in paying the interest on the bonds affected by it. The legality of the Legislature which passed the Funding Act was decided when Kellogg was recognized by the general Government, and up to this time the validity of the act has not been disputed. The interest on the debt has not been paid for several months, and cannot be paid without an increase of taxation or an honest assessment, to neither of which the people will consent. The shameful part of the business is that while the Constitutional Convention is looking for excuses to shuffle off a debt incurred lawfully and recognized in the most solemn manner, taxation remains ridiculously low.

The Catholic archbishops and bishops assembled in New York for the consecration of the new Cathedral have signed an address to the Catholics of the United States asking for subscriptions to enable Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati, to discharge his liabilities. The address carefully avoids all defence and extenuation of the archbishop's management of the funds, and expressly disavows all intention of making the proposed relief a precedent in other cases in which ecclesiastics may get into pecuniary difficulties. The prelates distinctly point out that the movement is simply one of charity towards the archbishop, and the tone of the appeal might be called excellent if it were not that it seems to impose on the "honor and charity of the creditors" some sort of obligation to meet the promoters of the subscription half way, "especially as so very large a proportion of the entire debt consists of accumulated compound interest." But then the accumulation of compound interest is an essential feature of the business of savings-banks which the archbishop undertook. All interest not drawn is in law and morals a new loan, and to use the creditor's frugality and forbearance in letting it lie as an argument for his surrendering a part of his whole debt is to put a very unfortunate construction on the prudence of the poor. The assets amount to $1,181,569, from which must be deducted $404,798 of "doubtful" and "worthless" notes. The liabilities, after a surrender by some creditors of one-half their claims, amount to $2,490,881.

If the report in the Boston *Advertiser* be correct, some very striking things were said the other day at the twelfth annual meeting of the Free Religious Association. It will surprise most people to hear from Professor Felix Adler that so convenient a thing as "free religion" was first thought of by Mr. O. B. Frothingham. This is a great mistake. Mr. Frothingham may have been the first to invite others to share his free religion with him, but the plan of making a religion for one's self has been secretly followed from the earliest ages. Then we can hardly believe that Mr. Abbott called for "intellectual unity" among the Free Religionists. We had supposed that there was nothing they would find so disagreeable as a man who entirely agreed with them. Mr. James Parton enlivened the occasion by using his "religion" as a club, armed with which he "went for" such diverse persons as the Czar, Bismarck, Joseph Cook, Anthony Comstock, Noah Porter, Moody and Sankey, Turner the painter, and others, and he even so far forgot himself as to speak disrespectfully of the daily press. In fact, anybody who establishes "intellectual unity" with him will find himself in need of prolonged intellectual rest and recreation after the job is done.

There was during the week a sharp advance in the London price of silver bullion—from 51¼*d.* per ounce to 52⅛*d.* This rise brings the bullion value of the 412½-grain standard dollar up to $0.8817; it is but a few weeks since it was only $0.8314. It is not improbable that efforts will be made to enact the Warner free-coinage silver bill at this session of Congress, but it is considered certain that the bill cannot become a law. The money market has been more or less disturbed during the week by the settlements at the Treasury for ten-dollar certificates, and the rate for demand loans has been as high as 6 per cent., although in the latter part of the week it was down to 3 to 4 per cent., since money was freely coming out of the Treasury in payment for called 5-20 bonds. In London money continues extremely easy. Exchange on London has ruled somewhat below the point which takes gold abroad. The activity in the money market here has interfered with the sales of U. S. bonds, and the 4 per cents have sold at 102⅝ to 102¾ to 103¼ to 102¾ to 102⅞. At the Stock Exchange the week has been dull. Mercantile business is going on satisfactorily and encouragingly in every department. The outlook for the cereal crops now promises fine harvests.

A fortnight ago the Bank of France presented the extraordinary spectacle of having more coin in its vaults than paper in circulation, and the disproportion goes on increasing. That is to say, the notes in circulation amounted to $435,000,000, while the metallic reserve amounted to $436,000,000. On the 1st of January, 1877, the reserve amounted to $433,800,000, of which $306,100,000 was gold and only $127,700,000 silver. On the same day of 1878 it amounted to $465,400,000, of which $232,700,000 was gold, while the amount of silver had risen to $172,700,000. On the 1st of January, 1879, the reserve was $408,300,000, of which only $196,700,000 was gold, while the silver had risen to $211,600,000. This state of things has arisen, too, in spite of all the efforts of the bank to keep the silver afloat, both by refusing small bills and in other ways. It continues to lose its gold; and at the same time the silver, instead of being sought by a suffering people, is piled up in the bank-vaults as soon as received. In fact, a most uncomfortable suspicion has begun to pervade the French mind that the result of keeping up the double standard, even nominally, is that other nations are "unloading" their spare silver on France, and the people, who have greatly changed their commercial habits within a few years owing to the establishment of provincial banks, or *Sociétés de Dépôts*, and the use of checks, will not carry or keep their Fathers' Dollar; they prefer paper.

The tricky procrastination of the Porte in dealing with the Greek question, and the almost equally tricky attitude of the Beaconsfield Ministry towards it, have at last thoroughly irritated France, which has, since the Berlin Congress, constituted herself the special patron of the Greeks, and M. Waddington has accordingly issued a very energetic circular-note, calling on the Powers to accede to the Greek request for mediation, and urge on the Porte to reopen negotiations with the Greeks in Constantinople, and, if the parties cannot agree there, to call another European Conference.

This note has been followed up by an almost acrimonious article against England in the *République Française*, Gambetta's organ, which is the more remarkable as Gambetta was an admirer of Lord Beaconsfield's policy in the early Jingo period. It is not in Greece alone that England is charged with refusing loyal co-operation, but in Syria and Egypt.

The Austrian convention with Turkey relating to the occupation of Bosnia and Novi-Bazar has been published, and to the great surprise of the public the preamble declares that "the fact of the occupation in no way prejudices the sovereign rights of the Sultan." This is a most dexterous and useful stroke on the part of Count Andrássy. It relieves the Porte of the heavy burden of confessing to the Mussulmans of the empire that it has ceded territory to a Power which had not assailed it in arms, which, to a good Mussulman, would have the air of sacrilege; it shuts the mouths of the Hungarians who have been declaring that the occupation would end in annexation, and the Magyars would be swamped by the Slavs; and it gives Austria the air of scrupulous moderation in carrying out the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin. On the other hand, however, nobody —or next to nobody—believes that the sovereign rights of the Sultan have the smallest prospective value, or that he will ever be able to exercise them. Long before the question of terminating the occupation can arise the Porte will probably have disappeared from the list of European Powers, and its claim on Bosnia have become as unsubstantial as that which the kings of Sardinia, down to our own day, used to put forward on their coins to the sovereignty of Cyprus and Jerusalem.

The condition of the Ministry in England does not improve, in spite of the acquisition of the "scientific frontier" from Yakub Khan. The Duke of Argyll made an attack on them in the House of Lords a fortnight ago, in a speech which has not been matched in power and brilliance in that body within the present generation, and Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury had nothing to say in reply except that it was indiscreet to assail them at such a critical period, and that they were doing as well as they could. It has come out distinctly in an address of General Obrutsheff, confidential representative of the Czar in Eastern Rumelia, that the Sultan has positively promised Russia that he will not occupy the Balkans—or, in other words, that he surrenders "the impregnable frontier" for securing which at Berlin the English plenipotentiaries got their Garters. Worse than all, this is believed to point to a secret understanding between Russia and Turkey which promises ill for the British protectorate of Asia Minor, and which the progress of the war in South Africa is likely to strengthen. The old indifference to the Christian populations which was from the beginning Lord Beaconsfield's hobby, seems to survive, however. The Ministry is ostentatious in its reluctance to do anything for the Greeks, and Sir Henry Layard the other day, on his return to Constantinople, actually abused the Bulgarian nationality in a public speech which seems to indicate that Philo-turkism is a veritable mania.

Nothing can be worse than the news from Zululand. Over 26,000 British regulars are now in the field, or on their way to it, a larger force than fought at the Alma; the sickness is very great; the difficulties of transportation look as if they were insurmountable; the cost of the war is $2,500,000 a week, which is rolling up a great floating debt not set down in the estimates, and the Duke of Cambridge has acknowledged that the strain on the army organization is even now severe. Twenty-five hundred men have already perished in action or through disease, and Cetewayo has taken up a very difficult position in the northeastern corner of his territory, and is resolved, it is said, to fight to the last. In fact, the only feature in the whole situation which has anything hopeful about it is that the enemy is a savage, and may therefore collapse at any moment. But the chances are that he will not collapse until he has ruined the Jingo policy from top to bottom, and until the Ministry has had to face its angry dupes at the polls in a general election.

Cardinal Newman, in replying to an address of congratulation from his English friends in Rome the other day, devoted himself to a reiteration of the reprobation of "liberalism" in religion which he expressed so freely in the *Apologia*—meaning "the doctrine that there is no positive truth in religion, but that one creed is as good as another," and theology is a mere "collection of opinions." The only refuge from the confusion of "liberalism" he, of course, finds in the Catholic Church; but he failed, as usual, to account for the fact that "liberalism" began in the Church itself, which, if we are to judge from ecclesiastical history, keeps out of "liberalism" only those who are themselves resolved to stay out of it. Almost on the day on which he was speaking, a fresh and striking illustration of the inability of Churches to give stability to doctrine was afforded by the action of the United Presbyterian Synod of the Scotch Church, which has just been holding its annual session in Edinburgh. It ordered the reference to a committee for revision of the Westminster Confession and other "subordinate standards" of the Church. The result has been a new declaratory act, which, while reciting the old articles of faith in the old terms, declares them not inconsistent with newer and often contradictory views of the same thing. Moreover, a minister, Mr. Macrae, who in debate in the Synod repudiated the doctrine of eternal damnation, was then and there tried for heresy, and convicted by the committee appointed for the purpose; but the Synod refused to excommunicate him, and handed him over to another commission. During the discussion on his case most of the leading divines of the Church repudiated the doctrine of eternal punishment as set forth in the Westminster Confession, declaring that hell-fire was not in their opinion material fire, but simply remorse or consciousness of sin, and "the darkness of separation." There is no Church in which the doctrine of eternal torment by burning has been so firmly held or is so plainly laid down in the standards as in the Scotch Church.

The selection of the nine Cardinals who have been appointed along with Dr. Newman has excited almost as much surprise as the appointment of Newman himself, so completely has the Pope travelled out of the old field. In the first place, of the ten only three are Italians, a very unusual proportion; in the second, all are men of considerable distinction; and, in the third, they have no connection with the old set who ruled the Vatican in Pio Nono's day, and who look on them very much as Simon Cameron and "Zach" Chandler look on "dam literary fellers" in politics. In fact, the "Stalwarts" of the Curia do not like the new policy of conciliation at all, think it "mushy," and want to make it "hot under the old flag," instead of welcoming the anti-infallibilist "theorists" and "brigadiers," and sharing the offices with them. The Pope has, however, not made his selection from any new school of theology, but from a new kind of men. Cardinal Haynald, for instance, the Hungarian, is an out-and-out Liberal, while Cardinal Fürstenberg, the German, is an Ultramontane. All, or nearly all, are men whom the old Pope could not abide. Overtures, it is said, have been made by Leo XIII. to Dr. Döllinger for a reconciliation; but the sturdy old theologian will have nothing to do with the Vatican, and has no more confidence in the present Pope than in his predecessor. He says in a published letter that Dr. Newman, who "in genius and knowledge stands so high above the Roman clergy," "would never have been made a cardinal if his real opinions had been known at Rome. Had Newman written in French, Italian, or Latin, many of his books would have been placed on the Index."

The *Culturkampf* may be fairly said to have opened in France by the consent of the Council of State to the prosecution of the Archbishop of Aix for having prescribed the reading in all the churches of his diocese of a pastoral denouncing the proposed school laws of the Ministry, which is a violation both of the Concordat and of the statute, by which the use of the churches for any purpose but religious worship or sermons on strictly religious subjects is prohibited. One of our Paris correspondents presents elsewhere the Conservative as distinguished from the clerical view of the subject.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MR. FOSTER'S NOMINATION.

THE nomination of Mr. Foster by the Republicans for the governorship in Ohio, in preference to Judge Taft, seems to be generally taken as an indication that the more rational and moderate wing of the Republican party is again acquiring weight and ascendancy. Judge Taft was a prominent figure in the last Presidential canvass as General Grant's Attorney-General, and supplied very freely whatever legal opinions were necessary to justify the various instrumentalities, ordinary and extraordinary, which were used to secure the Republican triumph, and we presume is still very "stalwart" in his opinions. Mr. Foster, on the other hand, was an intimate friend and adviser of Mr. Hayes in the trying times before and after the election, and fully approved of what has been called the President's "policy" towards the South. That he is not so reflective a man as that seemed to indicate, however, has been proved by the fact that within a year, if we remember rightly, the Stalwarts so frightened him by "prodding" that he abandoned his first position, and confessed that the President's policy was a mistake and that the South had broken its pledges to him. Nor is his position on the silver question by any means what is to be desired in a gentleman who undertakes to represent the Republican party in an important State election. He not only voted for the Stanley Matthews resolution, but for the Bland Bill; and as the Ohio platform dexterously omits all reference whatever to silver, he will, if he pleases, be able to conceal from all mortal eyes during the canvass the precise position he now occupies on that important subject. If we are to infer what it is from his votes in Congress, he cannot occupy a worse one.

As he probably would not have obtained the nomination, however, if he had not admitted that the President's "policy" was a mistake, and will take his stand on this idea during the campaign, it seems to be very desirable to try and find out what is meant by saying that the President's treatment of the South has been a mistake, and that the South has broken its pledges to him. This enquiry, let us say, has a very important bearing on the controversy now pending between the Democrats and Republicans over the use of the army by the Executive. If the Stalwart view of the President's duty towards the South, as expressed in their criticisms of the course pursued by Mr. Hayes and in their longings for General Grant, be accepted by the party, it will be very difficult to deny the reasonableness of the Democratic apprehensions. In fact, we will go so far as to say that, if there be any danger of any President's using the powers which the irreconcilable wing of the Republican party claimed for President Grant and denounce President Hayes for not exercising, the Democrats would not only be excusable for abolishing the army, but it would probably be their duty to do so, even at the cost of any amount of temporary derangement of the Government.

It is to be observed, in the first place, that the notion that the President has made a mistake in his treatment of the South, and that the South has broken its pledges to him, could not have obtained a lodgment in anybody's mind who had not looked on General Grant as in some sense a dictator, and Mr. Hayes, therefore, as succeeding to dictatorial powers, which he unwisely laid aside. The whole theory that the latter could have made or did make a bargain with "the South," or with certain persons on behalf of the South, as to what was to happen after the troops were withdrawn, rested on the assumption that the South was, in spite of the working of the machinery of State government, living under martial law, and that the President was able to keep the troops in any place he pleased, or make whatever use of them he pleased, without reference to the wishes of the State authorities or the decisions of the State courts. That General Grant held some such view was plainly shown by his informing Mr. Randolph, of New Jersey, that Governor Hampton's notice to him that the Supreme Court of South Carolina had decided that he was the lawful governor was an "impertinence," and that he cared nothing for the Supreme Court. To those who thought President Grant's idea of his position the correct one there was, of course, no reason why Mr. Hayes should not have taken it up, and sent and kept troops not where the law empowered him to send and keep them, but wherever he thought they would be most useful in repressing violence and preventing the "rebels" from becoming too prominent in politics. It is only in this character of a dictator, or of a man raised above the law, like the Emperor of Russia in Poland or the Emperor of Austria in Bosnia, that he could use troops for any purpose but the execution of the United States laws, or the repression of disorder on the request of the State governor or legislature, or keep them in any place or building to the occupation of which the State authorities were lawfully entitled. It is only in this character, too, that Mr. Hayes would have been justified in withdrawing the troops on receiving a pledge from anybody not engaged in the commission of crime. As President of the United States he is bound to use the troops in certain contingencies defined by law, and he has no right to make any agreement with indeterminate bodies of politicians that he will not use them. If he made any bargain with "the South," or any set or class of Southerners, about the use of them, he therefore violated his oath of office, or, in other words, committed an impeachable offence, and the Democrats would be justified now in seeking to impose the sternest restrictions on his command of the army. We hold, however, that he did not do so; that he desisted from armed interference in South Carolina and Louisiana because the needful constitutional contingency did not present itself, and because he had the assurance of the constituted authorities that they were able to repress insurrection and domestic violence without the aid of the Federal force. Any other construction of his conduct would, we repeat, justify the Democrats in taking extraordinary precautions against his having a disciplined force ready for the execution of his orders.

When we come to enquire who at the South gave the pledges to Mr. Hayes we find ourselves treading on ground still more delicate. The pledges must have consisted either in promises on the part of intending criminals that they would not engage in insurrection or commit acts of violence, or in promises on the part of certain prominent men that they would not, if elected to Congress, initiate or support certain legislative measures. We need hardly argue against the first of these hypotheses. Nobody believes Mr. Hayes got guaranties from intending criminals that they would not break the laws, or that if they had refused to give them he would have been justified in occupying the States which they inhabit with a military force. What most people at the North mean when they say "the South has violated its pledges to Mr. Hayes," if they attempt to define their thoughts at all, is apparently that the Southern whites agreed that they would not send "brigadiers" or men prominently engaged in the Rebellion to Congress, or that if they did these "brigadiers" would not originate legislation or support any legislation disapproved of by the Republican members, or, in fact, in any way make themselves obnoxious to loyal people at the North. But here, again, we need hardly say that supposing this pledge to have been possible and to have been given and received, it puts the Republican President in a position which not only would fully justify his being deprived of the army, but would seem to call for his impeachment. An agreement between the President and any American constituency restricting their choice of representatives in the House or Senate would, if imposed by a threat of military coercion, be a revolutionary act calling for the promptest and sternest punishment of every one engaged in it. It would be, indeed, the sum of every species of electioneering fraud, and would make the forms of free government a mockery. If, on the other hand, the leading Southerners elected to Congress promised the President not to introduce or support certain acts or resolutions, and not to make themselves prominent in the business of either House, in order to induce him to withdraw the United States forces from their State, the contract would also have been highly criminal, and would have exposed both parties to impeachment. It would have been a fraud on the Government of the United States and on each constituency whose representative entered into it, and would have deservedly consigned all concerned in it to infamy.

In short, the "pledge" story is, we need hardly say, not only an invention, but a very mischievous one. It puts the President in a false light, and if accepted would completely disable the Republicans in their present fight with the Democrats over the army, by showing clearly that a Republican Administration was not fit to be trusted with the army, and was actually already engaged in a scheme for changing the form of government. It has some value, however, as an illustration of the extent to which the war blurred men's ideas of the nature and conditions of constitutional government.

There is one other perilous notion which Mr. Foster has taken up, apparently on the recommendation of Mr. Conkling, but we would respectfully advise him to drop it with precipitation, or at all events not try to burden the Republican party with it. We mean the assertion which he made with much solemnity in Ohio the other day, in his speech of acceptance, that we are

"menaced with the startling proposition that the 18,000,000 of Northern people who pay 89 per cent. of the taxes, import 96 per cent. of the foreign goods, and conduct 92 per cent. of the internal commerce of the country, are to have the constitutional amendments and the results of the war interpreted, the policy of finance and taxation, internal and external commerce, determined upon, and ruled by a portion of the country that pays but 11 per cent. of the taxes, imports only 4 per cent. of the foreign goods, conducts but 8 per cent. of our internal commerce."

Without dwelling on the inaccuracy and unfairness involved in crediting the part of the country in which taxes are first levied with the final payment of the amount levied, we would ask Mr. Foster whether he really means that political power ought to be distributed on the basis of taxation, and that the men who pay most custom and excise duties ought to rule the country? This is a much more "startling proposition" than any that has emanated from "the brigadiers." "The brigadiers" have been very foolish, but the Republican majority is not yet large enough to warrant the party in loading itself with theories which would make the President a kind of black-coated fatherly Kaiser, assisted by a congress of prominent importers and manufacturers.

REACTION IN GERMANY.

IN a trial of strength which took place in the Reichstag last month a motion proposed by Dr. Loewe, seconded by Herr Windthorst, supported by Von Varnbüler and Kleist-Retzow, and accepted by the Government was carried by a large majority. This combination of allies is characteristic of the present situation. It is hardly a year since every one of these men was in more or less pronounced opposition—an opposition which in some cases was both political and personal, and in at least two had an infusion of religious rancor. Dr. Loewe, an old Frankfort parliamentary leader and a free-trader, did not at once forget, when he returned from exile, the claims of civil and commercial freedom; Von Varnbüler, a Würtemberg Separatist, is at heart as hostile to unity as he was on the day of Sadowa; Kleist-Retzow is a Prussian High-Church Tory, and has bitterly opposed every measure of Liberal reform; while as for Windthorst, he will be recognized even in this country as the adroit, able, unscrupulous, and uncompromising agent of the fallen Hanoverian dynasty and the militant force of Ultramontanism. It will be seen that Prince Bismarck has chosen his friends without too nice discrimination, as becomes a master of realistic statesmanship. But if he is catholic in his tastes he is no less frank in the explanation of them. He does not plead, like the young lady in Beaumarchais's play, that he cannot prevent people from admiring him, or from voting for his tariff schemes. Probably the only scruples he has are about the Social Democrats. He does not court their support, which he is sure to have, and would prefer to see them with Lasker, Stauffenberg, Richter, and the other remaining defenders of the old economical traditions of Germany; but with this exception the new Protectionist majority is one which he hopes to hold permanently together for a general campaign against all forms of liberalism.

The outlook, therefore, is gloomy enough. While two-thirds of the protectionists are already Conservatives at heart, the other third will easily become such by association; and before the country awakes to the fact that it has "relieved home industry" only at the cost of reform and progress, the Chancellor will have welded his forces into a compact mass, obedient to every demand made upon it. Then he will begin to undo the work which has been so slowly and painfully accomplished since 1870. It is but too probable that Dr. Falk's days are already numbered. The fall of the Minister of Public Worship would be gratifying both to the Ultramontanes and the extreme Protestants; but each of these parties would demand other concessions, the former in the ecclesiastical laws, the latter in the system of local government. The provisions of the penal code would be sharpened and the powers of the police largely increased; and any general policy of reaction, if energetically undertaken, would not halt until the privilege of the press and of the platform was restored to the prudent and impressive limits which it had in the old pre-constitutional days. But perhaps the first achievement of the new majority will be to carry out their economical and financial "reforms" to a logical conclusion. One error easily breeds others. If a rational person were asked what are the three great truths which political economy, not to say the practice of enlightened governments, has most positively established, it seems to us the answer would necessarily be: free-trade, mono-metallism, and the folly of usury laws. The first has already been discarded in Germany both by the Government and the country, the semi-official press is beginning cautiously to attack the second, and the third enters commandingly into the programme of the Catholics and the Conservatives.

Against this desperate folly there is little organized resistance. The Party of Progress, to which the country has long been accustomed to look for the most consistent support of liberal politics and sound finance, was reduced at the last election to a mere handful, and under similar pressure a second time would be nearly crushed out of existence. The National Liberal party is going to pieces from internal decay. Half of its members, headed by Bennigsen, Gneist, and Treitschke, will follow Bismarck around toward the Right, and the rest will gravitate in the opposite direction, but the party as such will practically cease to exist. The National Liberal party has been for many years the most numerous, as it certainly is the ablest, in Parliament. It is typical of the German middle class—the learned, the respectable, and the moderate—but it is also typical in its timidity and indolence; and its history since 1866 is only the history of compromise and capitulation. Hardly a measure which has been adopted through its aid has had its unqualified approval. It has seldom taken up a bold position which it has not finally abandoned in deference to Prince Bismarck, and for the sake of peace. Such a party may be used for a time by a man like the Chancellor, but an obedience which has to be coaxed and persuaded as often as it is needed is not the thing for permanent work; and hence the relations between the two have always been merely experimental. In the course of his career Prince Bismarck has tried two characteristic methods of government: he has been a Cromwell and a Guizot. The four years preceding Sadowa, when he systematically defied parliament, the laws, and the constitution, may fairly be called the era of major-generals. From that time until the present he has essayed—and we believe sincerely, though under all the disadvantages of his temper and prejudices—to govern, like the ministers of Louis Philippe, with the aid of the bourgeoisie. And it is equally certain that he has failed in this also.

The Prince is now entering upon an experiment more momentous than either of these—the trial of the Napoleonic system, or government with the aid of the peasantry. The tariff enterprise is practically this and nothing else; for although protection is dear also to the manufacturers, and although the public advocates of it among the agriculturists are necessarily the educated nobility, his final, indispensable supporters are the peasantry. Not the artisans, not the nobles, but the peasants determine the complexion of the Diet under the operation of universal suffrage. Now, so long as

the Chancellor was involved in the ecclesiastical quarrel the country districts were permitted to send a good many National Liberals to Parliament, sometimes even Progressists, and the Conservative candidates were opposed by the influence of Bismarck and of the Government; the city members were sure to be Liberal, so that the balance of power remained with the middle class. But at the last general election the Liberals, being in opposition, lost nearly all the rural elections, and it was clearly shown that the Chancellor and the landed gentry acting together can practically control the peasant vote. Germany even offers such a man as Bismarck advantages superior in some respects to those of France. The peasants, on the one hand, have less natural wit, and the Liberals, on the other, are too much wedded to pedantic forms and distinctions —or, in other words, the "Cæsar" is sure of a more compact following and a less compact opposition. The bureaucracy, too, is efficient when its heart is in the work, as in the present case it certainly is. It has lent Prince Bismarck only a grumbling co-operation during the past few years, but no other class rejoiced more loudly and sincerely at his rupture with the Liberals than the clerks and accountants and tax-gatherers and gendarmes of the civil service.

Under these circumstances there can be but one issue of the enterprise. Disagreeable as the statement may seem, it is still true that government with the bourgeoisie—that is to say, with the brains of the country—has for the present failed, and is to be followed by the government of one man of commanding talent, aided by an ignorant, superstitious, and docile majority of ploughmen. Of this the Liberals themselves seem to be convinced. They dread a dissolution with the correct instinct of men who prize their seats, and many of them, as was said above, have hastened to join the new majority. The Prince is confident, and with reason. He commands the situation, and, on the principle of Lord Beaconsfield's heraldic motto, deserves to command it; but the introduction of the Napoleonic system in Germany is nevertheless a spectacle which makes one enquire whether the country was quite ripe for universal suffrage. For after the system has been once tried subsequent trials will be much easier. The fastidious scruples of the aristocracy, which in Bismarck's favor are only suspended, will with time practically disappear, and from opponents of universal suffrage they will become its warmest friends. They have only to hold together themselves and the future is theirs. But a person unacquainted with Germany might enquire, Why may it not come about in the vicissitudes of politics that a great Liberal leader may arise and utilize the peasant vote to wise ends? The answer is easy. A Liberal statesman could control the peasant vote only if he were at the head of affairs, but such a contingency implies also a Liberal cabinet. Now, under a correct parliamentary system Herr von Bennigsen might well enough be the man. He has other than intellectual and political qualifications; he is of noble blood and orthodox belief. But he could hardly build a parliamentary cabinet in which Bamberger was not Minister of Finance and Lasker of Justice. These two are, however, literally impossible. They are Jews, and, as one of the speakers in the debate observed, the protectionist agitation is an uprising against Semitic theories. It will be long before an Israelite can be minister in Germany, and therefore (unless the race ceases to have talent, or is disqualified by law from public office) long before a homogeneous Liberal Ministry can be expected. And yet Germany is one of the most strenuous defenders of the rights of the Jews—in Rumania.

Let us not, however, be unjust to Prince Bismarck; he stands absolutely alone. There are good jurists in Germany, good financiers, good debaters, but he is the only statesman. The fact is, of course, lamentable, and nobody laments it more keenly than the Chancellor himself, who, if not too fond of rivals, has often as a patriot expressed fear lest he should leave no successor. Mischievous as are many of his views, exasperating as is sometimes his manner, one cannot leave the Chamber when he has taken a share in the debate without a renewed conviction of his boundless superiority to all other politicians, whether on the ministerial bench or among the deputies, without feeling more strongly than ever before the really isolated position in which he stands. To such a man one can pardon many eccentricities both of opinion and of policy. Great statesmen are always costly treasures; but Prince Bismarck cannot live for ever, and after his death Germany will probably be able to gratify her taste for an indefinite time in the enjoyment of mediocrities.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

THE most obvious result of the life of the late William Lloyd Garrison, and the one most comprehensible to the present generation, is the abolition of negro slavery in 1863 instead of at some indefinitely later period. This, and the assurance, as Mr. Phillips remarked in his funeral discourse, that slavery will never be re-established on this continent, his countrymen feel that they owe specially to Mr. Garrison, and it forms, of course, the basis of all the grateful and honorable tributes with which the press and the pulpit have teemed during the past fortnight. That the service, however great we may esteem it, was no more confined to his native land than his fame has been or memory is likely to be, must be admitted by all who are capable of perceiving its political as well as its moral bearings. Mr. Garrison was not only the first Abolitionist of his time, he was also the most Republican of Republicans. He could not rest or be silent when once his attention had been drawn to the shocking contradiction involved in "the Union as it was" in his early manhood. He saw a government professedly founded on the brotherhood of man—on the idea, as we said last week, "that nobody exists for anybody else's benefit, and that every man is entitled to a fair opportunity of making the most of himself"—and yet tolerating and providing for a system which expressly denied these postulates. The irrepressible conflict that thereupon arose was between the modern idea for which Mr. Garrison spoke and the mediæval and pagan idea to which the slaveholders held. If government of the people, by the people, and for the people, as, thanks to this conflict, we can now call our own, is the missionary form of government, destined ultimately to prevail wherever civilization has obtained, it is not easy to overrate the influence of a great Republic reforming itself; and so far as this reformation began with Mr. Garrison, he will have had a share in political changes not yet consummated, even in countries where his name has never been heard.

The indirect consequences of his anti-slavery agitation are most readily overlooked now. In imagination the colored race is pictured weeping at the grave of its benefactor (hardly known, in fact, to the mass of them in comparison with Grant or Lincoln), whereas Mr. Garrison was as truly the liberator of the whites as of the blacks. The very success of his endeavors is an obstacle to the appreciation of his merits in this particular. It is almost impossible to realize the condition of American society fifty years ago, when Benjamin Lundy's zealous assistant began to arouse the complacent readers of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. We no longer know what it is to live in a community in which one subject, touching the foundations of the government not less than the rights of man, is tabooed, cannot be talked about without causing uneasiness, without incurring reproach, loss of position, and bodily risk, without liability to arrest and prosecution; cannot, if discussed in the press, have the freedom of the mails. We must fancy the Governor of Vermont entreating the Mayor of Okolona to suppress the *Southern States*, or the Legislature of Massachusetts offering $5,000 for its editor, dead or alive, before we can understand the full significance of Mr. Garrison's "I will be heard." That voice, crying in the wilderness of immoral apathy and cowardly submission, unloosed the tongues and the consciences of thousands; and the freedom of speech thus asserted, and maintained through all manner of perils, has become the heritage of every unpopular movement, of every variety of reform, of every shade of opinion, political or theological—a privilege so common that we forget its novelty, and cannot believe what price was paid for it. Those who look back to the early days of the *Liberator* will be convinced that the harsh language so much complained of was never more in place; the gag on Northern lips had been torn away, and to prove it something more was needed than a whisper.

Mr. Garrison's deeply religious nature being conceded, no feature of his career is more curious than the disrepute into which he fell among professing Christians of all denominations. His early training had been evangelical and sectarian, his study of the Scriptures both ardent and unremitting, and all his life long he freely drew from the Bible the texts which supported his denunciation of the sin of slavery. For some years

after he began to edit his paper he gave the usual outward signs of being a Christian in the conventional acceptation of the term. How he came to be regarded otherwise is easily explained. The moral code imposed on the whole country by slavery was upside down, and had Mr. Garrison been generally assisted in his attempts to right it by the clergy and the churches, his character would not have suffered. Since, however, they were all interested in retaining the code as it was, in calling light darkness and darkness light, they, equally with the avowed apologists of slavery—nay, still more, as recreant to their professions—merited his sternest censure, and they received it. The charge of infidelity was the natural retort of the times, and was attached to all his associates, so that the mere joining of the Abolitionists, without formal renunciation of doctrine, was deplored by sincere and humane church-members as a first step towards irreligion, and as a diversion from the prime duty of saving one's soul. Had Mr. Garrison adopted this view, it is questionable whether he would have saved a soul whose nobler instincts had been smothered, but it may be presumed that he would have lived in the odor of sanctity; by disregarding it he was enabled to substitute the ethics of Christianity for those of slavery in the allegiance of his countrymen, and to rescue from brutish promiscuity and hand over to Christian influences and Christian instruction four millions of human beings, to teach whom to read the Bible had been a felony. That in the midst of such a task, with the end almost in sight, the question (we believe in their first interview) of the friendly author of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' "Are you a Christian, Mr. Garrison?" seemed almost quizzical, is highly credible.

A judicious writer in the *Evening Post*, while observing that, unlike some of his distinguished colleagues, Mr. Garrison can hardly be thought of except as an Abolitionist, leaves undecided the question, whether he would have attained eminence otherwise than as a reformer. However this may appear to his future biographer, for whom alone it will be worth while to discuss it, there is plenty of evidence that he was not a professional philanthropist. Of agitation for agitation's sake, as a means of living or of notoriety, he was wholly innocent. He was not only glad to stop, but he knew when to stop; and having advocated the dissolution of the American Anti-slavery Society at the close of the war, he resisted even the temptation to continue the *Liberator* for other objects than the main one. The welfare of the freedmen, however, continued to occupy his thoughts, and from the beginning of reconstruction down almost to his latest hour he wrote frequently for the press on national topics, and may be said to have died in harness. He held, and was in some measure responsible for, the Stalwart view of the total depravity of Southerners, and his reliance upon the general powers of the Government to protect the negro was apparently as vague and unlimited as that of any of Grant's adherents. He was a strict constructionist of the ante-bellum Constitution: he always denied that freedom was national and slavery sectional, because he could not juggle away the fugitive clause, the slave-trade clause, and the slave-representation clause; he never pretended that Congress could abolish slavery in the States, notwithstanding the clause guaranteeing a republican form of government. When freedom truly became national, however, he did not require chapter and verse for authority to defend and perfect the work begun by Mr. Lincoln's proclamation; nor, with Grant's two administrations before him, did he distrust the ability of Congress by law, and the President by force, to shield the freedmen from harm and to keep the governments at the South out of the hands of the white minority. Mr. Hayes's action in South Carolina and Louisiana seemed to him a surrender of the blacks to their oppressors, instead of the simple performance of a constitutional duty.

These sentiments, to the extent that they were not peculiar to himself, found favor with the ruling party, and were made use of by the leading politicians to divert attention from the real issues of the day. In this there was something retributive, where retribution was not to be looked for. The thirty years' war which Mr. Garrison had waged with slavery had unfitted him for the consideration of questions that cannot be settled by a simple appeal to elementary principles of right and wrong; and this led him to take a pessimistic view of the situation, the clews to which were, so to speak, no longer in his hands. When the slave power was everywhere dominant, when outrage followed outrage, and mob followed mob, through all the weary years of imperceptible progress, in the darkest hours of the rebellion, his cheerfulness never forsook him; his faith in God sustained his spirits and comforted him with the inevitable overthrow of slavery. When the time for statesmanship came, and the adaptation of means to ends in the restoration of shattered social and political fabrics, the fear that somehow this revolution might go backward—a fear so generally shared during Andrew Johnson's Administration—appears to have overcome the hopeful temper of Mr. Garrison. Perhaps he found it easier to lay aside the rôle of agitator than of prophet. Certain it is that he regarded with suspicion the reports of white good behavior at the South, and accepted with à priori alacrity the tales of violence and injustice which suited the character of the man-stealers of old. It cannot be said that the South was at much pains to disabuse him, and his attitude towards it was the jealousy of a guardian whose wards have passed from him into unfriendly hands.

Of the personal qualities of Mr. Garrison, whether public or private, there is no occasion to speak here. His sincerity, courage, single-mindedness, purity, simplicity, modesty, were never called in question; time will fix his place as a writer and speaker, and pass the proper judgment on his methods. He has gone to his rest at a good old age, with his faculties undimmed, his sympathies as tender as in his youth, his conscience void of reproach, and leaving a name which owed as little to circumstances outside of himself as that of any self-made American of any period in our history.

THE FRENCH EDUCATIONAL LAW OF 1849.

PARIS, May 16, 1879.

THE "Ferry laws" concerning the schools of France threaten to be as troublesome as the "Falk laws" were at one time in Germany. The *Kulturkampf* has not done much good across the Rhine, and Prince Bismarck has shown lately an evident desire to come to an understanding with the Papal Court, or at any rate to find a better *modus vivendi* with the bishops. It is very surprising to me that the Republican Cabinet who came to power with M. Grévy should have started a clerical question; there was absolutely no necessity for it. It is impossible to live a month in France without being struck by the absolute religious tolerance which reigns in it. Thanks to M. Ferry, the parties will, perhaps, now permanently be obliged to style themselves as they do in Belgium, where there are no Whigs or Tories, but Catholics and Liberals.

The law which established free teaching in France dates from the time of the second Republic. It was discussed in 1849, and curiously enough, if its chief promoters were ardent Catholics, like M. de Montalembert, M. de Falloux, and Bishop Dupanloup, the law was carried in reality through Parliament by M. Thiers. Education, either primary or secondary (as we call it in France), had been intended by Napoleon I. to be a monopoly of the state; the University of France was destined to mould the very mind of the country, and even during the tolerant reign of Louis Philippe this tradition was still kept. Such men as Guizot, Villemain, Cousin, who had been professors at the University, did not encourage the efforts of the Church when the Church tried to have its own part in the education of French youth. The revolution of 1848 gave a great shock to their ideas; they had thought themselves safe under the veil of constitutionalism, with a *pays légal* (a legal country), composed of chosen electors, and a legal university, composed of picked professors. They suddenly saw that the whole fabric of French society could be overthrown with a blow; that constitutionalism had no real vitality; that it was a mere figment; that the people had been left, so to speak, at the mercy of obscure and ignoble teachers, who dreamt only of revolutions. The leaders of the Chamber of 1848, elected after the terrible downfall of the July monarchy, felt that they had something more to make than a political constitution, a new distribution of power between the executive and the legislature. France had had already too many constitutions; what was wanted was the spirit which teaches a people to respect its constitution. It was felt instinctively that the University had not well fulfilled its mission, that it had been too destructive of the past, too revolutionary, too servile at the same time towards the state.

The revolution of 1848 had taken France by surprise; the Chamber was elected as a protest of the departments against Paris. The election of Prince Louis Napoleon as President was another and more marked protest. The Comte de Falloux was chosen by the new President as Minister of Public Instruction in his first cabinet, and this choice was an event in itself; it marked a profound change in the temper of Parliament and of the country. Lacordaire, the famous Dominican preacher, wrote to M. de Falloux from Dijon on the 23d of December, 1848, when he heard that M. de Falloux had accepted the post of Minister of Public Education in the cabinet of Odilon Barrot, Drouyn de Lhuys, Léon Faucher, and Buffet:

"You will be in the cabinet the first *Catholic* minister that France has seen in it for sixty years; you will take your part in trying to settle an inconsistent epoch; you will give your name to liberties all the more

precious as they are born on the verge of anarchy; you will not re-establish the monarchy of Clovis, nor of Charlemagne, nor of Louis XIV., nor of Louis XVIII., but the monarchy of right and of justice."

You see here in this extract that the Catholics, the conservatives of 1848, cared little in reality for the monarchical form of government; they wanted only a conservative government; the spirit which inspired Lacordaire in 1848 is the same as the spirit which inspired the Duc de Broglie from 1870 to 1879.

On the 4th of January, 1849, the Comte de Falloux named two committees, and asked them to prepare two laws, one on primary education, the other on secondary education. In the list of the members of these committees I find the names of Cousin, Saint-Marc-Girardin, Montalembert, Dupanloup, Thiers. Thiers entered into the work with much spirit. He used to say to M. de Falloux: "Condé alone can sleep on the eve of Rocroi." He once developed the same thought in these terms: "You can go to sleep when the weather is fine, the air calm, and the sea tranquil; when the captain is a good captain, when the crew is not mutinous. But can we sleep now, when the sea is up, the tempest in full force? We have been for thirty years on an agitated sea; alas! we had gone to sleep, and now we have been nearly wrecked." The *procès-verbaux* of the sittings of the great committee named by the Comte de Falloux have been recently published. Montalembert took, of course, a very eminent part in the discussions; he had been during the eighteen years of the Government of July the champion of what we call "liberté d'enseignement" (liberty of teaching). He was the great Catholic agitator; he made newspapers, wrote pamphlets; he opened a school himself and was tried; he had correspondents in Poland, in Germany, in Belgium, in England. He was an admirable orator, and he had a faith in him which moved even his enemies. M. de Falloux, who presided over the committee of 1849, is still alive. Hardly anybody knew him in 1848. He was a Legitimist of the provinces, led a provincial life, and had written but little. He showed much calm and courage during the bloody insurrection of June; he was one of those men who can conduct other men by mere strength of character. The two committees he named soon merged into one; and the law which was discussed by this committee has been called by Lacordaire the Edict of Nantes of the nineteenth century. It is essentially a law of tolerance; it put an end to the absolute monopoly of state education, and gave a share in the education of the country to the Church as well as to the laity.

Bishop Dupanloup took a very prominent part in the deliberations of the committee on education; but I would particularly insist on the rôle of M. Thiers, as M. Thiers has become almost an idol for the Republicans of the day. M. Thiers is said to have walked on the quays of the Seine, smiling and playing with a little stick in his hands, looking on the various objects which were coming down the river, while a Parisian mob was sacking the archbishopric near Notre Dame. This happened some time after the revolution of 1848. Thiers was then a pure Voltairian. After the revolution of 1848 a great reaction took place in his mind. He wrote on the 7th of May, 1848, to his friend Madier de Montjau, the father of the present deputy:

"As for the liberty of teaching, I am changed. I am so not by a revolution in my convictions, but by a revolution in the social state. When the University represented the good and wise French bourgeoisie, taught our children after the methods of Rollin, preferred the healthy and old classical studies to the physical and materialistic studies of the promoters of professional teaching, oh! then I was willing to sacrifice to it the educational liberties. Now I am no longer in the same place—and why? Because nothing is in the same place. If the University, falling into the hands of phalansterians, intends to teach our children a little of mathematics, of physical and natural sciences, and much of demagogy, I see no hope, if there is hope, but in the liberty of teaching. I do not say that this liberty ought to be complete and without any guarantee for public authority; for, after all, if there was a teaching of Carnot and a teaching of Blanqui, I should like to be able to stop at least the last one! At any rate, I repeat that the teaching of the clergy, which I did not like for many reasons, seems to me better than what is preparing for us. I was as I used to be; but I carry my hatred and my force of resistance where I see the enemy. The enemy is now demagogy, and I will not abandon to it the last remainder of social order—that is, the Catholic establishment."

This letter was published at the time in all the newspapers. A few months afterwards M. Thiers published a theoretical treatise on 'Property,' in which he thought it necessary, in the face of French socialism, to demonstrate the legitimacy of property, and placed the principle of property "under the wing of religion." The ideal view which M. Thiers had of religion and of liberty was always a low one. Liberty of thought and of teaching, religious teaching, were never more in his eyes than the agents, the gendarmes, of a certain social and political order. When M. de Falloux accepted the Ministry of Public Instruction offered by Prince Napoleon he called on M. Thiers and asked him for his support. M. Thiers promised it, and he became very active in the preparation of the new laws on education. "What do I see," said he once, "in each commune? The schoolmaster, a laic, who will always be dissatisfied with his position; with a smaller salary than the curé; having no resignation because he has no faith; thinking himself ill-treated, and nursing in his heart the hatred of a society which he considers egotistical and unjust." He is afraid he sees in the thirty-seven thousand French communes thirty-seven communists, thirty-seven thousand *anti-curés:*

"I ask formally for something better" (sitting of the 8th of January, 1849) "than these detestable small lay instructors; I want the *Frères* [the Frères of the Christian Doctrine are the ecclesiastical primary schoolmasters; they are placed at the same time under the supervision of the bishops and are inspected by the state inspectors of the French University], though I may have in old times been adverse to them. I wish to increase there the influence of the clergy; I want the action of the *curé* to be powerful, more than it is now, because I count much upon him for the propagation of the philosophy which teaches man that he is placed here to suffer, and will not propagate this other philosophy which says to man: 'Enjoy yourself; for, as M. Marrast has said, you are here to find *ton petit bonheur;* and if you don't find it in the actual situation, strike without fear the rich whose egotism refuses to you your part of happiness.' . . . Yes, I cannot say it enough, primary education can only produce good effects if the clergy get a large share of influence in its teaching."

This improvisation of M. Thiers produced a very great effect on the committee. I have only cited the most important parts; Thiers declared himself also against the principle of gratuity in primary education as well as against any compulsory clause.

The committee called for depositions; one of the first depositions was that of Father Philippe, the superior of all the Brothers of the Christian Schools. We learn from it that in 1849 his order had 3,300 members in France and instructed 200,000 children; it had also evening schools for apprentices. He spoke very strongly in behalf of the schools for adults: "The dangerous workingmen are not those who frequent the schools; the common workingman is good and honest, accessible to religious sentiments; the thirteen thousand adults who now attend our schools in Paris are very docile." Thiers asked Father Philippe if the superior of his order always resided in France. Father Philippe answered that the centre of his Institute was France; "the Brothers, wherever they are, even in Rome, depend on the Superior-General in Paris. In foreign countries the great establishments of the community are conducted by Frenchmen." "Then," said Thiers, "it is the French influence that you establish." "No," said Father Philippe, "we have nothing in view in the choice of the superiors except the religious interest."

This first direct contact of the leaders of the political parties and of the leaders of the religious movement was extremely curious; the politicians discovered, so to speak, a world unknown to them. It is perhaps a pity that the law of 1849 was made under the pressure of strong political passions; but, on the whole, it was inspired by generous sentiments. It gave to the Church a degree of toleration which had been unknown since the bloody days of the Revolution. Its clauses may be slightly amended in some points; it would be a great pity if for the spirit of the law of 1849 was substituted a spirit of exclusion against the Church and of proscription of all religious teaching.

AN EGYPTIAN *COUP D'ÉTAT.*

CAIRO, May 10, 1879.

THE result of the *émeute* of which I sent you an account has been a *coup d'état*, the consequences of which are still the subject of much diplomatic controversy. By one dash of the pen we Egyptians have become endowed with an avowed constitutional government—"a nation governed by the people, and the Khedive reigning without governing." How this precious conquest, which other nations have only obtained by centuries of internal strife and discord, has been brought about may not be without interest to your readers.

It is a matter of common notoriety that the Egyptian finances for the last three years have been in a state of the most deplorable confusion, due to a reaction from the inflated values caused by the high price of cotton during the American war; the great outlay of capital in improvements in the irrigation system; the establishment of free schools throughout Middle and Lower Egypt; the numerous sugar-factories; the annexation and reconnoissance of vast tracts of adjacent territory such as

Darfur, Kordofan, Harrar, and the Provinces of the Equator; the attempted suppression of the slave trade; the opening of the Suez Canal, whereby the large profits of the railway traffic between Suez and Alexandria were lost to Egypt; the enormous sums stolen by Sadyk Pasha, the former Minister of Finance; the Turkish tribute and "backsheesh"; the extended and much-abused "protection" of the richest Egyptian subjects by the European consulates, by means of which the former were exempted from paying taxes; and the lavish and reckless generosity of an Oriental sovereign. Most of the Khedive's expenditures were in themselves praiseworthy, but in face of the actual revenue of the land they were premature, and the money for them was obtained by loans at usurious rates. The inevitable "crash" came in 1875, when the Khedive applied to the Consuls-General of England, France, Austria, and Italy for financial experts to try and put matters to rights. France, Austria, and Italy sent respectively Messrs. de Blignières, Cremer, and Baravelli, who became purely Egyptian officials and went quietly to work. But England acted differently. The notes addressed to the Consuls-General were identical in their terms. It was clearly understood both by the Egyptian Government and by General Stanton, the then British Consul-General, that simply a financial expert was wanted, who was to have in his Egyptian position no official connection with the British Government. Mr. Disraeli's Government, intent upon a brilliant imperial policy, seemed at that time determined to make the English creditors of the Khedive a lever to obtain political supremacy in Egypt. Mr. Cave was sent out in a semi-official capacity by the British Government. He made his report but declined to accept the position of an Egyptian employé, which was all that had been asked for. A misunderstanding then ensued between General Stanton and his Government, which resulted in the replacement of General Stanton by Mr. Vivian. Then came Messrs. Joubert and Göschen, who represented the French and English creditors. They were deceived as to many essential facts by the able and cunning Sadyk Pasha, then Minister of Finance, who naturally wished to conceal his enormous defalcations. Messrs. Joubert and Göschen made an elaborate report and went away.

In the meantime Sadyk Pasha had entered into a conspiracy to depose the Khedive, whom he represented as about to sell Egypt to the Christians. The plan was discovered and Sadyk Pasha "committed suicide." After his fall the Khedive put himself almost entirely into European hands and the High Commission of Enquiry was created, which became practically the Egyptian Government, and no money could be spent without its consent. M. de Lesseps, the President of the Commission, being desirous to go back to France, the principal work devolved upon Messrs. Rivers Wilson, De Blignières, Cremer, Baravelli, and Riaz Pasha, and in August last Nubar Pasha was recalled from his banishment and the "responsible" ministry was formed—Nubar, President; Mr. Wilson, Minister of Finance; M. de Blignières, Minister of Public Works, and Riaz, Minister of the Interior. When these gentlemen entered upon their functions it was firmly believed that Egypt would slowly but surely recover, and that all would go smoothly and well. "Egypt belonged no longer to Africa, but to Europe, and would henceforth be governed by a responsible ministry." The coupons were all punctually paid, but the majority of the native employés, including the army, navy, and public instruction, were left entirely out of the budget. The discontent was aggravated by the importation of numerous scandalously-overpaid English and French employés. Several young gentlemen of scarcely two-and-twenty years of age were engaged at the rate of £130 per month, while natives and Europeans, long resident in the country, competent and experienced, who received £20 or £30, were discharged. An expensive cadastral survey was instituted to create offices for Europeans, and all the military schools—one of the most important elements of instruction in the country—were abolished.

In September the annual rise of the Nile proved to be exceptionally high. The High Commission of Enquiry had not appropriated any money for the usual precautions. The dykes were broken, and more than one hundred villages were destroyed in Lower and Middle Egypt, and the immense loss of life and property will never probably be accurately known. In February the misery of the officers being intensified by their summary discharge, they peremptorily demanded their arrears of pay. This was refused them, and an *émeute* followed which resulted in the fall of Nubar Pasha, who was replaced by Tewfik Pasha, the heir to the throne. Murmurs of the universal discontent began to be heard in the Chamber of Notables (a sort of incipient Egyptian Parliament). Riaz Pasha and Mr. Rivers Wilson then announced the dissolution of the Chambers. They refused to be dissolved, and issued manifestoes to their "constituents," protesting against the maladministration of the Ministry. Matters began to look a little squally, and early in April Mr. Rivers Wilson, without consulting Tewfik Pasha, the President of the Council, presented a new scheme for the rearrangement of the finances to the Khedive, and at the same time expressed the wish that the Khedive would not interfere at all in public affairs. The Khedive replied that the Ministry had caused the native feeling to be so excited that he could, unfortunately, only assure the personal safety of the European residents by his interference, and that another financial plan had been decided upon which was much more to the advantage of the creditors. On the 7th of April (the next day) Sherif Pasha, whose resignation as Minister of Foreign Affairs was accepted last summer for having refused to appear before the High Commission of Enquiry, was called upon to form a new ministry, whereupon Riaz Pasha was excommunicated from the Moslem religion by the Sheik-ul-islam and sentenced to spiritual death (he left by the first boat for France), and the other ministers were dismissed together with all their numerous protégés. The present Ministry is termed a "National" Ministry. It is responsible to the Chamber of Notables in all matters relating to internal affairs and is responsible to the Khedive in all matters relating to foreign affairs, and the action of all executive functionaries is to be subject to the approval of a "Conseil d'État" composed of Egyptians and foreigners, with the foreign element preponderating. All the members of the present Ministry are Egyptians.

Whether all this is for the advantage of the country remains to be seen, but it should be borne in mind that the majority of the European residents here, including Mr. Vivian, the British Consul-General, have been strongly opposed to the Nubar-Wilson-de Blignières Ministry, who, by their vanity, want of tact, and nepotism, have produced a reaction by which every European here has lost more or less prestige. At one time Mr. Rivers Wilson virtually ruled Egypt, but not only did he act unwisely in various important matters, such as summarily discharging the unpaid officers, but he also seemed to make a point of disregarding all the customs of the country; and the feelings of many good Mussulmans were shocked by the ostentatious wearing of hats on all occasions of ceremony, and by the introduction of a brace of English pointers in the divan of the Ministry of Finance. Of course it is impossible to forecast the result, but it is probable that the Powers will let the Khedive try his new administration for a year, and if his foreign obligations are not fulfilled steps may then be taken to ensure a better government. The only encouraging fact is that the crops will be better this year than they have been for many years past.

Correspondence.

LALOR'S TRANSLATION OF ROSCHER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the number of the *Nation* of Feb. 20, 1879, there is a communication, signed "Economist," criticising the rendering of a sentence in Section VII. of Roscher's 'Political Economy,' translated by me. As I did not answer "Economist's" communication shortly after it appeared, I would let it rest now were it not that I have met a great many people who know nothing of my translation of the eminent professor's work but the strictures on it in "Economist's" note to the *Nation*.

The sentence referred to, as it appears in my translation, is as follows:

"In estimating the resources of a whole people it is, of course, necessary to make deduction of the debts due by the individual members of the nation to their fellow-countrymen."

The word "deduction" in the above is a misprint. By an oversight in the reading of the proof it slipped into my translation instead of the word "abstraction" in my manuscript. When "abstraction" is substituted for "deduction" the translation is correct—"to make abstraction" being equivalent, as I suppose, to "leaving out of consideration," or "considering apart" from the main subject.

The translation of "Economist's" friend is as follows:

"Who would sum up the national wealth must naturally deduct the debts owing to foreigners; those of the inhabitants between each other (he must), on the other hand, leave out of consideration."

This differs in substance from my translation. "Economist's" translation is made from the tenth or from a yet earlier edition of the original. Mine is from the thirteenth, which says nothing of "debts owing to foreigners."

I am under obligations to "Economist" for calling my attention and that of the readers of my translation to the oversight admitted above. Of the correctness of my translation of Professor Roscher's work I feel entirely confident. It was carefully compared with the original by myself, by a distinguished American scholar long familiar with the work in German, and by Professor Roscher himself, to whose acquaintance with the English language every page of his book bears witness. No pains have been spared to make the translation faithful, and the best judges have pronounced it correct.

JOHN J. LALOR.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., May 28, 1879.

WHITES AND BLACKS IN MISSISSIPPI.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I enclosed you a few days ago some extracts from our journals to show the spirit manifested here in regard to the "Kansas exodus," and also stated some facts within my personal knowledge in regard to the late labor convention, hoping they might be of use in any comments you might make on that subject. A late article (in the last number) of *Harper's Weekly* only evinces too plainly the necessity of correct information in enlightened circles when discussing this question of the negroes. The statement is made in that article, "Armed bands have assembled on the shores of the river to prevent the emigrants from embarking, and not less than twenty cases of deliberate murder have been reported." And from such loose general *assertions* the following fallacious conclusion is drawn: "The movement, therefore, toward the North is simply an effort of this suffering people to escape from the grossest wrong and oppression."

Living here on the river in the midst of these "armed bands" and of "grossest wrong and oppression," the only fact I can learn to justify even a shadow of ground for such assertion is that while a number of emigrants were assembled on the bank at Leota, Washington County, the sheriff with a posse of fifteen men went, at the summons of the citizens there, to prevent lawlessness and protect the property of the town from pillage by an armed band of the most notorious negroes in that neighborhood, who were drinking, parading the streets, and insulting the white people. As an evidence of the forbearance of the whites, only one arrest was made and there was no bloodshed; some of the negroes got off on the boats—those having means to pay their fare—and the rest went back to the plantations. To rebut the statement further I send you the testimony, as recorded in the St. Louis *Times-Journal*, of the officers of the boats that ply on the river, passing up and down from New Orleans to St. Louis at intervals of only about two days of each other, as well as of the officers of the Anchor Line Packet Association, whose president is a prominent Republican of St. Louis.

It is much to be desired that the enlightened writers of the North direct their investigations and discussions to the "social and economical condition" of the Southern negroes, and give greater credence and publicity to the information collected by such men as Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, and others who speak from personal and careful observation on the spot. I know there is a great deal of lawlessness in the South, but surely not confined to assaults upon negroes; and there can never be any settled, contented prosperity for the negroes until their Northern friends cease to regard them as a horde, or clan, for political purposes, to be banded against their white neighbors. They must be allowed to intermingle and find their social and industrial position in the community naturally, as those of other races, dependent upon habits of frugality and usefulness.

Allow me to correct one misconception in your criticism of the Labor Convention as to the treatment by that convention of the resolutions of ex-Governor Henry S. Foote. Governor Foote was in attendance at the first day's session, when all resolutions were freely offered and referred to a committee, selected equally of both negroes and whites. Why did not Governor Foote offer his resolutions then? I have no doubt they would have been properly considered and perhaps favorably reported on. Contrary, however, to the course of every other member who had resolutions or propositions to offer, Governor Foote came in at the last hour and moved his resolutions as a substitute for the carefully-considered work of the committee, accompanying them with a political speech. This was a business meeting between planters and laborers to come to some terms of understanding—something similar to the strikes of your laborers in the North—and the firebrand of past partisan criminations and recriminations was wholly malapropos. Governor Foote represented nothing material to the meeting; an alien to both interests, he did not receive the endorsement of the prominent representatives of either side in the convention.

G. CLAY.

BOLIVAR, MISS., May 16, 1879.

[Our correspondent encloses also the following schedule of labor contracts in vogue.]

Wages are almost unknown in making a cotton crop; laborers either work for a share in the crop, or rent land for a specified quantity of cotton per acre, or money equivalent secured by the cotton. The *share* system is confined usually to two forms of contract: 1. The landlord furnishes the land, implements, and mules, and feed for mules, for which as rent he receives one-half of the crop made. 2. The landlord furnishes the land—fenced, ditched, etc.—and receives one-fourth of the crop as rent, but generally has to provide mules, feed, etc., and take all the risks of outfit and crop, for which he charges at fixed rates as agreed upon. Now, when we take into consideration the quality of the labor and amount of intelligence and economic science used in the cultivation of crops, as well as the outlay, in addition, for food, clothing, etc., to be advanced the laborer from the very start, and the waste and repairs of such a system, the dissatisfaction engendered and the final overthrow of any basis of mutual prosperity are not a matter of astonishment. Let your political economists and statesmen take these problems in hand, inculcate in their "wards" the lessons of successful husbandry, and give a rest from high-sounding phrases about freedom and oppression in the diagnosis of their ills.

There is little or no disturbance in the sugar parishes, where the wages system obtains; the trouble is confined to the cotton districts, and I attribute this, in a great degree, to the vicious share system, and consequent large advances, requiring a credit which perforce must be at usurious rates, and becomes in the end a burden which crushes labor. Out of the present commotion must come a change in the system of agricultural contracts or an entirely new tenantry. At this stage of civilization the Mississippi bottoms will never be abandoned—a soil above all rich and inviting to the hand of toil.

G. C.

CO-OPERATIVE STUDY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Andrew D. White, as stated in No. 721 of the *Nation*, has recently called "attention to the need of a larger supply of men properly equipped by education for the work of legislation and administration," and has proposed "the establishment of schools or departments of political science by our leading colleges, in which such young men as choose to make politics their occupation or their leading object of attention might get an education in political economy, in the use of statistics, in finance, in general jurisprudence, and comparative legislation." But of the large numbers of young men whose ambition it is to be, and some of whom in time will be, our political leaders how many could take advantage of such schools if established? How many of our distinguished statesmen could have availed themselves of such advantages in their youth? Those who expect eventually to make politics their occupation are compelled first to follow some other pursuit which will ensure them an income, generally low, to which they must give nearly all of their time for many years, in the meanwhile devoting their odd moments to political science and political economy. This has been the preparatory course of the great body of our present and former politicians, and undoubtedly will be that of our future leaders for many years to come.

This fact being recognized, our eminent students of politics, of whom Mr. White is an example, who are really interested in the improvement of our legislation and administration, should not only aim to provide the best means of study for the few who have abundance of time and money, but, adapting themselves to circumstances, they should devise some plan, imperfect though it may be, by which they may reach the many whose situation is described above, and lend their efforts to train them in the best manner possible.

Is not the following plan practicable? Let a number of prominent professors of political science, under the leadership of some practical educator, form an association to encourage the study of the branches enumerated by Mr. White, and lay out courses which might be pursued by young men engaged at the same time in other callings. The students who might join the association should be required to return written reports of their progress from time to time, with essays on subjects assigned, and examination papers could easily be devised, to be filled out by the student at home, which would test his knowledge. Many methods of

assistance would suggest themselves to the directors. Local clubs might be organized to form libraries and facilitate study by means of lectures by members or others, and by mutual assistance. The plan should be supplemented by summer courses of lectures, not compulsory, at various colleges.

This is exactly the plan of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, a society for the promotion of home study in the ordinary branches, organized last summer and now in successful operation under the supervision of Rev. Dr. Vincent, of Plainfield, N. J., with several thousand students on its roll.

The advantages of such an association are apparent. Many students now studying unsystematically would be assisted ; a still larger number would come under its influence to whom the knowledge gained would at some time be very useful, but who otherwise would not study at all ; the instructors would discover great ability in many of the students, who could be encouraged to make a specialty of politics. And is it not probable that the impulse thus given to the study of political subjects would benefit the colleges by encouraging students to attend the schools proposed by Mr. White and the summer lectures spoken of above ?

AQUIRIVULENSIS.

Notes.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS will publish immediately 'Is Life Worth Living ?' by W. H. Mallock, and a New England novel, 'The Breton Mills,' by Charles J. Bellamy, author of 'A Nantucket Idyl.'——A new edition of the works of Victor Hugo, uniform in size with the Cogswell edition of 'Les Misérables,' is announced by Geo. Routledge & Sons. The same house have issued new editions of the Duke of Argyll's 'Reign of Law' and 'Primeval Man.'——Macmillan & Co. have in press a new volume of 'Historical Essays,' by Edward A. Freeman, and in preparation a work in four volumes 8vo, edited by T. H. Ward, called 'The English Poets : Selections with Critical Introductions.'——We learn from the *Academy* that a Life of the late Dr. Livingstone is in progress, under the supervision of his family, with primary reference to his personal and domestic character and missionary labors.——The latest of those special gazetteers whose compilation is designed to meet the wants of advertisers is 'The Right-hand Record and Ready Reference' (New Haven: H. P. Hubbard). Its distinguishing features are the geographical arrangement of the newspapers of the United States in the smallest compass, with indications of their politics and circulation and time of issue, and the population of the places where they are published. Adjoining these columns are blank spaces for memoranda, etc.——The third part of Oncken's 'Allgemeine Geschichte' (B. Westermann & Co.) is devoted to the Grecian section of Prof. Dr. Hertzberg's joint province of Hellas and Rome ; and extends from the Pelasgic antiquity to the beginning of the Persian wars. The illustrations embrace the architectural remains of the Acropolis and the Lion Gate of Mycenæ, some of the more famous statuary of gods and demi-gods, and carved and pictorial representations of the gymnasium. These, if not always adequate, are always admirably engraved. The next instalment will take the reader to the battle of Mantineia.——Tennyson's hitherto unpublished poem, 'The Lover's Tale,' of which the first and second parts have been in private circulation for some years, is announced for early publication, with the third part, hitherto wholly unknown, and the sequel, "The Golden Supper." — Turgeneff has given through the Paris *Soleil* a *démenti* to the reports of his expulsion from Russia and subsequent proscription. This incident may well renew the caution with which news about Russia from non-Russian sources should be regarded.

—The Chicago *Tribune* of May 24 exposes the manner in which Mr. W. H. Davenport Adams composed the book called 'The Secret of Success,' which we noticed a fortnight ago. Mr. Adams had fallen in with Prof. Wm. Mathews's 'Getting on in the World,' and, deeming himself safe with the ocean between, appropriated some twenty pages of the American work, disguised by verbal alterations and interpolations, and credited, if at all, to an anonymous "acute writer" or "sensible moralist," and only once to Prof. Mathews. "Four-fifths of Mr. Adams's 'Key-Notes,' the larger and best part of the mottoes of his chapters, and scores of his most striking quotations from other authors, have been taken from the same source." This shameless proceeding, for which international copyright would furnish a remedy and redress, is all the more curious because Prof. Mathews (we believe in the case of another of his published works) was lately accused of plagiarizing from the writings of a well-known Ohio writer on educational subjects, and was obliged to fall back on his very absorbent memory as an apology for reproducing the words and order of the original text without acknowledgment.

—*Lippincott's* for June opens with an interesting glimpse of "State and Society in Ottawa," by a writer new to us, Mr. Frederic G. Mather. The paper is prettily illustrated. Speaking of Lord Dufferin's unbounded hospitality in 1872–78, Mr. Mather says :

"A sort of democratic jollity pervaded Ottawa society. Every one who called in due form at Rideau Hall was sure to be invited, sooner or later, to some of the numerous festivities—skating, tobogganing, dancing, private theatricals, and the like. Society went crazy over this state of things, to the extent that some families in good circumstances were nearly ruined by their efforts to shine 'at the Hall.' At the same time there was no end to the number of purveyors, tailors, and other specialists 'by appointment to his Excellency.' A number of the more sober-minded in this community hold Lord Dufferin responsible for an era of extravagance which Ottawa could ill afford."

Mrs. Wister concludes her series of papers on Paris, in which the topics have apparently been selected to match the electrotype cuts ; Mrs. Rebecca Harding Davis tells a new Jersey ghost-story, part of which she was ; Annie Porter's 'My Village in the South,' Part IV., is enlivened by some new character-sketches and a genuine romance. The paper on "American Fiction," its material and opportunities, does not go far to explain why our school of novelists hold neither the first nor the second place among their contemporaries. In the Monthly Gossip a contributor makes Lady Anne Blunt's journal among the Bedouins a text for some amusing comments on English husbands, apropos of the "Wilfrid" of her narrative.

—It appears that the propositions formulated by the International Literary Congress, which assembled at Paris during the Exposition last summer, are not to be allowed to rest there. A second session of the same body has been called to meet at the rooms of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, London, from the 9th to the 16th inst. The invitations show that it is under the auspices of a society of rather slender membership as yet, an offshoot of the first Congress, the International Literary Association. The progress made in the meantime will be reviewed, and further steps taken towards carrying the approved measures into execution. Special attention, by the programme, is to be given to questions of translation and adaptation both of books and plays. The official language of the Congress is still to be French, away from home though it be, but permission is liberally accorded the orators to take the parole in their own tongues. With this condition and on British soil it is possible that American as well as British authors may attend in greater force than before, and that the Anglo-American aspect of literary matters may come in for something of the important place it occupies in a general view of the field. There cannot be many new items in any report of progress to be made by American delegates since the last meeting. The principal is perhaps the willingness shown, in a late manifesto, by a large publishing house, once supposed to be the chief obstacle in the way of an adjustment, to negotiate ; and the manifesto itself may come before the Congress. It seems an opportunity to get the assistance of moderately disinterested foreign delegates in arranging a basis of accommodation which ought to be utilized.

—The formal propositions of the Congress, whose present condition and prospects will come up for review, were :

I. The author's right to his work is not a legal grant or sufferance but a form of absolute property, which the laws should protect.

II. The right of the author, his heirs and assigns, is perpetual.

III. On the expiration of the term fixed for the duration of the author's rights by existing laws of the different countries his works may be freely reproduced by whoever will, on condition of payment of a consideration to his heirs or assigns.

The peculiar rights recognized as belonging to the heirs of the author shall not be construed to prevent the publication of a new edition, provided it be faithful. Such new editions shall be preceded by actual tender of indemnity, and by two unopposed notifications at an interval of six months.

IV. Every literary, scientific, or artistic work shall be accorded, in countries other than that of its origin, the same privileges as works of national origin. Dramatic and musical works are intended to be included in this provision.

V. It shall be sufficient for the author, in order to secure such protection, to have complied with the ordinary formalities in use in the country where the work is published for the first time.

VI. The Congress holds that the moral and material well-being of the literary class is intimately connected with the foundation and development of associations having for their object the defence of the author's rights, and the formation of funds for assistance and for retiring pensions.

Besides these the Congress emitted, less formally, the expressions of opinion :

1. That international treaties should reserve to the author the exclusive right to permit translations or adaptations of his work.
2. That conventions affecting literature should in future be entirely independent of treaties of commerce.
3. That the French Government should take the initiative towards an international conference in which the delegates of the respective Powers should elaborate a uniform ordinance for the management of literary property, in accordance with the sense of the resolutions adopted by this Congress.

It went on further to desire that the question of *crédit littéraire*—that is, the provision of funds for pecuniary assistance, as in lawsuits for infringements, to make loans on manuscripts accepted but not yet paid for, etc.—should be carefully studied and inscribed on the programme of the next Congress, and adopted the proposition to found an international literary society, open to the literary societies and writers of the world.

—The International Literary Association thus formed has charged itself with establishing permanent relations among the writers of the diverse countries, facilitating the general diffusion of the various literatures, and defending the principles above named. Victor Hugo continues honorary president, as he was of the Congress. An honorary committee is composed of Edmond About, Auerbach, Castelar, Turgeneff, Blanchard Jerrold, Edward Jenkins, M.P.; Mauro Macchi, Italian deputy; José da Silva Mendes Léal, minister plenipotentiary of Portugal at Paris ; Torres Caïcedo, minister of San Salvador at Paris ; Johannes Nordman, president of the *Société des Gens de Lettres* of Austria ; Jules Simon, and Gonzales, honorary president of the *Société des Gens de Lettres* of France. Blanchard Jerrold and Torres Caïcedo of these, and Pierre Zaccone, a minor French novelist of the sensational school, are the organizing committee of the London conference. The association has for other objects, and has already decreed in its printed prospectus, the establishment of a library open to the works of writers of all nations, a permanent central club at Paris for the reunion of affiliated writers of all nations, the reception of communications relative to questions of literary property, the organization of lectures, and the publication of a monthly bulletin for the diffusion of a better acquaintance of the literatures among themselves. A diploma is promised to members, and a mention of such works as they may publish from time to time in the Bulletin. M. Lermina, the very active secretary, is the author, under the pseudonym of William Cobb, of various lively feuilletons in the cheap republican papers of a large circulation, like the *Petit Parisien* and the *Petit Lyonnais*.

—M. Jacques Bertillon has read before the Paris Société d'Anthropologie a curious statistical discussion of the comparative "nuptiality" of unmarried, divorced, and widowed persons. Using the returns of France (1856–65), Switzerland (1876), and the Netherlands (1856–65), he shows that the chances of marriage, as insurance writers might say, are three or four times as great for widowers as for unmarried men of the same age. Of course this is to the credit of marriage : those who have tried it like it. But one would suppose that men who had been divorced would have had enough of it, and, moreover, that women might avoid a man who had been unable to make his first marriage happy. Not so, in either case. After thirty the nuptiality of the divorced exceeds that of the single by a rapidly-increasing ratio, till at forty-five it is *six* times as great—greater even than that of widowers. The results for women are similar but less in amount, on which M. Bertillon makes the remark that women can get along better without us than we can without women. He also indulges himself in a little praise of his favorite statistics. No moralist or novel-writer has ever even suspected this enormous difference between the nuptiality of the widowed and the single. The knowledge of the human heart, which is the main object of half our conversation and all our literature, is after all to be found only in exact science. *Vive la Statistique!* He then goes on to show why a first marriage renders a second likely. One cause assigned is an interesting fact discovered some years ago by his father, that there is a greater mortality among celibates than among the married, and that the death-rate of widowers is still greater. Also the tendency to crime, to insanity, and to suicide is greater, as the figures show, among the single and the widowed than among the married. There are then, evidently, certain advantages in the married life, certain attractions to those who have once tried it, certain dangers and discomforts in its opposite, which suffice to explain why the chance of a man making a second marriage, if he becomes a widower, are three or four times as great as of his marrying at all. And yet the humorists are full of scoffs at marriage, the sentimentalists are shocked at second nuptials, and the law, following an old prejudice, perhaps monastic and ecclesiastical, "looks," as the French code says, "with an evil eye upon women who remarry." Again, *vive la Statistique*, which shows how useful to society are marriage and second marriage.

—Among the more—perhaps we ought to say the most—important historical publications of the last year is the fifth edition of the first volume of Max Duncker's 'Geschichte des Alterthums' (Leipzig : Duncker & Humblot). Though the new edition is designated only as "verbessert," the volume is largely rewritten. A careful comparison with the fourth edition, published in 1874, makes it apparent that the author has not only diligently exerted himself to enrich his work with the best results of critical research matured during the last few years, in reference to the early history of Egypt, Babylonia, Arabia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Armenia, and Asia Minor—to which this volume is devoted—but has also striven to enhance the value of what he has essentially left as formerly presented, by greater precision, greater fulness, and more perfect symmetry. Whether the following three volumes, of which the concluding one—ending with the reign of Darius Hystaspis—appeared in 1877, are to undergo a similarly incisive and equally speedy revision, we are not told in the new preface. The main object of the latter is briefly to justify the author's course in extensively incorporating in his history facts based on decipherments of Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, and in some instances conflicting with the fragments of Berosus, statements of Herodotus, and the Biblical books of Kings and Chronicles, for which he was called to account in an otherwise very friendly review of the fourth edition. Those statements, however, which were criticised on account of disagreement with the authorities mentioned, belong to the second volume, and it is still to be seen whether they will not ultimately appear in a slightly modified, less positively Assyriological form.

—The writer against whose objections to his excessive faith in Assyriology Duncker finds it necessary to defend himself in the preface to his work is Alfred von Gutschmid, an eminent authority in ancient history, though not an adept in the mysteries of decipherment. His review of the first two volumes of the 'Geschichte des Alterthums,' fourth edition, appeared in the *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* for 1875. An earlier attack on the eagerness of Assyriologists to discover in the inscriptions points of contact with Biblical history, and on their readiness in case of discrepancy to place the discoveries, or rather conjectures, of decipherers above plain Scriptural texts, was made by the same writer in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, in October, 1870. Eberhard Schrader, who was then preparing his work, 'Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Keilinschriften' (Leipzig, 1872), which, together with 'Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament' (Giessen, 1872), has given him a leading position among German Assyriologists, devoted a number of pages in the former work to the defence, against Gutschmid, of the high claims of his science, politely referring to the assailant as "one of the most distinguished students of the history of the ancient Orient." Subsequently, in a review of Duncker's 'Geschichte,' in the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, he gave vent to his satisfaction on seeing universal history adopting the conclusions of the decipherers without hesitation. Gutschmid, on his part, in criticising Duncker in 1875, directed his objections to the methods and overconfidence of the Assyriologists mainly against Schrader. The latter hastened to write a lengthy reply, which he published in the Jena *Literaturzeitung*, October 30, 1875. This provoked Gutschmid more broadly to state his doubts as to the historical value of Assyriology in its present stage of development, which he did in a book entitled 'Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alten Orients—Die Assyriologie in Deutschland' (Leipzig, 1876). He this time treated Schrader rather severely, exhibiting him as one of the most unguarded representatives of his school. The attack was heavy in every way. Schrader immediately prepared for a new and more decisive defence of the assailed positions, and the result of his efforts is his third great publication, 'Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung' (Giessen, 1878), which we have already noticed (*Nation*, No. 713).

—Aimée and her troupe closed a six weeks' season at Booth's and the Park on Saturday last with "Les Brigands." Very few operas have been sung, the chief novelties brought out being Lecocq's "Le Petit Duc" and Offenbach's "Madame Favart." The first of these was performed at two or three theatres in English before Aimée made her appearance in it, and it is needless to say that in French it is incomparably superior. The libretto, however, is too long for the plot, and the opera labors under the difficulty of being neither quite opéra bouffe nor quite opéra comique.

"Madame Favart" is almost as much a comedy as an opera, and was chiefly noticeable for the very remarkable acting of Mezières in the part of *Pontsablé*. The rôle of a half-imbecile and half-paralyzed old debauchee may not be the finest in the world, and we are continually surprised that such an accomplished actor as Mezières should be content to act in bouffe parts; but, inasmuch as legitimate French comedy has never flourished in this city, it is perhaps fortunate for New York audiences that he is. The music of "Madame Favart" is not Offenbach's best, nor are the airs, with two or three exceptions, marked. The voices of the Aimée Company, too, are few in number, and though good acting will carry off a great many defects in the way of singing, the absence of a respectable tenor created a serious deficiency. Mlle. Raphael, a new accession to the company, a young woman who, owing to her extraordinary height, appears better in men's than women's parts, supplied this defect to a certain extent, but her voice is not remarkable. The pretty and childish Mlle. Beaudet, who took the part of the *Duchesse* in "Le Petit Duc," was an accession to the troupe in the way of acting, but not of singing. Indeed, on the whole there was very little good singing, except by Aimée, whose voice seems to improve, as her acting certainly does. The new operatic importations from Paris show that the tendency among composers away from strictly *bouffe* opera still continues in force, and it is probably owing to this that so many of the best-known operas of that school, "Barbe-Bleu," "La Belle Hélène," "La Grande Duchesse," the "Cent Vierges," are now seldom sung. These were the first operas of the school ever heard in the United States, and it will be remembered that the excitement created by them was rather moral than operatic, the respectable press uniting in condemnation of them, and the mayors of self-respecting cities going to the theatre to see for themselves whether such performances ought to go on. It must now be ten years since, and for some reason or other the school is already supplanted by another which seems to be regarded as above reproach by those to whom the antics of "Prince Paul" and "Madame l'Archiduc" were anathema. Morally "Madame Favart" is as much to be deplored as many of the old school, but it is, we believe, considered to be an opera to which a young lady "may take her mother." Indeed, the French opera season here is getting to be such an established "institution" that scruples as to the enjoyment of it are decidedly inconvenient, and inasmuch as some of the new operas are morally unexceptionable, the fashionable world appears inclined to draw a veil over the past and to pardon whatever needs forgiveness in the present. Meanwhile the line between legitimate opera and opéra bouffe is being made less clear in another way by the appearance in the latter of regular operatic singers, particularly Capoul, who is to make his appearance here in his new profession next fall in a bouffe company which will include a sister of Irma. New York has therefore before it an unusually fine operatic future. With two regular seasons of legitimate opera at the Academy, a season of Aimée, a season of the Capoul-Marie troupe, to say nothing of perennial "Pinafore," adult and juvenile, black and white, secular and ecclesiastical, there ought next year to be no complaint on this head.

—A writer in the London *Musical Times* for March advances a "Plea for the Flute." He refers to the great antiquity of the instrument, and the feats which in Greece and elsewhere are said to have been performed upon it. The great composers, he informs us, have written much good chamber music for this instrument, and it should therefore be more generally introduced as a parlor instrument, especially in view of the fact that the piano is gradually losing its monopoly in the family circle, and many young ladies are now learning to play the violin. On several grounds this "plea" appears to us somewhat ill-advised and unnecessary. England must be very different from America if it is necessary there to plead the cause of the flute. Here the flute seems to form a sort of intermediate link between the accordeon and the piano, and, owing to the ease with which it is learned, the number of players on it is legion. An amusing illustration of this is afforded by a certain orchestral society of students at a leading New England college. At the annual examination of candidates for admission four out of six are commonly equipped with flutes; and there is a tradition that in the dim past this "orchestra" once consisted of ten flutes, two violins, and a bass drum. But even if England is not thus blessed with flute-players, there is no particular reason why their multiplication should be advocated. Some of the older masters have indeed written concerted music for the flute, but from the time of Haydn the habit of so doing has become less and less frequent. The reason is not far to seek. Although the flute is not a positively vulgar instrument, like the melodramatic cornet, which moves the primitive emotions of the unæsthetic public, it yet lacks, to a great extent, those qualities which combine to make a first-rate musical instrument. The flute, one might say, has no soul, and differs in this respect most widely from the 'cello and the horn with their intensely emotional tones. Scientifically, Helmholtz has shown that this difference depends on the number and relative height of the harmonic overtones which accompany every simple musical sound; and he alludes to the old *bon mot* that to a musical ear nothing is more dreadful than a concerto for the flute, excepting a concerto for *two* flutes. In the orchestra the flute is not only tolerable but even valuable for the production of shrill, demonic effects on the high notes, or of sweet and calm pastoral effects on the lower notes. But for chamber music, where only a few instruments are used, the flute is too dreary and monotonous to be of any great value, since it lacks the lower overtones, and its power of dynamic expression is too limited. The neglect of this instrument in chamber music by modern composers is therefore simply an illustration of the eliminating action of natural selection; and all the eloquence of the *Musical Times* will not suffice to make a law of æsthetic evolution turn back on itself, and revert to a state of primitive simplicity *à la* Rousseau.

—In accordance with the hint thus afforded us, young men and women should be urged to bestow their time and labor rather on the bowed instruments than the flute. An abundant crop of amateur string-quartet clubs will be the best means of gradually raising ourselves to the rank of a musical nation. Unfortunately there are several great difficulties in the way of such clubs. Violin-players are easily enough obtained in any town, but it is almost impossible to secure respectable performers on the viola and the 'cello. The ambitious, "democratic" spirit of young Americans makes them all aspire to play the first fiddle, and thus the other instruments of the quartet are neglected. This difficulty will gradually disappear as the knowledge gains ground that in the best music harmony is even a more essential factor than melody, and that, moreover, in modern music the melody is not so exclusively assigned to the highest part as it was in the days of Haydn and Pleyel. On the other hand, amateurs are apt to be discouraged by the inherent difficulties of most chamber music, especially that of Beethoven, Schumann, and Rubinstein. In such cases it is best to leave classic music alone for the time being, and get some of the operatic potpourris for one, two, or three string instruments and piano, published, *e. g.*, in the Edition Peters in a comfortable and very cheap form. Operatic potpourris do not belong to the highest class of music, we grant, but neither do they deserve the supreme contempt which many pedantic music-teachers affect for them. They will serve as a means of elevating the taste of those to whom the highest forms of composition are as yet unintelligible; and they will also be the means of saving from oblivion many of those beautiful melodies which occur in operas that are now no longer tolerated on the stage. It would surely be a pity to throw away all these jewels together with the perishable stuff in which they were originally set. Arranged in an artistic manner they will give pleasure to the most refined musician, who would shudder at the mere thought of having his ears and intellect tortured by the stupid text and the miles of dry and meaningless recitative amidst which these fine melodies were for a long time buried.

THE FINE ARTS OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.*

MR. SYMONDS'S work consists now of three volumes, and there is promise of a fourth, to be devoted to Italian literature; the first volume, historical and preliminary in character, entitled 'Age of the Despots,' has already been reviewed in these columns.† Two years ago appeared the two volumes severally entitled 'The Revival of Learning' and 'The Fine Arts'; it is the second of these which is now republished, printed from the English plates with the addition of brief notes from author and publisher, and—what each of the English volumes sadly needs—an index. The volume is in many ways fitted for separate issue as an account of the state of the fine arts during an important and critical epoch. Much information otherwise widely scattered and to be sought for within the covers of many books, old and new, is here put together in a readable shape. The results of late archæological research and of recent critical examinations into historical authorities and monuments of art are here given with sufficient thoroughness. The whole book, indeed, is composed in the light of the most modern knowledge and opinion, and is quite free from the legendary story-telling tone, as if of a transcript from Vasari, which has injured some well-intending books lately pub-

* 'Renaissance in Italy. The Fine Arts. By John Addington Symonds.' New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1879.

† The *Nation*, vol. xxi. p. 249 (Oct. 14, 1875).

lished. The first chapter is devoted to an attempted contrast between the classical and the Christian spirit as embodied in fine art, and a statement of the inevitable protest of piety and of ascetic religion against representative art of any form, and peculiarly against its more developed forms. The author carries his argument far, and endeavors to show that all intense religious feeling, whether monastic or puritan in character, must share in this distrust of an art which draws its inspiration from the beauty and glory of this world. The purely classical and pagan development of the later years of the Renaissance is in this manner characterized as inevitable ; while the original character of the artistic revival as a "return in all sincerity and faith to the glory and gladness of nature, whether in the world without or in the soul of man," is strongly insisted on. As these considerations stand in Mr. Symonds's pages the assertions seem a little abrupt, a little uncompromising ; and yet they are evidently the result of mature deliberation, and, that they may seem so, lack only the statement of the drawbacks and of the qualifying exceptions.

Chapters second and third are devoted to an examination of architecture and sculpture in Italy, as developed during the latter part of that short period during which the Gothic style prevailed in the peninsula—a period shortened at both ends, beginning later and ending sooner than in Northern Europe—and as passing through different manifestations down to the time of Cellini. These are interesting chapters; the account of the earliest work of the Pisani is particularly good ; and the few words said of those unique buildings, neither Gothic nor classic in style, the lovely first-fruits of a natural and non-classical renaissance, destroyed almost in its commencement by the revival of classical learning, are good and right, although the full significance of those works of art, perhaps, escapes our author. This, however, is preliminary ; the real purpose of the volume, as proclaimed in the first chapter, is to dwell upon painting as the one fine art peculiarly suited to the genius and to the circumstances of the Italian revival, and, therefore, carried to a perfection not equalled at other times and places. Two-thirds of the volume is devoted to Italian painting, with occasional episodes, as when Michael Angelo's life is related, at perhaps disproportional length, and Cellini's whimsical and violent acts are used to explain certain moral aspects of the Renaissance rather than to aid in any way the enquiry into the progress of art.

This book so constituted has the merits and the defects of a treatise by a literary man and student upon those strange, non-literary arts which are apt to baffle analysis and to contradict theories, and to lead the explorer on into no-thoroughfares of inference. This volume, like the previous volumes, is a collection of essays of very unequal value. That devoted to Cellini is little more than an abstract of his life and adventures, and the occasional remarks on his work are very inadequate; nor is this to be wondered at, for the art of Cellini was almost wholly decorative and, in a sense, technical, nor can its value be evident to one who views it from the standpoint of a literary taste. It is easy for a critic trained as Mr. Symonds appears to have been to despise such art as Cellini's. That Mr. Symonds does not despise it is a proof of the patient and self-distrusting mood in which, to his great credit, he is content to remain ; that he should treat it adequately is too much to expect. The essay on Michael Angelo is more valuable, because of the more visible sentiment and more impressive imaginative character of that great artist's work. A student, not particularly of plastic art, but of human thought in general however embodied, can see, or partly see, the meaning of Buonarotti—can love and admire splendid imaginings, vast, dreamy thoughts, only half expressed in rough-hewn marble, stately impersonations in cool frescos on shadowy vaults. But in this essay, as well as in all the chapters devoted to painting, it is the historical view that is of value—the well-arranged and well-worded account of the rise and fall of schools of art, the abstract of interesting facts not indeed inaccessible to the student, not remote, not now for the first time put into shape, but still out of the way of the ordinary reader of history, who by this means has put into his hands such an account of this embodiment of human activity as he needs to have by him when reading Sismondi, or Michelet, or Burckhardt.

The almost complete subordination of the other graphic arts to painting asserted in the earliest pages and maintained throughout is to be regretted ; if for no other reason, yet for this one, that a ready way of comparing the spirit of the Renaissance with that of the Greeks was thus left untried. Some attempt at this there is, indeed, in chap. i. Nor do we forget, nor even for a moment ignore, the immense difficulty of the task of conveying in words such an impression as would be at once accurate and intelligible of this subtile distinction. Another and perhaps equally important comparison, that between architecture and all decorative arts in the Middle Ages and after the revival, we miss and regret. On page 4 a very brief and summary statement of the universality of decoration in the fifteenth century in Italy leaves a false impression upon the mind of those readers for whom, as we have seen, this book is specially intended. The student who is not an artist, nor especially occupied in the enjoyment and examination of fine art, nor surrounded by its influence, needs to be told that this splendid abundance of ornamental art is not peculiar to the nation nor to the time. In a literal sense the Renaissance was heir of all the ages. The stone-carving, the wall-painting, the iron-forging, the bronze-chasing, the enamelling, the engraving, the illuminating, the stamping of leather, which was being done in the Italian cities when Giotto was alive and active, leads up to that of one hundred years later when Brunelleschi was alive and active, and so on to that of still a century later when Buonarotti was of middle age and Cellini was in his youth. It will be worth somebody's while to show how the arts of decoration centring in architecture and supremely affected by it are the same, and yet not the same, in 1320 and in 1520 ; to show how classical sculpture, dug from the ground, and classical fable, found in newly-deciphered manuscript, had given a new meaning to the details of ornament, while leaving for a long course of years its essential nature, its value, its decorative purpose unchanged. Mr. Symonds's book gives us nothing of all this, nor is that very surprising nor greatly to be regretted ; it is recorded here as a necessary part of its characterization.

It must be repeated that, untechnical and exoteric as is the author's view of fine art, there are yet sound conclusions to which he has come. He has had good tutors, and has known how to choose his advisers well, and to give credence to the credible. The pages before page 20 are very safe—they might be read to a class of pupils, and even required of them as a lesson to learn by heart ; after years of casting about and doubt and changing opinions, it is to such views as these that one comes at last. The valuable essays by Mr. Pater seem to be inspired by a more intense love of fine art and a more intimate knowledge of it, and yet for an accurate general statement of certain broad truths Mr. Symonds's preliminary remarks are perhaps unmatched by anything in the pages of his more minutely-informed fellow-student. In like manner, although one must go to Bryce's 'History of the Holy Roman Empire' for the shrewdest insight into the use and meaning of architectural remains, and for the reason why there is no mediæval architecture in Rome ; although one is driven to the second volume of the 'Stones of Venice' for an adequate account of Italian Gothic architecture—that misunderstood, much-beloved and vilified, wholly contradictory and wholly delicious art, misconceived by the architectural critics, and left to Ruskin's poetical hyperbole for a characterization right in spirit if vague in form ; although Mr. Symonds leads us into labyrinths of speculation in such passages as the attempted comparison (p. 312) between Correggio, Raphael, Leonardo, and Michael Angelo, with fanciful epithets for each, and is certainly less successful in special critical remarks than in the broadest general conclusions, yet it cannot but be considered a gain to have such just views of the whole field put into these simple and readable chapters.

After all, however, the volume on the 'Revival of Learning' is the best of the three. If the mysteries of artistic criticism are not wholly revealed to our author—as how should they be—the truths of literature and scholarship are much more open to his observation, and he is not a careless observer of them. His gift of historical research seems to be excellent, and in a department in which he is a lifelong student and a practical workman—that of scholarly literature—he speaks like one at home on his subject, weightily and with authority. The volume on the 'Revival of Learning' is still, like the others, a collection of detached essays rather than a connected narrative—rather than a logical and consecutive body of reasoning. The historical order is the favorite one ; this lecturer, that translator, and then this collector and his librarian are to pass before us in their order, and each is to have his share of critical remark and to receive credit for what he did to help along the revival. Perhaps one might prefer the reverse of this—perhaps the share of prominent individuals is a little overrated in these pages ; and one longs sometimes for a narrative of the tendencies of the age and the thoughts of the great body of scholars, illustrated by the appearance now and then of some great name in which these tendencies and these thoughts seem to find strong expression. But this is a mere hard judgment of the book because it is not something else—a bad kind of criticism. The volume as it is is valuable and instructive, and leads one to wish that the volume on the Fine Arts were the fruit of as much experience and practical knowledge as it is of long research, careful and patient thought, and sincere devotion to historical and critical truth.

RECENT NOVELS.*

WE suppose that such novels as 'Airy Fairy Lillian' are to be philosophically regarded as a reaction from the 'Jane Eyre' style of story, in which the reader is called on to sympathize in the intense mental struggles and grim determinations of plain women. Molly Bawn, and more especially A. F. Lillian (we really cannot reiterate this extremely silly title), are very young, very pretty women with unlimited capacity for flirtation, the description of which makes the staple of both books; in this instance occupying one hundred and fifty solid pages with what is little more than "marking time." There is small attempt at anything like development of character. Lillian is a pretty, luxurious, petted child, and the other personages have no other *raison d'être* but to admire, indulge, and make love to her. The book opens with a description of Lillian's grief and wrath when, at her father's death, his estate passes to a distant cousin. She sees no reason why she should leave the house, and vehemently argues that she can stay there in one wing while the heir inhabits the rest of the house. She consents, finally, to live with her guardian's mother, Lady Chetwoode; her guardian, Sir Guy Chetwoode, naturally falls in love with her "dazzling skin, creamy round arms, silky yellow hair, hands like snowflakes," etc., etc., etc. All the men who see Lillian fall madly in love with her, unless they are protected by some previous attachment, and after teasing, insulting, and generally maltreating her lover, Lillian marries Sir Guy and the story is done. We should not omit to say that the drama is enacted in the midst of "huge bowls of roses," "great silver urns," and trailing velvet dresses; that Lillian, when cross, throws Dresden china cups on the floor to relieve her feelings, and that there is a pervading sense of wealth and luxury throughout the book.

'High-Water Mark' is a very complicated and intricate story, notwithstanding the suggestion of simplicity given by the motto on the title-page. He (or she, the author's name gives no clue to the appropriate pronoun) takes no flight into aristocratic or foreign society, but testifies of what he has seen and known in his own land, and if the result is not altogether attractive, if American manners and life generally have an appalling crudity in the story, possibly their prototypes might be fairly taxed with the same. There is a great deal of conversation in the book in various styles—*e.g.*, the comic, "'You think you're dreadful smart, Frederic Lynne.' 'Why, sis, who 'd 'a thought you'd have spoke!'" Another style—the cheerful domestic—is as follows: "'You are not to trouble yourself about what the Bible does not say. It says enough for everybody's salvation if they choose to accept it.' 'Or for everybody's damnation if they don't,' said Fred. 'If we could clearly understand about the judgments spoken of in the Bible,' interposed Wilma," etc., etc. The main thread of the story consists of the life and adventures of two lawyers named Burr Courtenay and Charles Burns, who wait for clients, speculate in land, write verses which are insufferable trash, flirt mildly and confusedly, try politics, go to the war, and have unlimited high converse with each other, until finally one of them is frozen to death while driving with the other. Extreme *Langsamkeit* is the sensation most vivid in the reader's mind, but suddenly he finds the description of the storm, of Courtenay's death, and of Burns's conduct in the crisis forcible and simple, and he shuts the book recalling the bird-fancier's dictum: "One or two notes nightingale and the rest rubbish."

'Falconberg' is the story of the adventures of a young Norwegian who is driven from Norway by his father's unkind treatment, and also by misconduct of his own, he having in a moment of excitement forged his father's name. He comes to America, and, after some wanderings, reaches by chance a settlement of Norwegians, "put down in the official postal guide as Pine Ridge, but known to the settlers of Viking descent as Hordanger." Here he accidentally meets a robust and liberal settler, named Nils Amundson Norderud, who takes him (under an assumed name) to his house, where he treats him hospitably and exerts himself to find occupation for the stranger. Falconberg, or rather Finnson, becomes the organist in the little Norwegian church whereof his uncle, the Rev. Falconberg, is pastor. How he establishes himself, makes friends, falls in love, edits a newspaper, goes into politics, is a candidate for the legislature but is defeated by the inopportune disclosure of his former forgery and present false name, we are told in detail. All is condoned by friends and lady-love, and he joins Nils Norderud in the endeavor to Americanize the Norwegians. Their success is indicated by the description of a grand steamboat excursion and picnic of a dreadful nature, and we leave the hero with the best of hopes. Mr. Boyesen has remarkable facility in English, though his desire to be idiomatic leads to the occasional use of phrases which are not consonant with his usually good style.

As every effect presupposes a cause, it is clear that Madame Charles Reybaud had some reason for writing 'A Thorough Bohémienne.' It is charitable to suppose further that her reason was not a mere desire to add to the list of novels already in the world. Making this supposition, therefore, we have endeavored conscientiously to imagine why this book should have been written. As far as we can detect any idea whatever at the bottom of the plot, the intention of the author was to describe a gipsy girl rescued from gipsy life, yet so thoroughly wild *au fond* that she drifts back to her native condition by the law of her existence. This is well enough as an idea, but it is obviously in itself neither exciting nor new. It is an idea with which not a few poets and novelists, and many writers on prison discipline and penal reform, have made us familiar, and as an abstract truth of human nature had been quite as well stated by Mary Carpenter as it was ever likely to be by Madame Reybaud. The only excuse for making it the subject of a novel would be the interest or beauty of the treatment. If the gipsy were a particularly attractive gipsy, the struggle between her wild nature and the "sweet influences" of civilization, particularly if the latter took the shape of love and gratitude and other pleasing human sentiments, might become very interesting. But in the conflict raging in the breast of a rather unattractive gipsy, who is surrounded by decidedly stupid people, it is impossible to enlist the feelings of the most willing reader. Madame Reybaud's Bohémienne is the daughter of a travelling mountebank, and is taken up and adopted by the Kerbséjeans, a family possessing a château in Brittany. This family consists of the pretty Irene, her father the count, and the chevalier, an uncle of the count. The count is afflicted early in the book with intemperate habits, but these wear off as the story progresses. At one time he is very fond of Mimi, and apparently means to marry her; afterwards he seems to forget all about this. Mimi is of course in love with a man she cannot marry, and the man whom she cannot marry is in love with Irene. Notwithstanding these materials for a tragedy there is nothing very tragic about the story, which all ends in smoke. At the first blush we should have said that this must be Madame Reybaud's first novel, but we see from the title-page that she has written another. This would seem to indicate that her novels find readers, and if they do we must offer her our warmest congratulations.

'The Barque Future' is a tale of Finnish and Lapland life, translated from the Norwegian by Mrs. Ole Bull. It is a fresh, pleasant story, with genuine local color, quite refreshing among the many ineffectual efforts after original representation which result only in a distorted commonplace. 'Out of His Reckoning' is an absurd book; 'At a High Price' fairly clever, but disagreeable to our notions, as the chief love-affair is between an uncle and his niece, who is also his ward. 'Signing the Contract' describes a region concerning which we sympathize with the late lamented Betsey Prig—we don't believe there is no such place, though it is called the United States. 'The Secret of the Andes' is a book to enchant a boy: buried treasures, witches, murderers, a mysterious virgin queen, and a mountain that thunders responsively to any very "tall talk"; venal viceroys, and gold by the thousand ounces, all assist in the plot, and it is impossible to say that there may not be historical truth in the descriptions of conspiracy and revolution. The scene is laid in Quito, and dated 1592.

The Life and Letters of Frances Baroness Bunsen. By Augustus J. C. Hare. In two volumes. (New York: George Routledge & Sons. 1879.)—This is a memoir which no reader will feel disposed to approach in a critical spirit, and yet it is difficult to find in its contents any justification of its appearance. Made up as it is chiefly of the letters of the Baroness Bunsen, with a running narrative and explanation furnished by Mr. Hare, whose editorial function is little more than that of a cho-

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* 'Airy Fairy Lillian: A Novel. By the author of 'Phyllis,' 'Molly Bawn,' etc.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.

'High-Water Mark: A Novel. By Ferris Jerome.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.

'Falconberg. By Hjalmar H. Boyesen, author of 'Goethe and Schiller,' 'Gunnar,' etc.' New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

'A Thorough Bohémienne. By Madame Charles Reybaud.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879. (New Handy-Volume Series.)

'The Barque Future; or, Life in the Far North. By Jonas Lie. Translated by Mrs. Ole Bull.' Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1879.

'Out of his Reckoning. By Florence Marryat.' Boston: A. K. Loring.

'At a High Price. From the German of E. Werner, author of 'Good Luck,' 'Vineta,' etc. Translated by Mary Stuart Smith.' Author's edition. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1879.

'Signing the Contract, and What it Cost. By Martha Finley.' New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

'The Secret of the Andes: A Romance. By F. Hassaurek, author of 'Four Years among Spanish-Americans.'' Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1879.

rus, it must stand or fall upon the merits of the correspondence; and though these give ample proof on every page of an excellent character and warm heart, they can hardly be supposed, even by those most interested in them, to have any literary value. Indeed, looking over the distinguished list of contemporaries whose names appear in the index, and who were friends and acquaintances of Baron von Bunsen and his wife, it is surprising to find in the correspondence so few traces of intellectual or sentimental impressions derived from contact and intercourse with them. We have had the curiosity to examine the references in detail, and the result has been almost depressing. For instance, to take a few well-known names quite at random: On November 19, 1840, Madame Bunsen writes to her intimate friend Abeken a letter in which she mentions having made the acquaintance of Agassiz; to identify him she describes him as "the naturalist"; this is all. In a letter to her son Theodore, dated August 19, 1865, she asks whether he ever met Ampère, and adds the characteristic sentence: "His was a singular and most engaging personality, and his death in the spring of this year struck me as cutting off another portion of the *Past* which deserves to live and will live in memory." In vol. ii. p. 105 Andersen is mentioned. He "read to us in the evening some of his own tales, and though, being translated into German, they could not produce the effect they must have in the original, we found them delightful." At page 440 of the same volume is a reference to Bismarck, and this does contain a critical remark which, however, we are bound to say is not put forward as original, and with which our readers are probably already tolerably familiar—to the effect that Bismarck had adopted the excellent plan of telling the truth for the purpose of accomplishing the same end other diplomatists attain by falsehood. This politically useful habit the excellent woman in her devout old age does not forget, with charming *naïveté*, to thank God for. We might go through the whole book in this way, and should consider ourselves very fortunate if in both volumes together we found five pages in reference to any of these contemporaries, however brilliant or renowned, of any general interest.

The fact is that Madame Bunsen, evidently remarkable as she was for the strength and beauty of her character, was not intellectually great, and had as a letter-writer none of that charm of style or faculty of description which makes the correspondence of women so often delightful reading. Her letters consist mainly either of dry details of fact, or semi-moral, semi-religious homilies addressed to her husband or other members of her family; or else letters written in the intimacy of married life which ought not to have been printed at all. What possible interest the public can be supposed to take in the descriptions given by Madame Bunsen in her letters to her mother of the appearance, health, size, etc., of her infant children we cannot imagine, and yet a considerable part of these volumes is taken up with matters of this sort. Many of the letters are letters announcing deaths, or letters of condolence written on learning the news of deaths of near relatives. What business these have in print it is impossible to understand.

The most interesting parts of the book are those describing the childhood of Baroness Bunsen. The first chapter, on "Family Influences," is written by Mr. Hare, who, if he is apt to be a little too much overcome with the solemnity of his task, does not forget that his first duty is to his readers. These "family influences" were somewhat peculiar. Madame Bunsen was collaterally descended from Mary Granville (Mrs. Delany), great-granddaughter of that Sir Beville Granville who fell in the battle of Lansdowne Heath, in 1643, with the patent of the earldom of Bath in his pocket. The early history of Mary Granville was, as Mr. Hare says, "a romance and a tragedy." At seventeen she was married against her will by her uncle, Lord Lansdowne (the friend of Pope and Swift), who desired to strengthen his political connection in Cornwall, to a Mr. Pendarves, a man of disagreeable temper and appearance, intemperate habits, and sixty years of age. By him she was carried off to Cornwall, where she was forced to take up her abode "in his dark, disagreeable, desolated castle, in which her head could not reach to the bottom of the windows." Her husband is described as having been almost always intoxicated, and when sober violently jealous, although his wife was a pattern of fidelity and submissive devotion. After two years of wretchedness he took her to London, where she was doomed to the constant companionship of his sister, who hated her. At length, after seven years of this married life, her husband died, and a will was found to have been made by him in his wife's favor; it was, however, unfortunately unsigned. Later in life she married Dr. Delany, and did not die until 1788, at the age of eighty-eight. It was the great-niece and adopted daughter of this lady who, about 1790, married Mr. Benjamin Waddington; and Frances Waddington, Baroness Bunsen, born in 1791, was the child of this marriage. According to Mr. Hare there were only two points of resemblance in the disposition of her father and mother—generosity and a scrupulous regard for truth. Extremely phlegmatic, Mr. Waddington "was without the slightest particle of imagination." He was a great reader, but "had no preference with regard to subject," and "kept no particular object in view. He would steadily read for hours with the most perfect satisfaction, and never appeared to skip a single page. Whatever work he began he regularly finished, and he seldom made the slightest comment upon it. Travels, biographies, and also works of fiction were perused with the same patient attention." Mr. Waddington's "time for conversation" was after dinner, a time which he selected to inform his wife of anything that had occurred during the day "either to interest or annoy him." In his wife, who was in every way a remarkable woman, he evidently had great confidence. "For some time he troubled and worried himself with farming, but finding that it did not increase his happiness, and very much interfered with his comfort to see everything going wrong, he gradually put his agricultural affairs into the hands of his wife, who, among other useful arts, had acquired a practical knowledge of the subject, and soon succeeded in establishing order and neatness in the farming department." Among other peculiarities he had "a peculiar aversion to the expenditure of any avoidable small sum," and did not make any concealment of the fact "that the payment of turnpikes was an object of consideration which often turned the balance against sending to the post-office." On one occasion he is said to have lost several thousand pounds from his determination to save the postage of a letter of enquiry as to the payment of a policy of insurance.

Chapter ii. contains some interesting "Recollections of Childhood" in the home of her parents at Llanover in Wales, put down by Baroness Bunsen in her eighty-third year, for the benefit of her daughters and granddaughters, from which Mr. Hare gives copious extracts. This and the next chapter, "Home Life at Hanover," are the best in the books, and make up, to a certain extent, for much subsequent tediousness.

The life of Baroness Bunsen after her marriage was not eventful, though it must have been both interesting and agreeable. Moving from capital to capital as her husband rose in favor with the court at Berlin, she lived the life of the wife of an accomplished and successful diplomat, occupied chiefly with her social and domestic duties. Her correspondence makes it clear that one of the marked traits of her character was caution, and it is this caution—which such a career was hardly likely to dissipate—that makes her correspondence so uninteresting. With the exception of her strong expressions of feeling as a wife and mother—and these we must be permitted to believe she could not have intended to be printed for the benefit of the public—she never throws aside her reserve. We are never allowed to know how the men and women with whom she was constantly thrown really thought and acted. Indeed, we doubt if Madame Bunsen herself ever knew. She never had much taste for analysis of character. People were for her simply divided into those she approved or disapproved (generally for reasons with which religion and the state were closely connected), and those whom she liked or went through life without liking (for her principles prevented her from ever being a "good hater"). The *fonds* of her character was really religion, and we fear that these volumes will not be likely to be received by the world as demonstrating that a life founded upon a religious basis so strong as to absorb most other impulses can be made a source of much literary interest.

The Natural Resources of the United States. By J. Harris Patton. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879. 18mo, pp. ix. 115.)—Designed both for a class-book and for general readers, and published by a house which aims at accuracy, both statistical and critical, in its current series of primers, this little book invites careful examination. The compiler has aimed to give a brief physical account of the country and of its productions. The best part of his work is the description of metals and minerals, of iron, coal, lignite, gold, and silver, of building marbles and of timber. About concrete and tangible things Mr. Patton is, for the most part, concisely statistical and descriptive. Occasionally, too, he finds room for bits of curious information, as where, for instance, speaking of copper-mining in the upper peninsula of Michigan, he tells us that the pure copper there found is "from its very pureness more difficult to obtain in quantities that can be handled than that which is smelted from ore. First the mass must be dislodged by tremendous blasts of gunpowder or some explosive. But copper does not break to pieces by the explosion.

It only *tears;* and then it must be cut away by long chisels." But now we must notice some serious misstatements. Mr. Patton shortens the coast-line of Europe, for instance, and extends that of the United States. The respective figures are well known, and with at least approximate accuracy. The ratio of the European coast-line to the continental area is given by M. Reclus as one linear to one hundred and ninety-two square miles, or, including Great Britain and the larger islands of Europe, as one to one hundred and forty-three ; Guyot's estimate is one to one hundred and eighty. Mr. Patton, mentioning no authorities, assigns to Europe the low ratio of one to two hundred and twenty-four ; while for the United States, on the other hand, he finds the more favorable ratio of "one mile of shore-line to one hundred and thirty-one miles of surface." How is this pleasing result obtained? By counting the banks "of the Mississippi and its tributaries, ten thousand miles, as coast-line" ; the banks of European rivers not being counted at all in making the corresponding estimate for Europe. The actual coast-line ratio for the United States, allowing one thousand miles for the south shores of the great lakes, is about one to two hundred and thirty-two. Mr. Patton's patriotic statistics remind one of Matthew Arnold's description of the provincial spirit, "with its settled misconception of the value of one's own things." What should be said of a perversion of figures we will not stop to say.

Even more inaccurate is Mr. Patton's estimate of the arable land in the United States. Professor Whitney and other students of our physical geography consider the central mountain region—the "Cordillera," as Professor Whitney proposes calling it—of the United States and Territories as amounting to nearly one-third of the whole area. This vast mountain country includes Montana, the Black Hills of Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, the Sierras of California, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, and the mountain ranges of Oregon and of Washington Territory. Though in this region there are some arable valleys, by far the greater part of it is too much elevated and too poorly watered ever to support an agricultural population. Turning now to Mr. Patton, we read that "with the exception of a few rough mountains, nearly all of which are storehouses of the metals and coal, there is scarcely an acre throughout this wide domain that cannot be cultivated so as to pay liberally the laborer's hire." It would not be easy to get farther away from the facts than this. Jeffrey was blamed for "speaking disrespectfully of the equator," and we do not wish to slight the Cordillera ; but the truth is that, while parts of it are suited for grazing, it can never be "cultivated." The non-arable region, which Mr. Patton calls "scarcely an acre," is in fact an area of nearly a million square miles ; a region which repeats in its extremes of climate, its elevation, its lack of irrigation, and its consequent infertility, the important features of the wastes of Central Asia.

It would seem hard to make a more serious error than this in the physical description of a country ; and yet Mr. Patton has done it in this little primer. He repeats the popular misinformation about *sanitaria* for invalids, recommending for consumptives the climate of Aiken, S. C., as "mild, healthy, and balmy during the winter" ; that of Asheville, N. C., as "mild, dry, and equable" ; and that of Minnesota as "bracing, never debilitating." This is ground upon which the inexpert shall not enter with our approval. It is a question for the climatologist and for the pathologist ; and by them it has already been settled, to the following effect : that the coast climate of Southern California is the only climate within the national boundaries that is either "mild" or "equable," as compared with the Gulf Stream climates, during any one of the four seasons—the only American climate that can be recommended, as such, to consumptives. This is not the occasion to give the proofs of this statement at length, but they may be found by comparing the researches of Dove with the excellent and serviceable tables of American "Temperatures" and "Rainfall" compiled by Mr. C. A. Schott for the Smithsonian Institution. Mr. Patton should have said with more distinctive clearness than he has said that the coast climate of Southern California is a good one for persons affected with pulmonary complaints, being mild, equal, and equable the whole year round.

Petrus Martyr, der Geschichtsschreiber des Weltmeeres. Eine Studie von Hermann A. Schumacher. Mit einer Karte aus dem Jahre 1510. (New York : E. Steiger. 1879.)—A work on Peter Martyr, the earliest historian of America, can scarcely fail to excite deep interest, especially since it is the first of its kind. Peter Martyr, who was born February 2, 1455, at Arona, on the shores of the Lago Maggiore, is but rarely mentioned at present, although history is greatly indebted to his versatile pen. When Washington Irving wrote the 'Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus' he freely drew from Martyr's writings, as did Alexander von Humboldt and Prescott, Raumer and Ranke, and many others. The book now before us does not profess to be a biography, although its title might encourage this belief. The author merely calls it a study, and a study it is ; one evincing great care, thoroughness, and immense application. It chiefly consists of two parts : the first and minor part treating of "Martyr's historical works" ; the second, of "Martyr's development as a historian." Whatever views one may hold as to historical methods, it must be admitted that Dr. Schumacher has accomplished his task in an extremely satisfactory manner, and not without artistic skill, although we might have expected a little more uniformity in the treatment of the subject. The great historical events of the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century are worked into a harmonious background for the figure of Peter Martyr, who stands out in bold relief and in vivid colors. We see him leave his native country, following the Spanish ambassador, Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, to the court of Saragossa, where he arrived during that fermenting epoch when the Spanish fleet, in rapid succession, discovered new tracts of coast-line, where the daring adventurers found new tribes of men, strange birds and beasts, pearls and precious metals, and a tropical vegetation of luxurious splendor. Induced by Queen Isabella, the Italian accepted the position of Latin Secretary at the royal court, and thenceforth Pietro Martire de Anghiera became Petrus Martyr Anglerius. During the first years of his sojourn in Spain he followed his sovereigns to the battle-field, and for some time was seriously in doubt whether to remain faithful to the pen or to exchange it for the more formidable sword. The temptation was great indeed ; but it was to his first love that he clung and thereby ensured his immortality. By assuming the garb of the priest the bonds uniting him to science were firmly riveted.

His career as an author dates from his stay in Spain, where he began to write his letters on Cristóbal Colon and those upon the sea, to the latter of which he owes the epithet "the Historian of the Great Ocean." His first work on the New World was not published until 1516. It consisted of thirty parts, or three decades, and it was dedicated by its author, who had reached the age of some three-score, to the youthful Charles V., who had just ascended the throne. A book of this kind could not but create an intense sensation, for all it contained was novel, and it may truly be said that the three "decades" of writings embraced two decades of history, such as gave new life to stagnating Europe. Four or five years elapsed ere the fourth series of decades were issued, which did not prove less successful ; but they were the last works published during the author's life. In 1526 his pen rested for ever. A tablet in the cathedral of Granada, erected in his memory, duly sets forth the merits of the former dean and counsellor of state ; and good care was taken not to forget to mention the circumstance that Martyr was a foreigner.

In judging Martyr's position as a historian we cannot for a moment be in doubt as to his rank. His merits are great. They can, indeed, scarcely be too highly spoken of, for, had it not been for his exertions, our knowledge of America from the time of its discovery up to the year 1511 would be limited to a few insignificant facts. Nevertheless he was only a narrow-minded savant of the Latin school, who in his writings sets forth the facts as they were communicated to him, almost entirely without comment. Had he not somewhat idealized his subject he would have been untrue to his Romanic origin. When he wrote the "Decades" his task was not only that of the historian but also that of the geographer ; for the conditions were such that the two offices could hardly be separated. In his time scarcely any one who laid claim to a thorough education could doubt the spherical shape of the earth ; for those who were not familiar with the cosmological views then dominating could never have understood Dante (comp. "Inferno," cant. xxxiv. v. 118, and "Paradiso," cant. i. v. 43–46). "Martyr," writes Dr. Schumacher privately in response to an enquiry of ours, "neither thought of Dante, nor had he any great cosmological ideas ; unfortunately he had neither seen Juan de la Cosa nor Amerigo Vespucci ; he was not even familiar with the letter written by Vespucci on the 18th of July, 1500." This must appear the more characteristic of Martyr, inasmuch as Columbus when he returned from his second voyage did not hesitate to pronounce the earth pear-shaped (comp. Navarrete, 'Coleccion,' tom. i. p. 227). We learn further that the aim of the present study was not to draw any conclusions, but merely to show how far Martyr's knowledge extended, and that it is merely preliminary to a more extensive work on La Cosa. We sincerely hope that Dr. Schumacher may soon find sufficient leisure to carry out his intention. It would indeed be a splendid task to compare the cosmological views of La Cosa with those of Vespucci and Columbus, to point

out how eminently vague and shallow the ideas of the latter were, and to give Vespucci his share of the credit so long withheld from him. Meantime we earnestly commend this solid monument of well-directed scholarship.

Dickens's Dictionary of London, 1879: An Unconventional Handbook. "Mr. Weller's knowledge of London was extensive and peculiar." —*Pickwick.* (London and New York: Macmillan & Co.)—This little book in paper covers costs only thirty-five cents. Its four-by-six-inch page is divided into three narrow columns; the print is too fine for comfortable reference, and made worse by the thinness of the paper, which allows the printing on the other side to confuse the eye. It is to be wished that inexpensiveness had not been carried quite so far; a seventy-cent book might have been much more than twice as good. It contains, however, an immense amount of curious and interesting matter, and that of so diversified and in some cases unexpected a character that the only way to deal with it is to set forth what we find in it that is especially noticeable, and what we miss that we had hoped to find. There are some useful maps; one, in outline, of the Thames from Teddington above London to Gravesend below, thus giving thirty miles of country east and west, and twice as much of the river in its windings. In this map it is pleasant to find, what the atlases do not give, the well-known names of Northfleet Hope and Fidler's Reach, and so on up the river to Blackwall Reach, Limehouse Reach, and the Lower and Upper Pool, until it seems as if we were coming from sea under the pilotage of Poor Jack. There is a skeleton plan of the London underground railways, a guide much needed by any visitor not familiar with their gloomy convolutions; there is a map of the railway stations around London, from Enfield to Epsom and from Windsor to beyond Woolwich; finally, there are maps of small pieces of London taken from its densest quarters, well conceived but not clearly printed, and almost impossible to use for finding any given street amid the tangle. They serve to remind the New-Yorker how little he has to charge his memory with in comparison with what the Londoner has to know, living in a town five times as large and one where most of the streets are only a square or two long, and where the seemingly-continuous thoroughfare is Charles Street, Queen Street, Short Street, and something else in the length of a quarter-mile.

Under the heading "Fog" is an account of a "London Particular," with an attempted analysis of its composition. Under "Gas" is a full and apparently thorough account of the rules and customs of the gas-companies and a store of advice for the gas-consumer. Under "Nuisances" is a list of the disagreeables which may be avoided or removed, (*a*) by application to the first policeman, (*b*) by appeal to a police court, or (*c*) by lawsuit only. Among these last is church-bell ringing, so that it appears that Londoners who live near noisy chimes have no ready way of stopping them, in which lack of power they will receive the sympathy of residents of upper Fifth Avenue. Under "Opium Dens" and "Ratcliff Highway" is something about the holes for smoking opium described in 'Edwin Drood.' Under "Black Eye" you are told who undertakes the speedy cure or concealment (which?) of that infliction. Under "Bohemia" is a definition of the free-and-easy life known by that geographical term. Under "Paintings" is a really wonderful thing—an alphabetical list of painters, sculptors, and architects whose works may be found in London, with the places where these may be found: thus, one is sent, to study Gainsborough, to nine different public institutions, some of which are the last places in which one would look. So that it will be seen that this book takes in a wide extent of information, while we have to say of it that in almost every case there has gone to its make-up a very intelligent sort of criticism. It is, therefore, matter of surprise that we find no mention of the Thames embankment as a recent construction of singular importance; not a word of Hampstead Heath or Hampstead, while many small places around London are described; no account of "Greenwich"—a brief mention of the hospital and school, indeed, but nothing about fish-dinners or the "Trafalgar" or "Ship"; no mention of the Temple, nor of Apsley House, nor of Smithfield, nor of Sergeant's Hall; and under "Cleopatra's Needle" mention of its whereabouts only, with nothing about its origin or value. "Gog and Magog" is a most unsatisfactory article. One finds "Rag and Famish," and a reference to the club which is so called, but under the Club title no mention of the nickname; and this is a real disappointment, for we had hoped to find that by-word explained. Under "America" one is referred to "United States" and "Dominion of Canada," but neither of those titles appears. This list of non-appearances and failures might be much prolonged, but it can serve only as a reason for asking the compiler and the publishers to give us a new edition, enlarged and greatly improved in style and appearance.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
American Firemen, 2d ed	(H. L. Champlin)
Babcock (H. S.), Trifles: Poetry	(Providence)
Burnett (Mrs. F. H.), Miss Crespigny, swd	(Chas. Scribner's Sons) $0 30
Theo, swd	" " 30
Collins (Rev. W. L.), Montaigne	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Froude (J. A.), Cæsar	(Chas. Scribner's Sons) 2 50
Ghost of Redbrook: a Tale	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 1 25
Goncourt (E.), Les Frères Zemganno, swd	(F. W. Christern)
Gréville (H.), Markof	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.) 1 50
Heilprin (M.), Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews, Vol. I.	(D. Appleton & Co.) 2 00
Holtzendorff (Dr. F. von), Principien der Politik, 2d ed., swd	(Carl Habel)
Hunt (W. M.), Hints for Pupils in Drawing and Painting	(Houghton, Osgood & Co.) 2 00
Just One Day	(Geo. R. Lockwood)
Koolman (J. ten D.), Wörterbuch der Ostfriesischen Sprache, Vol. I., A-G, swd	(Herm. Braams)
Lady's Knitting-book, swd	(A. D. F. Randolph & Co.) 25
Lady's Crochet-book, swd	" " " 25
Leighton (R. F.), History of Rome	(Clark & Maynard)
Leffingwell (Rev. C. W.), Reading-book of English Classics	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)
Lewes (G. H.), The Study of Psychology	(Houghton, Osgood & Co.) 2 00
Longfellow (H. W.), Poems of Places: British America; Oceanica, 2 vols	(Houghton, Osgood & Co.) 2 00
Longfellow (H. W.), Evangeline: übersetzt von Frank Siller	(Dörflinger & Co.)
Marryat (Florence), A Star and a Heart, swd	(A. K. Loring)
Mead (Prof. C. M.), The Soul Here and Hereafter	(Cong. Pub. Co.) 1 50
Oncken (W.), Allgemeine Geschichte, Part III., Hellas und Rom, swd	(B. Westermann & Co.)
Pike (J. S.), First Blows of the Civil War	(Am. News Co.)
Proceedings of the Mass. Historical Society, 1791–1835	(Boston)
Puritan and Quaker: a Tale	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)
Right-hand Record for Leading Advertisers	(H. P. Hubbard) 2 50
Schwab (Prof. E.), The School Garden, swd	(M. L. Holbrook & Co.) 50
Shirley (P.), On the Verge: a Tale	(A. L. Bancroft & Co.)
Sime (J.), Lessing; 2 vols., swd	(L. W. Schmidt)
Thompson (M.), The Witchery of Archery, new ed	(Chas. Scribner's Sons)
Unitarian Affirmations	(Am. Unit. Assn.)
Zola (E.), The Abbé's Temptation, swd	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.) 75

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 12, 1879.

The Week.

THREE months of bill-framing, bill-passing, caucussing, and sustaining vetoes have convinced the Democrats in Congress that they cannot get along without the President. On Thursday, therefore, they resigned themselves to the inevitable, and brought into the House, not the Legislative Appropriation Bill shorn of the obnoxious rider, but a bill containing the appropriations of the current fiscal year (ending June 30), with numerous exceptions tacked on at the end, and with the omission of the rider as well as of all provision for the expenses of the Federal courts, which are to run the gauntlet of the White House in a separate measure. The Republicans making no opposition, it was passed on Monday by 118 to 21, the latter number representing the total army of thick-and-thin "revolutionists," of whom four were from the North, two from Missouri, and the rest from south of Mason & Dixon's line. On Thursday the Senate passed, after a warm debate, by 30 to 18, the bill repealing §§801, 820, 821 of the Revised Statutes, and making new provision for the drawing of jurors. Mr. Edmunds played, as he has done so much of late, the rôle of recording angel to the Democratic party, by offering amendments sure to be defeated, but sure to cause a flutter in the enemy's camp and to make voting them down uncomfortable. His principal test of this kind was a proviso that no disqualification on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude should be allowed in a United States *or State* court. When objection was made to the insertion of State court, Mr. Edmunds showed that the law of 1875 contained the identical prohibition, but he did not mention that Mr. Thurman's motion to strike it out at the time was supported by Senators Schurz, Ferry of Connecticut, Carpenter, Tipton, Sprague, and other Republicans. However, the Democrats rejected the amendment even without the State court. Mr. Edmunds and others objected with reason to the feature of the bill which directs that the special commissioner who makes up the jury-list with the clerk of the court shall be a "well-known member of the principal political party opposing that to which the clerk may belong." On Thursday the House passed the Supplemental Appropriation Bill, for judicial expenses, embodying also the Senate Jurors' Bill, amended for the better, and including the prohibition against color discrimination in the Federal courts.

The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections resumed last Saturday the examination of the witnesses in the Kellogg-Spofford case. The principal witness was a mulatto who calls himself De Lacy and says he is of Irish parentage, his grandfather having been "Sir Hugh de Lacy." He was himself one of the negroes who, having been first a member of the Packard Legislature which elected Kellogg to the Senate, afterwards went over to the Nicholls Legislature and there helped to elect Spofford. He was called as a witness for Spofford to prove that money had been paid to secure Kellogg's election, he having made an affidavit to that effect. On taking the stand, however, he denied all knowledge of the subject, though he very frankly admitted that he had agreed to make such a statement, and that it was all a lie, and that he rather liked to tell a "social lie" once in a while, though statements made under oath he regarded in a different light. He disavowed the affidavit, calling the attention of the Committee to the fact that the name De Lacy was spelled *De Lacey;* though he afterwards admitted that he sometimes spelled it in this way "when in a hurry." Charles Cavanac swore that De Lacy offered to him to make the affidavit he denied on the stand, and had told him his story of bribery by Kellogg. Thomas Murray, a negro, related a conversation with him in which De Lacy asked how much money "there was in it," when Murray told him that he, Murray, expected to make $2,500 out of it. He subsequently explained that he expected to make this because "it would be worth $2,500 to have the good people of his community with him." John Seveignes, another witness, "descended from an old French family," swore that he was a member of the Packard Legislature in 1877 and voted for Kellogg; that he had made an affidavit to the effect that he was not present when Kellogg was voted for, and that this affidavit was "a blunt, straightforward lie," but that it was made from an honorable desire "to show how things were done." The Committee, unaided by the press, might have some difficulty in making out the exact value of such testimony as this, and we may therefore call their attention to the simple rule adopted by the *Tribune* and *Times*—*i.e.*, all testimony which makes in favor of Kellogg is true, all the rest is false. The witnesses are generally arrested and committed for perjury as soon as their testimony is ended, and are, curiously enough, generally custom-house officers.

The prospect of the appearance of philanthropic Northern steamers on the Mississippi to carry colored people away to Kansas has so alarmed the planters, that a convention of those of Washington County have drawn up an address to Northern "business men and benevolent societies," protesting against their lending countenance to any such scheme, on the ground that, though the negroes were not badly treated in Mississippi, their imaginations would be so fired by the proposal to carry them to "fresh woods and pastures new" that even the well-to-do would abandon their homes, and utterly disorganize the industry of the State. There is doubtless a great deal of truth in all this; but the sober and sensible and conservative planters who sign addresses of this kind ought to know that a little personal activity on their part in putting down lawlessness in the State would, in a very few years, make it as absurd to send steamboats to carry off its laborers as to send them up the Connecticut River for a similar purpose. The negro is such excellent material for electioneering purposes at the North that Southerners need have little hope of taking him out of politics until they police themselves better.

The movement which these Mississippi planters dread is the one promoted by General T. B. Conway, who is collecting subscriptions to enable him to take a steamer down the Mississippi to carry off intending emigrants, whom he is going to deposit in Wisconsin, General Butler having promised him 17,000 acres of land for the purpose; and he has, he says, agents in half a dozen States engaging employment for colored emigrants among the farmers. We sincerely trust, however, that none but the really destitute will avail themselves of General Conway's munificent offers. We are quite sure that a negro who owns anything will be better off in his own home than on General Conway's boat or General Butler's land-grant. It is a curious fact that at the meeting held in aid of the Conway movement in this city on Monday evening the only person who spoke of war and seemed to be prepared for battle was a clergyman—the Rev. Dr. Newman. He assumed that the use of the Mississippi as "a highway" by the Conway boat would be resisted by force, and announced, amid thunders of applause, that in that case "the people of the North would make it a highway." In fact, within a few weeks an extraordinary number of ministers have been heard sharpening their swords.

The Ohio Democratic platform is a commonplace rather than a "ringing" document. It demands "free and fair elections," insists that the laws enacted by Congress under pretence of "regulating the manner of Congressional elections" are unconstitutional

and ought to be repealed, and that they are also "instrumentalities of fraud, force, and corruption"; declares that impartial juries are necessary to the preservation of liberty, and that juries have been "packed," and demands that they shall be so "packed" no longer; that the Republican minority in Congress, and the President by his use of the veto power, have shown a spirit of faction; urges Congress to refuse to appropriate a dollar "to pay soldiers, marshals, deputy-marshals, or supervisors of election, to interfere with or control the elections"; castigates the Republicans; reaffirms the financial principles of the party—*i.e.*, that the issue of money is a function of Government, that the national banks ought to be broken up, and Treasury notes substituted for bank-notes; denounces the demonetization of silver as a fraud in the interest of the bondholders; deplores the rapid increase of the interest-bearing debt, and demands that "it be put in process of extinction"; defends the Legislature against Republican attacks, and insists that the right of expatriation must be recognized by the German Empire. General Ewing, their nominee for Governor, was a distinguished officer in the war, and his selection is for this reason chuckled over as an effective mode of getting round the Stalwarts; but he is also one of the foremost Greenbackers in the country. The Ohio Nationals also held a convention on the 4th instant. The delegates are said, by the correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, to have been on the whole "an exceedingly fine-looking, earnest, business-like set of men." There is no doubt they are earnest, for the platform demands the immediate repudiation of the national debt, and this has already led to a bolt; so that the probable effect of the party in the campaign is very difficult at its present stage to estimate.

There is nothing new in the Presidential field beyond the rapid decline of the Grant "boom," and the abandonment of the scheme of welcoming him with a monster procession across the continent, known of late as "the hippodrome." Mr. Sherman's pretensions attract more attention than anybody's, and the New York *Times* maliciously calls attention to the fact that, as the Republican party at the South now consists almost exclusively of Treasury officials, Mr. Sherman will be able to send up solid Sherman delegations from all the Southern States to the convention. How any paper can be so evil-minded and uncharitable it is difficult to imagine.

A most entertaining paragraph in the Boston *Journal* alleges in reply to the *Nation* that the sectional controversy was not revived by the Republicans in 1876. We are glad to read a statement of this kind in a Stalwart Republican paper, because it shows at least the existence of a certain shame; but unhappily there is not one word of truth in it. Republican speakers and press, beginning with Vice-President Wheeler's opening speech in Vermont, spoke of hardly anything but the Southern question, to which, at the cost of much obloquy, we kept calling attention every week as dangerous and discreditable. The finances and civil-service reform and almost everything else were totally ignored. We may call as one witness on this point whose testimony the *Journal* will not question the eminent Mr. William E. Chandler. That statesman, being much dissatisfied with the new President, published a letter to the New Hampshire Republicans in the last week of December, 1877, in which he reproached Mr. Hayes with perfidy on the ground that his "campaign was carried on, so far as methods and utterances were concerned, in no respect differently from the campaigns of 1868 and 1872"; "'the bloody shirt,' as it is termed, was," said he, "freely waved, and Governor Hayes himself urged prominent public men to put forward as our best argument the dangers of rebel rule and a solid South." In fact, we can recall nothing in recent political history more audacious than the pretence that it is "the Brigadiers" in the present Congress who have revived the sectional controversy.

The way the revival of the controversy was arranged by the Republican chiefs was instructively illustrated in Mr. Wheeler's case. His letter of acceptance, written in July, 1876, following the line of the platform, was moderate and conciliatory, giving the principal place to the currency and civil-service reform question. A month later he delivered the opening speech of the campaign in Vermont, doubtless having in the meantime received his instructions, and we cannot describe its nature better than in our own summary of it in our issue of Aug. 31, 1876:

"Mr. Wheeler spoke in Vermont, and devoted himself exclusively to reminiscences of the rebellion, showing how many 'ex-rebels' there were in the House last winter, how bitter and unrepentant they were, how completely identical in spirit they were with the 'Missouri Border-ruffians' twenty years ago in Kansas, how entirely the South was in the hands of these men; and he alleged, as of his own *knowledge*, that the Southern people 'regarded the amendments of the Constitution in reference to slavery, and the laws for the protection of freedmen, as the French provinces did their cession to Prussia at the point of the bayonet.' He described the issue in the present canvass as 'the old issue' of the war, and represented the approaching election as a sort of continuance of 'the work so effectively done by your bayonets at Gettysburg.' Not one word of allusion to reform of any kind in the Government; not a hint of the need of any reform."

In truth the twist given to the canvass, after Mr. Hayes's nomination, was the wickedest thing done by politicians since the attack on Fort Sumter.

The investigation by the Pennsylvania Legislature of the charges of corruption brought against some of its members in connection with the Pittsburgh Riot Relief Bill has ended, as such investigations are pretty sure to end, in the failure of the attempt to expel the guilty members. The bill appropriated $4,000,000 to pay for part of the losses growing out of the railroad riots of 1877, and in itself it would seem as if there was great propriety in the State of Pennsylvania taking upon itself the payment of these losses, since it was certainly responsible for the unexpected proportions the riot assumed. For two or three days a mob of ruffians and thieves held complete possession of the city of Pittsburgh, and although it was patent from the beginning that the county authorities were either in sympathy with the rioters or powerless to restore order, they were allowed to burn and sack to their hearts' content. The responsibility for such things must necessarily rest upon the State which permits them, and there was nothing more pitiable connected with the riots of 1877 than the helpless appeals from large and powerful States to the general Government, for aid in repressing a disturbance which a well-organized militia would have been perfectly competent to cope with.

All this, of course, has nothing to do with the question of the means used to forward the passage of the Riot Relief Bill, which seem to have embraced the most unblushing corruption of members of the Legislature. Most of those approached appear to have succumbed, while the testimony taken also disclosed facts implicating a number of officials outside the Legislature. The cases of these gentlemen the Legislature evidently considered more important than its own; for, after refusing to unseat the members involved, it immediately proceeded to direct the institution of criminal proceedings against the officials in question. The Philadelphia *Bulletin*, which takes a very severe view of the matter, thinks that the worst of it is that, under the biennial system now in force in Pennsylvania, it will necessarily be a year before the people have an opportunity of expressing their opinion of the transaction. It must be admitted that this is an objection to the biennial system which has been hitherto overlooked. Biennial sessions have generally been advocated because they would give the public only half as much legislation as it had had before. Whether this is a compensation for the loss of the annual opportunity to make bad members of the Legislature take "back seats," is a question for publicists to consider.

The Supreme Court of Tennessee has rendered a decision declaring the act of that State repealing the charter of the city of Memphis constitutional. It will be remembered that the

Legislature created in the place of the old municipal government a new organization, known as a Taxing District, consisting of various bodies charged with the duties ordinarily performed by branches of a city government, some of the members being appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate or the courts, others being chosen by the qualified voters. The duration of the new system was limited to two years; and, practically, the result of the act was to put the city government into commission for that time. It was contended that this was a departure from democratic usages, on the ground that it violated the rule that taxation and representation should go together; that inasmuch as the "Taxing District" was merely the city under a new name, the taxes must be levied by the corporation itself. The court, however, held that wherever compulsory taxation is found necessary to compel a city to perform properly its duties as an agency in State government, or to fulfil any obligation legally or equitably resting on it in consequence of the action of such a body, the State has ample power to provide for the necessary taxation, and *the people to be taxed have no absolute right to a voice in determining whether it shall be levied*, except through their representatives in the Legislature. The decision announces no new principle of law, but merely applies well-established principles to a novel case. The case has an important moral, however, for the thousand and one cities and towns scattered through the United States which have pushed their right of creating debt dangerously near the point of insolvency.

There was an active speculation during the week in silver bullion in London, where the price advanced from 52¼*d.* per oz. to 52⅝*d.* to 52½*d.*, from which it subsequently fell to 51½*d.*, the closing price. The speculation there was assisted by a demand for China to pay for silk, and by reports that the German Government had decided to withhold sales for the present. No one there or here took much account of the Warner Silver Bill, because it was understood that it could not become a law. Here the price of bullion changed, so that 412½ grains, the amount in a standard dollar, was worth as much as about 89½ cents, and as little as 87 cents; at the close the bullion value of this dollar was $0.87001. Exchange on London, where the discount rate in the outside market advanced to 1½ per cent. from 1 per cent., was firm at little below the gold-coin exporting point. Although below, one firm shipped $700,000 gold coin during the week, for reasons outside of those which govern the general market. Early in the week U. S. bonds declined, but in the latter part there was more demand for the 4 per cents. The national banks have the choice of taking these bonds—the only class of which there is an adequate market supply—or of giving up their note circulation. All first-class railroad investments were strong even to stocks, the most notable example of which was New York and New Haven, which pays scant 10 per cent. annually, and for which 171 was at one time bid. The working of the money market was towards ease, although the surplus bank reserve was increased so as to amount to only about $5,000,000. The money lost to the market in the last few weeks has, however, gone into the Treasury, and will come back again in payment for called bonds and July interest. The Stock Exchange was quiet. Mercantile business was active for the season; and the outlook for the staple crops South and West was good.

The promoters of the Emma Mining Company in England continue to receive hard treatment in the courts. Messrs. Lewis & Son, the metal-brokers in Liverpool, were sued by some of the purchasers of the stock for the sum they paid for their shares, on the ground that the defendants had conspired with Trenor W. Park and others to sell the mine for more than it was worth. The plaintiffs got a verdict for the full amount with interest, which the full court, on appeal, refused to disturb.

The weight which should be attached to Mr. McCulloch's speculations about the growth of the bi-metallic movement in England is illustrated by the statement of the last number of the *Economist*, that "the defection of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce shows how practical men, who ought to be superior to such delusions, can bring themselves to believe in the efficacy of legislative enactments that 15½ grains of silver shall be worth exactly 1 grain of gold, and will keep them so." Moreover, the Calcutta *Englishman*, the leading Indian paper, treats the Liverpool Chamber's resolutions as a delusion also, and wonders how sensible men can imagine that by declaring silver to be worth so much more in relation to gold the world's monetary wealth would be correspondingly increased. In Mr. Stanhope's recent statement of Indian finance, too, although the annual loss on exchange through the depreciation of silver was acknowledged to be about £3,000,000 sterling, the only suggestion of bi-metallism as a remedy came from an obscure member, to whom nobody replied but Mr. Lowe, and he somewhat slightingly.

The Indian financial statement was not very satisfactory, and was only made palatable to the House of Commons by the announcement that a decided reduction in expenditures had been resolved on. There was a deficit in the year 1877–8 of £3,543,057, apart from nearly £5,000,000 allotted to public works. In the current year, although the revenue has been increased by nearly £7,000,000, the deficit was £1,355,000, still leaving the public works aside. The causes of this continued deficiency in spite of increased taxation are partly the military outlay caused by the Afghan war, and partly the loss on exchange. The consequence is that the outlay on public works has had to be greatly reduced, and the reserve fund for provision against famines has been swept away; and as taxation has been carried to its last limits there is nothing left for it but to cut down expenses. This is to be effected by military reforms and the employment of more natives in the civil service, as they can be had for less pay than the Europeans. How valuable the treaty with Yakub Khan is, does not yet clearly appear. The Indian Government does not guarantee his title, and what his title is worth without a guarantee has yet to be seen.

The confession of the Government in England that expenditure must be reduced in India, which disarmed the Opposition in the debate; the peace with Yakub Khan, by which he surrenders no territory (the occupied passes do not belong to him); pays no indemnity, but receives $300,000 as long as he observes the treaty, and has his territory guaranteed against foreign attack (but not against home disputes, and his brother is now in the field against him), and obtains, as far as England is concerned, undisputed possession of his throne; the transfer of the management of the South African campaign to Sir Garnet Wolseley, and the submission to the retirement of the Turks from the Balkans and the cessation of all talk of "reform" in Asia Minor, are generally accepted in England as the abandonment by the Ministry of "the Imperial policy," and as preparation for the elections by the old Gladstonian plan of peace and retrenchment. In fact, they see the truth of the Duke of Argyll's remark, that "they are beginning to be found out."

The troubles in Eastern Rumelia, now that the Sultan has agreed not to occupy the Balkans, have dwindled down to the question of what kind of head-covering the new governor, Aleko Pasha, is to wear. The Sultan, who clings all the more tenaciously to the signs of power as the substance of it is vanishing, insisted on his wearing the fez, a red cap which has for forty years been the official head-dress of the Turkish Empire, to show that he was a Turkish officer. The Bulgarians, on the other hand, wished him to wear the "stove-pipe" hat of the western world, to show that he was not a pasha of the old type. Aleko himself appears to be a thorough Bulgarian at heart, and determined to administer the province for its own benefit, so he has adopted a compromise, suggested it is said by the Russians, by wearing the Bulgarian calpak, or fur cap of the peasantry.

THE NEED OF "SMARTNESS" IN POLITICS.

THE Democrats have been encouraged in much of their policy during the past three months by the reflection that they have been only imitating the action of the Republicans, in cases where the latter happened to be bent on something to which the President for the time being was opposed. But they have overlooked the fact that even in "coercing the President" the Republicans showed themselves practical men—that is to say, they never began to coerce a President without being perfectly sure that they would end by getting the better of him. They never undertook such a task as the Democrats have undertaken without having a two-thirds majority in both houses, and thus being able to overcome the veto beyond any manner of doubt. Undertaking with a bare majority to pass measures to which the party to which the President belongs was opposed, would only have been justified by positive information that the President would disregard his party obligations sufficiently to sign them. But that the Democrats had no such information when they began the late struggle, was shown by the fact that they fastened their various amendments to the appropriation bills, which of course would not have been necessary had they known that the President agreed with them. It may be said that even in the absence of such information they were fairly justified in trying their luck with such legislation as their constituents called for, or as in their judgment the interests of the country seemed to require; but in that case also there was no need to present this legislation in the form of a menace by which the moderate portion of the country was sure to be alarmed or provoked.

They might have satisfied their constituents or their own sense of duty by putting the proposed changes in the law in the form of independent bills, and then, had the President vetoed them, they had a ready defence for taking no further action in the fact that they are not two-thirds of either house. Not being two-thirds of either house, their sole remedy for the veto lay in an appeal to the country at the polls. For although it has often been asserted, apropos of the present controversy, that the power of legislation under the Constitution resides in the majority of both houses of Congress, this is not strictly correct. It resides in two-thirds of both houses. Anything less than two-thirds only possesses the power of legislation in conjunction with the President—or, in other words, only possesses it conditionally. In case it disagrees with the President its remedy is to ask for a popular decision.

This decision the Democrats might have demanded with considerable *éclat*, for the Republicans were not at the outset steady, consistent, or united in their opposition to the change in the Army Bill. The principal objection of many of them to it was that the persons proposing it were bad fellows with evil designs. The Democrats might have met this triumphantly by a course of studied moderation, instead of which they at once proceeded to justify their opponents by putting their schemes in such shape as to warrant the belief that they meant, if they could not carry them, to leave the Government without funds. The Republicans have been guilty during the past eighteen years of a great many high-handed measures which will ill bear examination in quiet times, but they have never been guilty of attempting anything high-handed which they were either afraid to perform or totally unable to perform, and they thus saved themselves from ever becoming grossly ridiculous. Their quarrel with Andrew Johnson, for instance, which presented many situations like that in which the Democrats now find themselves, was marked by many ludicrous features, but it was carried on vigorously by men who knew from the outset what they could do, and did it. The impeachment may seem to constitute an exception, but when it was undertaken there was every reason to believe that the requisite two-thirds vote in the Senate would be forthcoming. It never would have been undertaken if there had from the outset been not the smallest chance of a two-thirds vote.

It must be admitted, as the world goes, that next to a reputation for high principle, the best thing for a party to have is a reputation for shrewdness. Parties, like individual men, can achieve considerable success merely by being thought able to manage their affairs well, even on a low moral plane. Society puts up a good deal too much with clever knaves, but knavish blockheads it cannot abide. The Democratic party, as a correspondent points out elsewhere, has deplorably little to boast of in the way of moral character, but it could achieve considerable success in spite of this if it were only managed with dexterity and force. If its leading men were agreed even on a bad policy, and pushed it with vigor and efficiency, it would derive a certain respectability from it. If the party had had a two-thirds majority in the present Congress, and had used it to repeal all the obnoxious legislation of the war—or, to speak more correctly, all legislation intended to bear specially on the South—the country would have accepted it with resignation if not with content. People would have bowed to a display of real power even if they condemned the use made of it. But the Democrats have talked and acted as if they had a two-thirds majority when they had really only a majority of twelve or fifteen, and the result has been at the last a kind of mental collapse, which disgusts people even more than immorality. The effect of this collapse is made all the greater by the fact that the public has been used now for a great many years to a strong government. That is, it has been used, whether for good or ill, to seeing the party in office a powerful, determined party, which knew what it wanted and how to get it. The love of strong government thus produced finds expression among the Republicans in the Grant movement, and there is no doubt the Democrats too have been considerably affected by it. The latter would, perhaps, object just now to a strong executive, but they are no more ready for a weak, vacillating legislative majority, or for party managers who do not know what they are driving at and handle their tools clumsily, than the Republicans are. The Democratic rank and file were undoubtedly vexed and humiliated by the way the chiefs allowed themselves to be "euchred" in the last Presidential canvass and count, and in the after-negotiations for the purchase of the carpet-baggers; and this vexation and humiliation are likely to be much increased by the recent performances in Congress. The only excuse for not being practical in politics which the average American voter will accept, is goodness. He pardons simplicity and stupidity in a truly good man; but he cannot pardon it in a man who sets up to be as smart as anybody, and full of resource, and not particular about means, and yet allows himself to be foiled by his enemies in everything he undertakes. The Democrats might have retired from the present attempts at legislation with excellent materials for an appeal to the people, had they retired before a simple veto on an independent measure. But they retire now, in spite of all they can say, with the air of being very weak and of having been found out; which is a very unpleasant predicament for either a party or a man.

RELIGIOUS BELLICOSENESS.

A CORRESPONDENT, writing from Illinois, whose letter we publish on another page, takes a somewhat gloomy view of the future relations of the Northern and Southern States of the Union—gloomier, we feel sure, than the facts will warrant. But that he has touched on one of the great obstacles in the way of the restoration of harmony can hardly be denied. The principal one we still hold to be the humane interest of the North in the condition of the negro. This would be, however, we have little doubt, a healing influence rather than an irritating influence, if the negro's condition imposed the same duties and responsibilities on all parts of the Union. But it is one of the misfortunes of the negro problem that it presents itself in a different way to each of the two great divisions of whites who have to effect a common solution of it. The Northern people, who have the fairest conception of the negro's rights and take the most hopeful view of his future, and have much more experience and patience than Southerners in dealing with helplessness and misfortune, have and can have no direct part in his social training. Moreover, they are completely exempt from the conse-

quences of his mental and moral defects—almost as much so as if he lived in Mexico.

The place of actual contact with him and direct experience of the difficulty of working with him would, however, be readily supplied by sympathetic imagination if it were not for the way in which his emancipation was brought about. If the Southern whites were simply countrymen of another region afflicted with an immense mass of ignorance and pauperism, there would be a larger amount at the North of that silent toleration which is now accorded to the groans of the Californian over the Chinese, and of the Western man over the Indians. Good people in this part of the country might not approve of their state of mind about the negro or of their method of dealing with him, but there would be a great deal of covert patience with it, and a great deal of reluctance to criticise it in too absolute a temper. The fact that the Southern white was recently a public enemy deprives him of the benefit of this toleration and turns all presumptions against him, and makes all his difficulties with the negro wear the air, not of struggles of an ill-trained man with a social problem which would disorganize any State at the North, but of efforts to get rid of the legitimate consequences of a bloody revolt brought on by himself. These things make the situation at the South in many ways unique, and suggest the question whether any change so likely to exert a wholesome influence on public opinion could occur as the diffusion of the negroes through the whole country in equal proportions. In this way the responsibilities and duties which his emancipation has created would be diffused, and it is only through the actual pressure of duties and responsibilities that political judgment is steadied and clarified, and political temper sweetened. If this could be done—that is, if the migration from the South could be greatly enlarged, and directed to other States as well as Kansas—we should probably witness the complete disappearance of the colored man from politics, because no part of the country would be left in the very undesirable position of a mere critic of the doings of other parts in his behalf.

But it is none the less true that, as our correspondent says, a good deal of the continuance of the bellicose spirit is due to the permanence among religious people of what may be called the mediæval view of war. In the Middle Ages the public enemy was not simply a rival or competitor or disputant; he was a criminal person, on whom defeat was a piece of divine chastisement. The object of fighting him, too, was not simply to dispossess him of something, or to prevent his seizing something, but to make him suffer. The war against him was carried on partly in the spirit of a crusade and partly of a family feud, and no end of it was considered satisfactory which did not leave him in a state of wretchedness. In the eyes of the modern statesman and professional soldier, however, war is simply a necessary mode of settling a controversy—a rough, brutal, and unsatisfactory mode, the rancor and destructiveness of which ought to be confined within the narrowest limits possible. This view, however, is somewhat hard for men who make the cultivation of moral earnestness their first duty, and they find it all the more difficult the deeper their sense of close relation to the Almighty.

It is very difficult, too, for any man who approaches duties or responsibilities in the absolute temper which a strong sense of Divine guidance gives, to bring himself to believe that when he passed three years in anything so solemn and serious as killing people, he was simply engaged in deciding which of two ways of working out a political question should prevail. There is something shocking to such a man in admitting that his enemies were, perhaps, after all good fellows, and that as long as the question was settled, the fewer of them there were killed and the sooner we made friends with the survivors the better. The following extract from the refusal of the Rev. J. H. Acton, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to deliver an oration on Decoration Day, which curiously corroborates our correspondent's view, is clearly the utterance of one who fought as the Hebrew or mediæval soldier fought, not that he might live afterwards in peace and friendship with his enemy, but that he might get rid of him eternally. He cannot understand his being allowed to show himself in Congress any more than a Zulu can understand the European custom of taking prisoners:

"We are still on picket. The war is not over. The distant mutter of the conflict can still be heard. We are yet to lay other treasures away in the grave, murdered on the altar of revolution. We cannot insult our comrades; over their graves, before the God of the nation, we have sworn allegiance to the cause for which they died, and stand ready for the next bugle-call. But we have never scattered flowers and never will until the right shall finally triumph, and the enemies of our common country are driven from the place of power. Let the dead sleep. We are ashamed publicly to speak of their heroism in the history of to-day. They have passed beyond the stench and corruption, the flies and the maggots, the hunger and thirst under burning Southern suns, and no longer ask aught of us. Our heart aches. It is all a huge farce. A righteous indignation consumes us. The Government is heartlessly cruel; it called them to sacrifices a thousand times more terrible than the Juggernaut, and has forgotten the purchase price. The enemies who followed them with bloodhounds now seek the life of the nation, and orate the principles of the rebellion in the Senate chamber. No! We scorn this empty offering. Turn out these rebels; tear down their flags; send traitors where they belong; and God will carry the flowers in the deft fingers of the sunshine and the raindrop, and will weave wreaths and garlands by the agency of the winds, and will make melody by the orchestra of all nature. Until then we shall leave our harp on the willows, and continue to cry out, 'How long, O Lord! holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them?'"

Of course this way of looking at war is really utterly uncharacteristic of the American people. The way peace was made and the vanquished South was treated was perhaps the most striking illustration possible of the completeness with which the modern idea of war has taken hold of the popular mind. There is least rancor between the men who fought in the opposing armies, and not enough among any class of men to make it possible to inflict pains and penalties on anybody. But there is enough earnestness among the more religious classes to give, in combination with the memories of the war, a bellicose cast to their humane interest in the blacks, and make it easy to divide parties on the old war lines. The more thoughtful and better educated ministers are, of course, not to be placed in this category. A man who puts much mind into his religion, and who has looked back much on the long march of the race in the past, knows that after the solemn and sacred duty of fighting which every man owes to his country and kind, comes the equally solemn and sacred duty of laying aside the fighting spirit. It is no service to either God or man, and can be no service, to keep cherishing the recollection that you did a good thing at one time in blowing the heads off certain of your fellow-Christians and tearing out their stomachs with shells, or to think every time you look at the survivors that it would be a good thing if you could get a similar chance at *their* bodies. It is not in this way that religion and humanity have been most helped. They owe their greatest advances to the gladness of those who fought that fighting was over, and to their strong and often painful efforts to put aside all thoughts and all words and all passions which seemed likely to make fighting again necessary.

Considering how easily the spirit of hatred between communities is cultivated, how prone men are to it, what unnumbered woes it has inflicted on mankind, and what a terrible struggle all the intellectual and moral agencies of the world have had in subduing it, there is something almost ludicrous in the spectacle of a minister of Christ recalling his feats on the battle-field in a burst of dithyrambic passion, and encouraging people to look to more slaughter as a means of improving the moral condition of their enemies. For the fault we all find with the Southerners now is not that they are maintaining an institution we do not like, or that they are meditating a political revolution, but that they are not better men, more law-abiding, more faithful to their contracts, and kinder to the poor and dependent. There is a touch of satanic irony in the appearance of professing Christians as promoters of a desire to improve them by lacerating their bodies with deadly weapons and burning their houses.

THE LONDON THEATRES.

LONDON, May 24, 1879.

MR. MATTHEW ARNOLD, in his volume of 'Mixed Essays,' lately published, in speaking somewhere of some of the less creditable features of English civilization, alludes to the British theatre as "probably the most contemptible in Europe." The judgment is a harsh one, but he would be a bold man who, looking round him at the condition of the London stage at the present moment, should attempt to gainsay it. I have lately made a point of gathering such impressions on the subject as were easily obtainable, and a brief record of them may not be without interest. The first impression one receives in England on turning one's attention at all in this direction, is that a very large number of people are doing the same. The theatre just now is the fashion, just as "art" is the fashion and just as literature is not. The English stage has probably never been so bad as it is at present, and at the same time there probably has never been so much care about it. It sometimes seems to an observer of English customs that this interest in histrionic matters almost reaches the proportions of a mania. It pervades society—it breaks down barriers. If you go to an evening party, nothing is more probable than that all of a sudden a young lady or a young gentleman will jump up and strike an attitude and begin to recite a poem or a speech. Every pretext for this sort of exhibition is ardently cultivated, and the London world is apparently filled with stage-struck young persons whose relatives are holding them back from a dramatic career by the skirts of their garments. Plays and actors are perpetually talked about, private theatricals are incessant, and members of the dramatic profession are "received" without restriction. They appear in society, and the people of society appear on the stage; it is as if the great gate which formerly divided the theatre from the world had been lifted off its hinges. There is, at any rate, such a passing to and fro as has never before been known; the stage has become amateurish and society has become professional. There are various explanations of this state of things, of which I am far from expressing disapproval; I mention it only because, superficially, it might seem that the theatre would have drawn strength from this large development of public favor. It is part of a great general change which has come over English manners—of the confusion of many things which forty years ago were kept very distinct. The world is being steadily democratized and vulgarized, and literature and art give their testimony to the fact. The fact is better for the world perhaps, but I question greatly whether it is better for art and literature; and therefore it is that I was careful to say just now that it is only *superficially* that one might expect to see the stage elevated by becoming what is called the fashion. They are in the truth of the matter very much more in France. In France, too, the democratizing, vulgarizing movement, the confusion of kinds, is sufficiently perceptible; but the stage has still, and will probably long have, the good fortune of not becoming the fashion. It is something at once more and less than the fashion, and something more respectable and permanent, and a part of the national life. It is a need, a constant habit, enjoying no fluctuations of credit. The French esteem the theatre too much to take rash liberties with it, and they have a wholesome dread, very natural in an artistic people, of abusing the source of their highest pleasure. Recitations, readings, private theatricals, public experiments by amateurs who have fallen in love with the footlights, are very much less common in France than in England, and of course still less common in the United States. Another fact that helps these diversions to flourish in England is the immense size of society, the prevalence of country life, the existence of an enormous class of people who have nothing in the world to do. The famous "leisure class," which is the envy and admiration of so many good Americans, has certainly invented a great many expedients for getting through the time; but there still remains for this interesting section of the human race a considerable danger of being bored, and it is to escape this danger that many of the victims of leisure take refuge in playing at histrionics.

In France (as I spoke just now of France) the actor's art, like the ancient arts and trades, is still something of a "mystery"—a thing of technical secrets, of special knowledge. This kind of feeling about it is inevitably much infringed when it becomes the fashion, in the sense that I have alluded to, and certainly the evidences of training—of a school, a discipline, a body of science—are on the English stage conspicuous by their absence. Of how little the public taste misses these things or perceives the need of them, the great and continued success of Mr. Henry Irving is a striking example. I shall not here pretend to judge Mr. Irving; but I may at least say that even his most ardent admirers would probably admit that he is an altogether irregular performer, and that an artistic education has had little to do with the results that he presents to the public. I do not mean by this, of course, that he has not had plenty of practice; I mean simply that he is an actor who, in default of any help rendered him, any control offered him by the public taste, by an ideal in the public mind, has had to get himself together and keep himself together as he could. He is at present the principal "actuality" of the London stage, and his prosperity has taken a fresh start with his having at the beginning of the winter established a theatre of his own and obtained the graceful assistance of Miss Ellen Terry. I say I shall not pretend to judge Mr. Irving, because I am aware that I must in the nature of the case probably do him injustice. His starting-point is so perfectly opposed to any that I find conceivable that it would be idle to attempt to appreciate him. In the opinion of many people the basis, the prime condition, of acting is the art of finished and beautiful utterance—the art of speaking, of saying, of diction, as the French call it; and such persons find it impossible to initiate themselves into any theory of the business which leaves this out of account. Mr. Irving's theory eliminates it altogether, and there is perhaps a great deal to be said for his point of view. I must, however, leave the task of elucidating it to other hands. He began the present season with a revival of "Hamlet"—a part, one would say, offering peculiar obstacles to treatment on this system of the unimportance of giving value to the text; and now, for some weeks past, he has been playing the "Lady of Lyons" with great success. To this success Miss Ellen Terry has very considerably contributed. She is greatly the fashion at present, and she belongs properly to a period which takes a strong interest in æsthetic furniture, archæological attire, and blue china. Miss Ellen Terry is "æsthetic"; not only her garments but her features themselves bear the stamp of the new enthusiasm. She has a charm, a great deal of a certain amateurish, angular grace, a total want of what the French call *chic*, and a countenance very happily adapted to the expression of pathetic emotion. To this last effect her voice also contributes; it has a sort of monotonous husky thickness which is extremely touching, though it gravely interferes with the modulation of many of her speeches. Miss Terry, however, to my sense, is far from having the large manner, the style and finish, of a *comédienne*. She is the most pleasing and picturesque figure upon the English stage, but the other night, as I sat watching the "Lady of Lyons," I said to myself that her charming aspect hardly availed to redeem the strange, dingy grotesqueness of that decidedly infelicitous drama.

The two best theatres in London are the Court and the Prince of Wales's, and the intelligent playgoer is supposed chiefly to concern himself with what takes place at these houses. It is certainly true that at either house you see the London stage at its best; they possess respectively the two most finished English actors with whom I am acquainted. Mr. Arthur Cecil, at the Prince of Wales's, has a ripeness and perfection of method which reminds me of the high finish of the best French acting. He is an artist in very much the same sense that Got and Coquelin are artists. The same may be said of Mr. Hare at the Court, whose touch is wonderfully light and unerring. Indeed, for a certain sort of minute, almost painter-like elaboration of a part that really suits him, Mr. Hare is very remarkable. But the merits of these two actors, and those of some of their comrades at either theatre, only serve to throw into relief the essential weakness of the whole institution—the absolute poverty of its repertory. When Matthew Arnold speaks of the "contemptible" character of the contemporary English theatre, he points of course not merely at the bad acting which is so largely found there; he alludes also to its perfect literary nudity. Why it is that in the English language of our day there is not so much even as an unsuccessful attempt at a dramatic literature—such as is so largely visible in Germany and Italy, where "original" plays, even though they be bad ones, are produced by the hundred—this is quite a question by itself, and one that it would take some space to glance at. But it is sufficiently obvious that the poverty of the modern English theatre is complete, and it is equally obvious that the theatre is all one—that the drama and the stage hold together. There can be no serious school of acting unless there is a dramatic literature to feed it; the two things act and react upon each other—they are a reciprocal inspiration and encouragement. Anything less inspiring than the borrowed wares, vulgarized and distorted in the borrowing, upon which the English stage of to-day subsists, cannot well be imagined. Coarse adaptations of French comedies, with their literary savor completely evaporated, and their form and proportions quite sacrificed to the queer obeisances they are obliged to make to that incongruous phantom of a morality which

has not wit enough to provide itself with an entertainment conceived in its own image—this is the material on which the actor's spirit is obliged to exert itself. The result is natural enough, and the plays and the acting are equally crude.

There can be no better proof of the poverty of the repertory than the expedients to which the Court and the Prince of Wales's have been reduced during the present winter. The Court has been playing a couple of threadbare French pieces of twenty and thirty years ago—a stiff translation of Scribe's "Bataille de Dames," and a commonplace version of a commonplace drama entitled "Le Fils de Famille." Scribe's piece is a clever light comedy—it is still sometimes played at the Théâtre Français ; but it belongs at this time of day quite to the dramatic scrap-bag. There is something pitiful in seeing it dragged into the breach and made to figure for weeks as the stock entertainment at one of the two best English theatres. At the Prince of Wales's they have been playing all winter and are still playing Robertson's "Caste"—a piece of which, in common with the other productions of the same hand, it is only possible to say that it belongs quite to the primitive stage of dramatic literature. It is the infancy of art ; it might have been written by a clever under-teacher for representation at a boarding-school. At the Criterion there is a comedy entitled "Truth," by an American author, Mr. Bronson Howard. Even the desire to speak well of American productions is insufficient to enable me to say that Mr. Bronson Howard offers a partial contradiction to Matthew Arnold's dictum. "Truth" may be an "original" drama ; I know nothing of its history ; but it produces the effect of the faint ghost of any old conventional French vaudeville—the first comer—completely divested of intellectual garniture, reduced to its simplest expression, and diluted in British propriety. XX.

SOME RECENT PESSIMISTIC THEORIES.

BERLIN, May 11, 1879.

THERE is probably no word in common use of such vague and indeterminate sense as the word "pessimist." A trenchant critic, a political malcontent or member of the opposition ; a philosophic man of what the phrenologists call the purely bilious type, who can no more help questioning ultra-utopian expectations, whether of this or another life, than he can stop thinking ; a scholar of retired leisure, whose greatest enjoyment is in seriously contemplating the enjoyment of others—all these we often see disposed of under the same category as the homeless, penniless, consumptive Leopardi, who seems to curse Nature herself as not merely indifferent but hostile, that his daily prayer for death was not sooner answered ; or Lenau, who cultivated a pantheistic *Weltschmerz*, wandering among primeval forests ; or the now only amusing Schopenhauer, who, had he been logically loyal to his own premises, would have committed suicide by starvation. Pessimism of some type is fast becoming the confessed creed of those who experience the inevitable reaction of a precocious culture, or find themselves falling behind in the struggles of survival ; of those whose superficial mental culture has left the heart untouched by all the great enthusiasms of humanity, and who have, perhaps unconsciously, adopted the maxim of the cynic, *Dum ridet philosophatur;* of those who have been suddenly awakened to a realizing sense that their early ideals, standards, and creed have been lost without being replaced by others, that the present is all man is sure of, and that they are unfairly handicapped in the world's hunt for pleasure and money. All this is infinitely removed from the tone of those who, from experiencing the limitations of knowledge and the perplexities of duty which only those know who have faced ultimate problems of science or of conduct, have had their mind and character tempered with a serious earnestness to which the current optimism of the day seems shallow and flippant. With this reminder we will leave the reader to determine for himself among the following speculations how much is temperamental, pathological, or truly philosophical, a task for which even Mr. Sully has given us very inadequate categories.

Julius Bahnsen is the only genius among the philosophic pessimists. In a series of papers appearing at intervals during the last ten years,* written in the most bizarre style, full of original, tropic imagery, the sentences fairly shattered with dashes, parentheses, etc., and in which all the best *aperçus* must be laboriously read in between the lines, he has elaborated a system of philosophy which teaches that "self-torture is the self-end" of all things. The phrase that this is the worst of all possible worlds he takes in bitter earnest, and instead of finding a wholesome tragic stimulus in the fact, as Hartmann says we should, he finds it depressing to the verge of desperation. The misery is universal and endless. His miserabilism is not merely pathological, but sometimes actually hysterical. There is an immanent teleology in his universe, but it is not merely alogical but anti-logical, and even anti-causal. Its development is dialectic in a sense, and its self-expositions are disintegrating. Sin, disease, and imperfection are alike guilty, for they result from the "prenatal acts of choice of our germinal individuality," which determined even our existence. Yet we know nothing of the beginning or end of things ; no man has torn the veil of Maya from more than his eyes. Characters are the ultimate forms of existence we know in the world, and he describes with wonderful sagacity and acuteness sixteen ground types, each of which is further distinguished by different degrees of energy and by "eucholia and dischola." If the world is monistic and develops, it is best to fancy will its substance and the idea its accident. It is true that all the antinomies are from the *Gemüth*, which, while it is the great oracle of pantheism in the soul, nevertheless compels the author to the eternal self-torture of making psychological analyses of his own mind and heart with increasing fineness and painfulness, until he has come to hate the very word healthy.

Another popular work by a friend of Hartmann* argues that the "harmony of the cosmos is the result of an indirect selection by the elimination of those heavenly bodies unfitted to survive." Myriads of ripe and unripe worlds were resolved back into cosmic mist by collisions, and the few billion stars we know of are the sporadic survivals, which chanced to have, or to be attracted into, the fittest orbit-paths. Countless others have wandered off into space or fallen back into their suns without attaining a steady balance between centripetal and centrifugal forces, while still more, revolving in parabolic or other orbits, were soon crumbled by the great difference of temperature between perihelion and aphelion. Venus, Earth, Mars, Moon, asteroids, meteors, comets, gas represent the decaying phases of planetary life. Assuming sensation as a fundamental property of matter, he argues that in a universe of perfect harmony the sum of atomic pain is reduced to a minimum, but as every series is sure to be sooner or later, as ours now is, a declining one, so we must face the fact that our world is slowly but surely approaching the "absolute pain of atomic disintegration." Although the physical organization of the inhabitants of other planets may be quite different from our own, we still know through the spectroscope enough of the physical conditions of life upon them to be sure that there, as here, evil and pain preponderate as a general law of nature.

In another large volume written three or four years ago, and published under an assumed name,† it is urged that God must be conceived as the primal undifferentiated ground and substance of all things. Not content with even such a negativity, he willed that, instead of his blank and empty being, absolutely nothing should exist. Creation and the world-process is the gradual accomplishment of this divine self-decreed annihilation. Instead of Schopenhauer's will to live he postulates a *will to die*, as the equally universal and immanent agent of all change. In all we do we are unconsciously willing death. The individualization of being—from atoms up to man and human institutions—and the friction and conflict between these specific forms of existence are characterized with great detail as the well-chosen and effectual means of this torturing "suicide of the absolute." The author exults that he has no children, and that nature has never seduced him to commit "that act which is the epitome of the world process." Celibacy is the highest or "absolute duty" for all.

Among the politico-social speculations of pessimism we will notice but two. The first is a pamphlet conspicuous in the window of every book-shop, and which in two or three months has reached a sixth edition.‡ It is written in a racy and extravagant style "from the stand-point of a resigned pessimism." Since political disabilities were removed from the Jews in 1848, Germany, we are told, has waged a relentless thirty years' war with her immense Jewish population. The latter have slowly monopolized the fine arts, the more experimental sciences, the larger industries, and at last the German parliament, and more than three-fourths of the German political press. The secret of Bismarck's successes is that he knows how to play into the hands of Jewish interests. The hostility against Wagner's music is all dictated by Jews because he represents pure Germanism. Semitic toughness and genius have been too much for

* 'Beiträge zur Charakterologie.'

* 'Der Kampf um's Dasein am Himmel. Versuch einer Philosophie der Astronomie. Von Dr. Karl Freiherr du Prel. 1876. Pp. 369.

† 'Philosophie der Erlösung.' Von Philipp Mailänder.

‡ 'Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum; vom nicht confessionellen Standpunkt aus betrachtet.' Von W. Marr.

the Teutonic spirit. The materialism of public opinion, which is manufactured only in the interests of speculation, the dead formality of the recent issueless parliamentary debates upon proposed usury laws, the articles of the Berlin Congress, and the hard times since the war with France, especially the last seven lean years, are all due to Jewish agency and influence. Germany is already subjugated under a foreign yoke. The decomposing mission of the "absolute individualism" of the Hebrew race, who are the "moneyed Internationals" of Western Europe, will end with the helotage of its native population in a sort of occidental New Palestine. Thus, and not by a return to Jerusalem, will prophecy be fulfilled. As the Christians penetrated and at last revolutionized the pagan world, so the Jews are revolutionizing the Christian world after and in return for two thousand years of persecution and dispersion. To the advent of the pure Slavic races the author looks for ultimate deliverance from impending "Jewish Cæsarism."

Another recent, scholarly and much read work* contains some pessimistic strictures on the United States. America, it is said, is not an illustration of the westward course of empire, but it presents an entirely new line of development, with new problems, new ideals, and new dangers. Our politics, moreover, is of a scarcely higher order than that of South America; party rule has become the rule of "bosses," which are compared with the "tyrants" of Greek history. Corruption, moral, social, and political, is sure to result from suddenly increased facilities for intercourse, which causes a struggle for survival among the customs, ideals, and convictions of races, localities, etc. Only an ethnically pure people can survive the influences of modern life. This we are least of all nations fitted to do. The stultifying effects of religious superstition, and the disposition to judge of the value of education solely by the advantage it gives in money-getting, and the practice of abortion, are much exaggerated and condemned. The decrease in the ratio of native births and the preponderance of female infants, it is urged, indicate a stage of national physiological decay, while the position of woman, whether emancipated and on the platform or at the *head* of her own household, is calculated to give a prominence and an authority to the sentimental and personal view of things most prejudicial to rational culture and to progress.

The above views are perhaps all about equally extravagant. Most of the many writers upon the subject consider the condition of the universe far less desperate. Dr. Hartsen (Catholic) and Rev. A. Knauer (Protestant) admit that the world is as depraved and miserable as any pessimist could wish, but only to argue therefrom the certainty of blessedness in a future life; while I. Volkelt, admitting the present truth of pessimism, thinks that, in the future, happiness will come to preponderate over pain, because while "experience is pessimistic, reason is optimistic in spite of experience." Dr. L. Weis believes that pain has been in excess in the past, but that now the balance begins to incline slightly towards the side of happiness.

After turning all these dreary pages we are less able than ever to treat the problem seriously. We cannot decide whether wretchedness preponderates by a show of hands, we are told, for there are many *unconscious* pessimists; nor have we any test of the quality or measure of the quantity of happiness, for, if pleasures may be imaginary, so may pains. Some of the above theories concern intellectual problems of vast moment, but they do not affect the question whether happiness is to be tediously cultivated as a virtue or an art, or whether it is simply the natural and abounding "sense of life, transcending every special form of pleasure." And yet, when we find such books as we have characterized marked and dirtied by use in the public libraries, and so eagerly discussed in periodicals and in cultivated society, we are compelled to believe that the deepest and broadest of all possible philosophical problems are gradually taking shape and form; and that a new, comprehensive, and *popular* answer to the ultimate questions of life and destiny may before long become imperative for the preservation of moral and social order between modern civilization and lawless democracy.

* Hellwald's 'Cultur-Geschichte,' Bd. II.

Correspondence.

PURE LINE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: May I find place in your columns for brief answer to a remark in your review of my article on "Art in Engraving on Wood"—viz., that "the detail and definition of Bewick and his school seem opposed to the practice of tint-drawing which Mr. Linton recommends."

On the contrary, the drawings of the Bewick school were, I believe, without exception, tint-drawings; the details and defining lines left absolutely to the artist-engraver. My purpose in writing that article was criticism of the "new departure," and I had not space for more than a passing, and perhaps insufficient, explanation of the value of Bewick's work and the meaning of *drawing with the graver*. I may yet find opportunity of adding to what I have already said on that subject. More seems needed, if only to prevent such misuse of words as occurs in this same June number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, where the editor, reviewing the new edition of Longfellow, says that "all but two of the pictures here are executed in pure line," adding the publishers' assurance of the same character to be maintained throughout the work. If this means only that the fine-tooth comb will not be used, so far well; *pure line*, however, has an exacter meaning, which the plausive and promising reviewer may have yet to find out. W. J. Linton.

New Haven, Conn., June 2, 1879.

JEWISH OFFICE-HOLDERS IN GERMANY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Respecting your remark in your article in No. 727 of the *Nation*, entitled "Reaction in Germany," "It will be long before an Israelite can be minister in Germany," I beg to state that the Minister of Finance of the Grand Duchy of Baden, Mr. Ellstaedter, is a Jew. He has held the position for the last fifteen years, antedating at least seven years the "Semitic" era of German Parliamentarism.

While I admit the existence of great prejudice against the Jew in Germany, still, according to my humble opinion, the German people would gracefully submit to the infliction of at least Mr. Bamberger, should it please Jupiter Bismarck to so dispose. He may try for a year or two the Egyptian theory of seclusion, but eventually he will have to return to the "Semitic theories." He cannot suppress these theories, nor can he get rid of their propagators by the simple processes of the Middle Ages, and it may come to pass yet that he will have to choose his support among the children of Jehovah.

Most respectfully yours,

J. Schoenhof.

New York, June 6, 1879.

GEGENBAUR'S ANATOMY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The statement in the *Nation* of last week that Parker was ignored in Gegenbaur's 'Anatomy' was mistaken. Repeated and full references are made to him, as will be seen on pages 455, 457, and 463. Parker's contributions to our knowledge of the development of the skull are of the utmost value, and the omission of his name in such a work would have indicated a serious one-sidedness in the references, which run up to over two hundred. As an indication of the general fairness of the references in this book, and as showing the work the different countries are doing in this direction, the following comparison is made with the references in Huxley's 'Anatomy of Invertebrated Animals' (1877). The number of names in the latter amounts to one hundred and fifty:

	Germany and Austria.	Great Britain and Ireland.	France.	Russia.	Netherlands.	United States.	Scandinavia.	Italy.	Switzerland.
Huxley	38	21	17	6	5	5	2	3	3
Gegenbaur	41	19	18	4	4	3	4	3	2

This is based on the residence of the persons referred to, the numbers indicating the percentages. If the comparison were made upon the last ten years alone, the older references being discarded, the United States would be represented by a slightly greater number. X.

[Our correspondent—who, though he does not sign his name, is a well-known American comparative anatomist—has our thanks for showing the need for qualification of the statement concerning Parker. The remark referred to the "General Bibliography of Vertebrates" upon pp. 412 and 413, where his name does not occur. We had overlooked the references at the end of sections, and on page 444, in addition to those mentioned by our correspondent.

Even here, however, the great work on the 'Shoulder-girdle and Sternum' is referred to under "Sternum" only, and we look in vain for allusion to the papers on the skulls of birds (1873 and 1875), urodela (1876), sharks and skates (1876), and pig (1873), all of which were published, or widely announced as presented, before the date of the author's Preface.

As to the proportion of American references, we can only regret to believe the correctness of our correspondent's figures. But the student of vertebrate anatomy in this country will certainly be surprised at the lack of reference to Agassiz's volumes on turtles, to Wyman's 'Development of the Skate' and 'Nervous System of the Frog,' or to the anatomico-palæontological labors of Leidy, Cope, and Marsh, although fossil "birds with teeth" are mentioned. In short, we believe that for both justice and the highest usefulness the bibliography should have been either approximately complete, as in Owen's 'Vertebrates,' or confessedly rudimentary, as in Huxley's volume upon the same group.—Ed. Nation.]

SOURCES OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HISTORY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your correspondent "A. D." speaks of Mr. Edward Everett Hale's omission of some of the sources of Spanish-American history, especially in regard to documents touching the early history of New Mexico and Arizona. With the exception of the narratives of Cabeza de Vaca and Castañeda's story of Coronado's march, and the itinerary of Father Kino, I know of little of consequence that has been published.

The object of this note is to call the attention of archæologists to a large mass of historical material that exists in Mexico. The first explorers and missionaries to New Mexico were Franciscan friars. This was also the case in Arizona, but they were there subsequently supplanted by the Jesuits. The father-house and headquarters of the "Friars Minor" was at Querétaro, in Mexico. Among the archives of these enterprising religious at that city there was, and doubtless is, a large mass of documents of the greatest interest touching the early Spanish-American history of New Mexico especially. These, with the monuments of the order, will in time pass into decay or be forgotten. It would not be difficult for an American antiquarian to procure copies of these. Nor do I think it would be expensive.

There has been no ecclesiastical record of any consequence left by the order in New Mexico. The present secular clergy of the country have never cared a straw about such things. Everything was sent back to Mexico, and there is a rich mine for the archæologist.

Your obedient servant,

Lewis Kennon, A.M.

Fort Bayard, New Mexico, April 27, 1879.

[Mr. Kennon is correct as to the Franciscans having been *the* missionaries of Mexico. But Castañeda and Father Kino are not the only published works "of consequence." We can point, for instance, to Herrera, also to Gomara, Oviedo y Valdés, to the fragments of the 'Historia de la Nueva-Galicia' written by Fray Antonio Tello, published in the second volume of Sr. Icazbalceta's 'Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México,' and to the 'Historia de la Nueva-Galicia,' by Don Fray Matias de la Mota-Padilla.

The great convent of the Franciscans at the City of Mexico was, in September, 1856, barbarously sacked by order of the "liberal" government, and the archives could only be saved in part. The same thing had happened to the convent of the Jesuits in 1750, at that time by order of the royal government of Spain. In 1792 the following documents relating to New Mexico were gathered in the great convent "de N. S. P. S. Francisco de México" and sent to Spain, where they formed a part of the collection of Juan Bautista Muñoz: "Relacion del Nuevo-México," by Father Gerónimo de Zarate; "Restoration of New Mexico," by Diego de Vargas Zapata; "Report on New Mexico," by Fray Alonzo de Posadas; two volumes of papers on New Mexico, numbering 372 pages; several other documents on New Biscaya, Sinaloa, and Sonora. Of the collection then formed three copies were made, consisting each of thirty-two volumes. Two of these copies remained in Mexico, and one of them is still in the General Archives, complete with the exception of the first volume. The copy which once existed at the Franciscan convent has disappeared completely, the several volumes being scattered into private hands at various times. It is doubtful, therefore, if, aside from the Spanish copy and the Mexican copy, much of importance can yet be *easily* found. There is no doubt, however, that vast materials are still in existence which it will be troublesome to gather. If the enterprise called the 'Biblioteca Mexicana,' edited by Señor Vigil, continues to prosper, we may yet hope for the speedy publication of much valuable material.—Ed. Nation.]

PERMANENT CAUSES OF SECTIONAL DIVISION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I remember that the *Nation* not long since, in an article upon Southern frauds, spoke of the "humane feeling" of the North towards the negroes as being, "after all, the most persistent force in Northern society." It has been a frequent thought of mine for many years, and one that I have more than once expressed in nearly your own language, that hatred of the Southern whites is the "most reliable force in Northern society." And in passing I will call your attention to the confirmation of my view of the matter furnished by the expressions collated in your article of a month ago, entitled "Hoosier Notions of a Republican Chief Magistrate." I predicted when Mr. Hayes entered upon his policy of pacification that he would fail utterly in bringing his party over to his views, for the reason that you cannot take the animating spirit out of a body and expect it to live. There is certainly a very large section of the Republican party—and it is the section which gives vital force to the party—to which there is no more chilling thought than that of pacification. It does not believe the Southerners capable of "being good," nor does it desire any such consummation. Some of them hail the report of a Southern outrage as a "Copperhead" hailed a Southern victory during the war, and, in my opinion, would be willing—yes, anxious—to have just as many negroes murdered, every week in the year, as might be necessary to keep the North roused to the point of for ever voting the South down.

This feeling, according to my observation, has its fountain head in the churches. For, although I was born in a section of Connecticut where Democratic opinion prevailed in the churches, I have never seen anything like it elsewhere. Undoubtedly four-fifths of the members of Protestant churches are Republicans. In the Methodist, and perhaps one or two other denominations, I should say nine-tenths are Republicans. Now, if I can read the churchly and clerical mind, I should say, further, that an unwritten article of its creed, and, in these sceptical days an even more binding than any written one, is, that Southern people are sinners, and that it is the duty of good Christians so to vote as to teach them that fact. This they have uniformly done. They did it when slavery existed, and even when they held slaves themselves, and they do it now. They did it as Federalists, as Whigs, as Republicans, and will do it again under some new name whenever the time comes. The strength of their animosity is such that it hallows, in their minds, the character and words of such men as Chandler, Morton, Logan, and Grant. Who does not remember how often, in his worst days and to the very last, Methodist conferences all over the country continued to endorse Grant? The same thing frequently happened in the case of Morton. And here in Illinois such an ignoramus as Logan is a pet of the Methodist Church. Bishop Fowler (now of New York) calls him a "Titan." And is it not plain, to-day, that these men—yes, and Republicans generally—wish to remand as many Southern States as is possible to negro and carpet-bag government? Take South Carolina as the extreme case. How many Republicans are there who, in full view of the disgraces of the past, in full view of legislative halls filled with men in whose presence John Morrissey and John Logan would pass for statesmen, in full view of the millions of debt saddled upon that State by the Parkers, Kimptons, Chamberlains, *et al.*—how many are there, I say, who would not to-morrow remand that State back to the same or an equally ruinous administration under plea of regard for the negro's rights? In fact, is not that precisely what their representatives are striving for in Washington at this moment; and is not the party gaining in strength daily upon this issue? And is not the President who displaced Packard and Chamberlain steadily yielding to them? Between two sections, one striving to force the other back to such a *régime* as that of from 1868 to 1876 in South Carolina, and

the latter resisting, is it possible that love or harmony can exist? *Ought* it not to be, rather, a death-struggle?

This seems, of course, like a Democratic argument; but it is not intended as such. Certainly there is little enough in the figure cut by that party at present to attract any one to it. When it surrendered to the greenback idea it deliberately abdicated all claim to respect, and destroyed its promise for the future. I have already spoken of the fact that the religious if not the moral forces of the North are mainly Republican, and full of animosity to the South. The Democratic party has so far lost its own self-respect, to say nothing of that of others, that its support is hardly more a help than a hurt to any cause. Its lack of moral force, even when in the right and in the majority, is illustrated daily before our eyes. A year ago the party redistricted Ohio, and indulged in a far from flagrant gerrymander. The State had been gerrymandered by the other side for a long period, and this was a clear case of tit-for-tat, such as might have been expected; yet to read three-fourths of the papers one would suppose the Democrats had for the first time in our history perpetrated a new and most outrageous political trick. Indiana had been for fifteen years and more outrageously gerrymandered by Mr. Morton and his followers, on both State and national representation. Yet a late attempt to retaliate in a less degree was long delayed and partly failed in a Democratic legislature, simply on account of the superior hue and cry which Republicans are always able to raise before the public. We see the same thing illustrated again in the case of contested Congressional seats. If the Democrats unseat an opponent, Republicans, fresh from their long series of similar practices, with the memorable case of Senator Stockton among them, make such an uproar as drowns Democratic defence at once, and persuades the country that the Democrats are inventing new and unheard-of villanies. Again, we see it in the case of the present contest in Congress. The attempt by the Democrats to compass the repeal of acts which, when passed, were so objectionable as to divide the party passing them, and were finally forced through by the same unparliamentary means now used to repeal, is denounced as "revolutionary" and unprecedented and monstrous, and the country seems to believe it. So little moral force, so little hold upon the public, has the Democratic party, people will hardly listen to it. The presumption is always against it. To use a negative illustration, it is somewhat in the position of an inebriate who would fain reform. To be seen taking a glass of wine injures his standing more than for a usually sober man to make an open night of it with his friends. This weak, discredited Democratic party is the only important influence which binds the sections—North and South—together. Remove it, and, for one, I fail to see what would be left but two warring sections which must, sooner or later, come to blows.

Returning now to the point at which I began, I repeat that it seems to me there is, and always has been, an inveterate animosity between the two sections. It is fully reciprocated at the South. At the North it is confined to about one-half the people; but that is the most influential, ruling half. At the South the feeling is almost unanimous among the whites. We once thought, or said, that slavery was the cause of it; but we see that it was not. It existed before the Revolution. It is not now declining. Was it brought over the ocean, an inheritance from Roundheads and Cavaliers? Is it ever to come to an end; and can these two great sections remain always united as things now are? We have heard much of the clasped hands over the bloody chasm; but it has been political ruin, and in many minds a smirched reputation, even to such old anti-slavery leaders as Chase and Seward, and Sumner and Greeley, and Adams and Trumbull, with many others who have attempted the feat.

For one, when I think about it all, I have my doubts as to the future. I query if the war was a finality. I even speculate as to whether the year 1961 will witness North and South a united nation. To speak seriously of a new civil war like the last is to entertain a terrible thought. Yet "the new rebellion" is daily dinned in our ears by vile demagogues who actually seem to try to provoke it. And I do not doubt there are thousands of shouting "loyalists" who positively desire it at the same moment they assure us it has already begun. Yet I think it may be safely doubted whether, even if assured of success, the North would be willing to enter upon such a task again. One such four years' test in a century is enough for any people.

Contemplation of such possibilities will perhaps raise the question whether our greatest danger lies in the semi-religious, sectional prejudices of Republican pietists, or in the economic ignorance of the Democratic rag, tag and bobtail. A study of history sheds a deal of light upon such a question. *

Notes.

HENRY HOLT & CO. will shortly add to their Leisure-Hour Series 'Maid, Wife, or Widow?' by Mrs. Alexander, and 'Delicia,' by the author of 'Miss Molly.' They announce that the important work on Yale College, in two volumes 4to, illustrated, now ready, will not be sold through the trade. We were in error in saying last week that their edition of Symonds's 'Renaissance' was printed from the English plates, the fact being, as we are informed, that the type was set and plates made in this country expressly for the edition. Our remark will, perhaps, be allowed to pass for a compliment.——J. B. Lippincott & Co. have in press 'Bodines; or, Camping on the Lycoming,' a practical guide to "camping out," by Dr. T. S. Up de Graff; and 'Great Authors of all Ages,' a selection of prose extracts by S. Austin Allibone.——R. Worthington publishes immediately a translation of the 'Souvenirs of Madame Le Brun,' the beautiful and accomplished artist whose long and happy life was nearly equally divided between the last century and the present. Her portrait will adorn the volume.——The notable features of the Supplement to Harvard College Library Bulletin No. 12 are a continuation of the Calendar of the Lee MSS., and conclusions of the catalogue of the Sumner Collection, of the bibliographical list of the Floras of Different Countries, and of the list of accessible scientific apparatus in our colleges, etc. The novelties are a list of the early editions of Spenser's poems; and Halliwelliana (by Mr. Winsor), brought down to 1851.——We have received from A. C. Armstrong & Son Part III. (Lenoir-Robbie) of the American Catalogue, the completion of the first volume of which is confidently expected within the next four months. It is unnecessary to repeat the praise which this admirable enterprise elicits at each new stage of its progress; but it is well to remind the general purchaser how far the catalogue is from being confined to original American works. The admirers of Moore, for instance, will find recorded here a great choice of editions, of which some are only nominally American.——We learn from the *Academy* that C. Kegan Paul & Co. have in preparation 'John Keats: a Study,' by Mrs. Owen; and from the same journal that an ineffectual attempt was made to procure a Civil-List pension for Keats's only sister, Mme. Fanny Keats de Llanos. An award of £150, however, having been made from the Queen's Bounty Fund, the memorialists have treated it as the nucleus of an adequate fund, and, having subscribed themselves, invite co-operation. Mr. W. M. Rossetti, 56 Euston Square, London, N. W., is of the committee to receive and acknowledge subscriptions.——*Polybiblion* for May has notices of several recent French works relating to this country: the Comte Louis de Turenne's 'Quatorze mois dans l'Amérique du Nord,' which takes an unfavorable view of our condition; Christophe Allard's 'Promenade au Canada et aux États-Unis,' too much given, we are told, "à l'admiration banale des voyageurs naïfs devant les Humbugs Yankees"; and 'Le Fondateur des Missions du Missouri-Central,' the Jesuit father Hélias d'Huddeghem, namely, who came to this country in 1833. *Polybiblion* also notices the publication by Didot of Montesquieu's 'Grandeur et Décadence des Romains,' with the hitherto unpublished notes of Frederic II., after the original captured at Potsdam by Napoleon. In the "Variétés" the bibliographical notes on the royal flight to Varennes in June, 1791, are concluded; and in the "Questions" a well-known scholar announces that he has encountered the word *philologie* in an unpublished letter of Joseph Scaliger's of 1577—a much earlier reference than Littré's, who quotes from Rollin's 'Ancient History.'——The annual meeting of the National Education Association will be held at Philadelphia on the last three days of July, and in connection with it the Spelling-Reform Association will also hold a session under the presidency of Prof. March, July 29 and 30. Addresses on the condition of the reform in America, by Prof. March, and in Germany and Europe by Prof. Brandt, are promised.——The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Science will be held at Saratoga in August, commencing August 27. Several geologic excursions, on Lakes George and Champlain, are contemplated. The headquarters of the Association will be at the United States Hotel.——J. W. Bouton announces that he has made arrangements for furnishing the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* to American subscribers at the yearly rate of fifteen dollars, postage included, along with the weekly *Chronique des Arts*. Mr. Bouton is also the agent of the *Portfolio* and of *L'Art*.

—Dr. Elliott Coues's Bibliographical Appendix to his 'Birds of the Colorado Valley,' which we lately reviewed, has proved the occasion of one of the highest compliments paid of recent years to American science. A memorial has been addressed to him, signed by Professor Flower, Huxley,

Darwin, Mivart, Wallace, Gould, Sclater, Guenther, Newton, and numerous other eminent English zoölogists, declaring his special fitness to undertake a complete Bibliography of Ornithology, and urging the importance—the indispensableness, in fact—of his visiting the older European libraries in order, for the non-American portion, to consult every work mentioned at first hand. They express the hope that the same official liberality which has permitted Dr. Coues to remain in Washington for the prosecution of his bibliographical labors, will grant him leave of absence and provide the means for carrying out the wishes of the memorialists; and they promise him a warm welcome to England and every assistance in their power. Such a call ought to be irresistible, and we have every reason to believe that it will be heeded.

—We are requested to state that the family of the late William Lloyd Garrison desire the loan, with the privilege of copying, of such of his private letters as have a *biographical* importance, especially for the early years of his life. These letters will be carefully returned according to the instructions of the lender. They may be sent to Mr. Francis J. Garrison, care of Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston.

—Director James T. Gardner's Report for 1878 of the New York State Survey recalls afresh the suggestive comparison between the accurate survey of the Moon's surface and what has hitherto passed for the survey of the first State in the Union. Two sheets accompany the report, embracing the interior belt from Albany to Rochester, on which the labors of the Survey have been chiefly bestowed. On these are set down only those "points, boundaries, and topographical features whose geographical positions are precisely known by trigonometrical measurement." So astonishingly few are these that, the United States Survey of the Lakes and the United States Coast Survey being excluded, the work of Mr. Gardner and his assistants during the past three years is all that saves the map from being a *tabula rasa*. But let us come down to particulars:

"The measurements embrace an area of about two thousand square miles in one of the most wealthy and populous parts of the State, containing two important cities and nearly two hundred villages and hamlets; yet every one of these towns is misplaced, from one to two miles, on all existing maps of the State, no trigonometrical determinations of latitude and longitude having ever before been made in the region."

"In the State Engineer and Surveyor's office there is no record of the true bearing and length of the lines which bound so important a county as Onondaga. After a careful search among the original notes of the lot surveys, I am unable to ascertain the area of this county within ten thousand acres."

"We have no reliable data by which to draw the course of even such rivers as the upper Hudson, the Mohawk, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, the Chemung, the Clyde, Seneca, or Oswego; nor do we know where to trace the shore-lines of Lake George, Oneida Lake, or the beautiful lakes Skaneateles, Owasco, Cayuga, Seneca, Crooked, or Canandaigua.

"The positions of such important places as Utica, Rome, Binghamton, Owego, Elmira, Canandaigua, and hundreds of other towns and villages, are equally undetermined in latitude and longitude, and cannot therefore be placed upon the map correctly."

"Our map shows that the distance from Albany to Auburn is a mile and a half less than given by French [1860]; that the breadth of the State from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario is three-quarters of a mile broader; and that the spot where French has placed the city of Oswego is really covered by the lake. No one can tell the endless errors, in minor detail, of a chart whose misplacements are counted by miles at the most important cities, and which puts the warehouses of Oswego in five fathoms of water. Yet such is to-day the best map of the State of New York."

In view of these facts, it is shameful that the work of the Survey has been retarded by delay in making the modest annual appropriation of $15,000, so that the season of field-work has been shortened, and even some economies prevented. Mr. Gardner cannot forbear to express his delight in the revelations each season of the "grandeur, beauty, and variety of the landscapes" observed in the prosecution of the work:

"Ideas of the aspects of the State derived from maps have, in my own case, proved to be so false and vague that I find in this survey the attractive novelty of exploring an unknown region. Colorado was not a greater surprise to me than has been the structure of my native State. . . . The configuration of a part of Central New York is as unique and as unknown to science as that of any part of the Rocky Mountains."

—The most entertaining papers in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1878, which have not been noticed by us before when published in pamphlet form, are the "Narrative of Jolley Allen," written by himself, and "Tutor Flynt's Journey to Portsmouth," written by his companion and driver, David Sewall, then an undergraduate in the class of John Adams, for whom this account seems to have been written in the author's old age. Jolley Allen was a noted Boston Tory: his nervous and ungrammatical style shows the querulous old man with admirable distinctness, and, to believe his own tale, he certainly was maltreated by the Americans as well as by fortune, from the time when the Boston Committee called on him to see where he bought his tea until he got safely on board the British fleet at New York. It would be a long story to tell how he put to sea with wife, children, and household goods in a ship whose captain and crew had never been on salt water for a week, and how the patriots of Cape Cod sacked his vessel, the General Court at Watertown completed his ruin, while the crowd at the court-house threatened him with unheard-of punishments, and the mobs of Shrewsbury marched him about in terror of his life; he lost his property, his wife, and eldest son, but he preserved his loyalty. The article deserves to be read as a lively sketch of one side of the Revolution which is not much dwelt on by American writers, and it is full of humorous incidents and human nature. Tutor Flynt's journey took place in 1754, when that somewhat famous bachelor was nearly eighty; it was made with a single horse and "chair," and along the route the travellers availed themselves of the hospitality of the clergy who had been educated at the college, and of whose family and social life we have here pleasant glimpses. Tutor Flynt is amusingly portrayed as a social man, given to much punch and the ladies' society, not above a questionable joke from the Scriptures when in his cups, and not too severe in the discipline of his classes if his own anecdotes are to be believed. Besides these articles there are some interesting letters of Andrew Eliot describing the days of the siege in Boston, a letter of Paul Revere describing his famous ride, Colonel Hutchinson's Orderly-Book, and memoirs of the Hon. B. R. Curtis, George Bemis, Hon. James Savage, and the historian Motley. There is a fine portrait of Motley, and the usual full index. The entire volume is one of extraordinary interest.

—Miss Ada Cavendish, like many other successful English actors and actresses of the present day, is asserted to have made her first entrance into theatrical life through the hospitable portals of burlesque. If true, this may almost be said to create a presumption in her favor, as so many instances at once recur to the mind of the theatre-goer of remarkable translations from the world of burlesque to that of tragedy and comedy. In fact, from a certain (perhaps heterodox) point of view, burlesque affords, in the present condition of the English stage, not a bad school of acting for beginners. As there are no traditions or preconceptions connected with it, no one can make a success in it without having some positive theatrical talent; and if this talent be of any magnitude, it is sure to push its possessor into better and more ambitious attempts. With regard to Miss Cavendish, however, we do not feel sure after seeing her in "As You Like It" whether Shaksperian comedy is exactly the kind of acting that her reputed success in burlesque qualified her for. The part of *Rosalind* is one which fires the ambition of all young actresses, as that of *Hamlet* does all young actors; we doubt if, on the whole, *Rosalind* is not the more difficult of the two parts to make a hit in. Mr. Lewes, in his clever essays on the stage, says somewhere that he never saw an altogether bad *Hamlet;* the play itself possessing such a profound and sombre interest and being so full of theatrical merits that it carries along any decently good actor, so as to make him seem for the time almost a distinguished tragedian. But with a light and fanciful comedy such as "As You Like It" there is no middle ground between success and failure. *Rosalind* is either before you in flesh and blood, or she is not there at all; and we do not mean to deny Miss Cavendish a great deal of ability as an actress if we say that she never once puts *Rosalind* before us. The part, difficult as it is, on account of the amount of fancy, grace, and vivacity required of the actor, is made still more out of ordinary reach by the extreme fastidiousness and prudishness of a modern audience. *Rosalind*, this erratic princess who takes to the life of an outlaw in man's attire, is not the product of a fastidious period, and is not herself a fastidious person. She says many things and listens to many more, without thinking any harm, which no well-conducted daughter of a modern matron who formed one of such an audience as is brought together by a Shaksperian revival would dream of saying or listening to; and yet she is throughout a most charming woman. To make her witty, vivacious, graceful, mischievous, and fascinating; to avoid making what she does and says jar upon the taste of a sensitive audience; this is the task which any one undertakes who plays the part of *Rosalind*. Miss Cavendish does not, to our mind, succeed. She is heavy when she attempts vivacity, phlegmatic when she should be sensitive, and masculine when she ought to be feminine. Sometimes she faintly suggested *Rosalind*, but rarely more.

There is no originality in her conception of the part, except possibly in the scene where she receives the news of *Orlando's* wound, in which, for some reason best known to herself, she listens to the announcement with complete indifference, sitting down to hear all about it, and finally *getting up* to faint, at her cue. All this was quite unintelligible to us, though Miss Cavendish no doubt has some theory to base it on. The rest of the performance was only fair; Mr. Wheelock, who is an excellent actor in many parts, failing as *Orlando*, while Mr. Robinson made *Jaques* a very melancholy person. *Jaques*, however, has hardly ever been well done by anybody, and for a very good reason: that he is a character thrust into the play, without relation to the other parts, in order that he may make speeches. He has nothing to do with the action, and if the part had never been written, "As You Like It" would hardly have been worse, while the reputation of many very competent actors would have escaped a very trying ordeal. Mr. Gilbert took the part of *Adam*, which he of course performed creditably, though he is better as the "old man" of modern than of Shaksperian comedy. Mr. Becket as *Touchstone* and Miss Germon as *Audrey* were both capital.

—If Miss Cavendish makes a failure of *Rosalind*, we hardly know how to describe what she makes of *Miss Gwilt*. The character of Mr. Wilkie Collins's governess—perpetually vacillating between villany and virtue; exulting in one moment over the "splendid wickedness" of a fraudulent personation of the widow of *Allan Armadale*, and racked the next with remorse for her crime; plotting with real gusto a peculiarly devilish murder with her rascally old friend the Doctor, and securing the forgiveness of her husband by her not unnatural willingness to bring her career to an abrupt termination on finding that it is his life she has been attempting to take instead of his friend's—this strange and unreal mixture of good and bad passions seems even more strange and unreal on the stage than in the pages of Wilkie Collins's grotesque but interesting novel. Miss Cavendish certainly makes some strong points with it. When, at the crisis of her fate, certain that her husband knows her guilty secret and that she is lost, she falls nerveless and unresisting into the hands of the tempter who makes her his tool, and obeys him in a sort of evil trance, in which we seem to see a person who has suddenly but finally parted company with her conscience, the acting of Miss Cavendish struck us as having a certain originality and vigor. Her scornful contempt of her betrayer, *Captain Manuel*, was also very good, and the applause of the audience at many of these "points" shows unmistakably that she has touched some sympathetic chords. But the "points" are the whole of the performance. In the intervals between them she is simply an ordinary actress (with a fine voice) going through her part in a commonplace manner. Indeed, if it were not for the other parts the play would be irredeemably dull. As a matter of fact, the other parts were unusually well done; Mr. Hardenbergh as *Captain Manuel*, Mr. Weaver as *Doctor Downward*, Miss Boniface as *Miss Milroy*, Mr. Lee as *Armadale*, and Mr. Wheelock as *Midwinter*, all acting with great evenness and spirit.

—The three lectures upon Etching by Mr. Seymour Haden, at the Royal Institution, London, just concluded, were a surprise to a very mixed auditory, in which the scientific rather than the professional element prevailed. Mr. Haden repeated and dwelt on the old dictum that the poet with the pencil as with the pen is born and not made. He insisted that the artist should preserve "first conceptions." He was very earnest, and almost exhausted all there was to be said on the subject, in urging that etching should be restored to its proper place in art; and he was at much pains to lay down the marked difference between the art of Engraving and the art of Etching, contrasting the burin and the etcher's needle. From his own portfolio he brought fine work in etching by Rembrandt, Claude, Vandyke, and Turner. The whole process was then described and illustrated, much to the delight of the audience, for the lecturer etched a plate and had it printed before them. In short, the lectures were not only of the highest order, but were a great success, and are to be repeated this fall in some of the principal towns in the North of England. We may add here an illustration of Mr. Haden's extreme conscientiousness in all that he has to do with his favorite pursuit. Only a few months ago two of his etchings were included in the sales at the Hôtel Drouot, and were secured, after a severe competition, running the price up to three or four times their ordinary price, by a gentleman who, having obtained them on the spot from the auctioneer, deliberately tore one of them to pieces. The purchaser represented Mr. Haden, and by his instruction had destroyed the print as one too inferior to be preserved, and not marked so as to certify that it had passed Mr. Haden's review and was deserving a place among a collector's treasures.

—The formal reception of M. Henri Martin as the successor of M. Thiers by the French Academy met with an unexpected obstacle, owing to the fact that M. Émile Ollivier chanced to be the "receiver" on behalf of that body. To begin with, M. Martin had introduced into his eulogy of his predecessor a description of the famous session in which Thiers denounced, amid the abuse of the Bonapartists, the folly of declaring war against Prussia, as the Empire was on the eve of doing. This led, of course, to a counter-recital on the part of M. Ollivier, and, to avoid a disagreeable scene, M. Martin consented to omit the obnoxious passage, when, of course, M. Ollivier would have to make a corresponding retrenchment. The latter, however, had gone somewhat further in his defence of himself, as it may truthfully be called, and attacked M. Thiers's conduct under the circumstances as not being that of a patriot or a Frenchman. He ought, declared M. Ollivier, to have stood by the Empire as did General Changarnier, the type of the perfect patriot and true Frenchman. The commotion which such sentiments would produce in the reception audience was only too plainly to be foreseen, and when the speaker refused to modify so much as a line of what he had written, the committee to whom the two discourses were referred, consisting of men like Jules Simon, Dufaure, Mignet, Legouvé, Sardou, decided by 7 to 1 to refer the matter back to the Academy, which, as the Cable reports, by 13 to 12 decided to replace M. Ollivier with M. Xavier Marmier. So the reception, which had been set down for May 29, will have to be postponed again.

—A Mr. Albert Last has published a pamphlet on 'Die Schäden in der literarischen Production Deutschland's,' in which are to be found some interesting statistics of the German book-trade. The alleged bad condition of the same he accounts for on the ground of over-production. At the beginning of the century there were in Germany (including German Austria) 250 bookshops; in 1820 there were 500; to-day there are 5,200. In the year 1851 there were published 8,000 volumes; 1870, 10,000; 1874, 12,070; 1876, 13,356; 1878, 13,912. In England, in the last-named year, there appeared but 5,314 works. The worst of this over-production is that much more time is required for a clever writer to make himself known than would otherwise be the case. Spielhagen's reputation, for instance, was so long in establishing itself that before the publication of 'Problematische Naturen' one of his books was actually sold as waste-paper.

—The value of the older commentators on the 'Divine Comedy' for the history of Florence and Italy during the thirteenth and part of the fourteenth centuries has long been appreciated. Dr. C. Hegel has recently instituted a careful comparison between them, and published the result in a work entitled 'Ueber den historischen Werth der älteren Dante-Commentare' (Leipzig. 1878. 8vo, pp. 115). He passes in review some fifteen works from the 'Chiose anonime,' published by Selmi in 1865, and probably written during the lifetime of Dante, to the comment of Vellutello, published in 1544. The most valuable, according to the author, are the comments of Jacopo della Lana, Benvenuto da Imola, and the so-called *ottimo* (especially as to Florentine history)—the second named of course in the original Latin version. Dr. Hegel has not seen Professor C. E. Norton's review of Tamburini's Italian translation, or he would have warned students against it. He himself generally cites the extracts printed by Muratori, 'Antiquitates italicae,' i. p. 1034–1298. Two commentators who have heretofore enjoyed a high reputation for historical value, Francesco da Buti and the *Anonimo fiorentino*, are pronounced of little worth. Dr. Hegel gives where possible the sources of the various comments, and reveals an immense amount of borrowing by one from the other. In the appendix he adduces what appears to him an additional proof of the genuineness of the chronicle of Dino Compagni. The *Anonimo fiorentino* mentioned above, and probably of the beginning of the fifteenth century, in several passages relates historical events in almost the same words used by Dino, whose opponents see in this another proof of his falseness, believing that the writer of the chronicle, whoever he was, borrowed part of his material from the *Anonimo*. Hegel, however, shows that the *Anonimo*, like the other commentators, drew largely on Villani's 'Istorie fiorentine,' and uses that material in the same manner as he employs the passages contained in Dino, sometimes beginning with Villani and finishing out his narration with Dino. Hence he concludes that the *Anonimo* borrowed from Dino or from Dino's source. An undoubted citation from Dino's chronicle as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century would do much to confirm its authenticity. The author confesses, however, "that the chronicle as a whole in its contents and form is a problem hard to solve, whichever side one takes in the question."

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL ON THE EASTERN QUESTION.*

THE Eastern Question—which, broadly stated, is the question whether the Turks shall be allowed to remain in Europe—sprang into existence when the Turks crossed the Dardanelles in 1356; after more than five centuries, its final settlement seems now to be approaching with the return of the Turks to Asia during the latter part of this century or the beginning of the next. It is more than three hundred years since the tide of Turkish conquest began to ebb, but it is only within the last fifty or sixty years that it has been apparent that the Ottoman Empire was crumbling to pieces from the vices and corruption into which its ruling class had fallen. The jealousies of the different nations interested in the fate of the Turk have, however, prevented any agreement as to the manner in which he shall be succeeded, and so he has been allowed to remain a chronic source of disturbance to the peace of Europe. At intervals of about a generation the Eastern Question has passed from the chronic to the acute stage; and it is the diplomatic history of the latest of these acute periods, now barely terminated, which the Duke of Argyll traces in detail in the two volumes before us.

As a member of the Cabinet which carried on the Crimean War and framed the Treaty of Paris, the Duke begins his book with an elaborate argument to explain the meaning of the "independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire," which was the fundamental idea of that Treaty. He contends that "dependence and independence are relative terms," and that no nation whose independence must be guaranteed by others is in reality independent at all, in the sense in which great nations are independent; that the meaning of these words must be gathered from the circumstances under which they were framed—viz., at the end of a war waged by the Western Powers to establish the principle "that the fate of Turkey was to be a matter of European and not only of Russian concern"; and therefore that the words simply mean that the affairs of Turkey in its downfall shall be considered and regulated by Europe collectively, and not by Russia acting alone.

This explanation is interesting, considering the source from which it comes; for when, on the occurrence of the Bulgarian massacres in 1876, the united voice of Christendom cried out that such damnable outrages should cease—with the destruction of the government which permitted them, if no other means were efficacious—the English Cabinet took the ground that express treaty stipulations (as well as considerations of policy) prevented them from exercising any pressure upon the Turks stronger than that of moral suasion and advice. The Duke of Argyll now endeavors to show that this construction of the Treaty was a false one, but his argument is simply that the words must be taken in a Pickwickian sense. When the long period of Turkish misgovernment culminated in the massacres of 1876, it was perfectly competent for England to denounce the Turks as having persistently and flagrantly violated the engagements which they made in the Treaty of Paris, to demand sufficient guarantees for the protection and good government of the Christians, and to support its demands by force—the only argument which the Turks appreciate. Such a course would have prevented the war between Russia and Turkey, and would probably have led to the supplanting of Turkish authority in many districts by European commissions; but it would have torn up the Treaty of Paris, as Russia desired. To pretend that while such measures were being taken the independence of the Ottoman Empire was being respected, is a contradiction in terms. In fact, the two cardinal features of the Treaty of Paris—viz., the admission of the Turks into the European concert, and the guarantee of the independence and integrity of their empire—were two as false and fatal steps in the settlement of the Eastern Question as any which have been made by England's Cabinet during the recent war.

Having attempted to elucidate the Treaty of Paris, the Duke then proceeds to recapitulate the action of Turkey during the succeeding twenty years; it is the old tale of horrible misgovernment and perversion of justice with which every one who reads is familiar. He then comes to the Bosnian insurrection, the Andrássy Note, the Berlin Memorandum, the Bulgarian massacres, the Constantinople Conference, the London Protocol, and finally the declaration of war. Throughout all these negotiations the Duke considers the policy of the English Cabinet to have been weak, shiftless, and vacillating, while that of Russia he regards as manly and upright, justified by the highest considerations of duty and policy, and by the terms of existing treaties.

The Duke of Argyll's argument, briefly stated, is that the fate of Turkey must be decided by Europe collectively, and not by Russia alone in her own interests. To this there is probably not a dissenting voice in all England; but the Duke holds that the surest way to counteract Russia in any ambitious schemes she may have for her own aggrandizement is for England to compel the Turks, by force if necessary, to put an end to her misgovernment, for England to make the cause of the Christians her own, and not throw them into the arms of Russia for lack of any one else to espouse their cause. The Tories, under the lead of Beaconsfield and Salisbury, hold, on the contrary, that the only barrier to Russia's advance lies in strengthening the Sultan, overlooking as much as possible, in view of greater considerations, the faults of his government, and hindering and thwarting Russia in every way. The whole of the Tory party, however, could not be brought to the point of supporting these views by war, and the only result, in the Duke's opinion, of the halting policy actually followed has been to strengthen Russian influence in the East instead of diminishing it, and to cause the Christians throughout Turkey to look upon Russia as their only deliverer and upon England as the firmest friend of their hated oppressors; while, since Russia was allowed to crush Turkey without armed interference by England, the influence of the latter Power over the millions of her Mohammedan subjects has been just as much diminished as if she had openly taken up the cause of the Christians.

The Duke is very severe upon the Cabinet for their double dealing and inconsistency in the secret agreements which they made before entering the Berlin Congress, and he sums up the result of that Congress and its Treaty as it is already viewed by a large party of the Tories themselves—viz., that every material advantage which Russia gained by the war was confirmed to her by the Treaty, while the separation of the Bulgarians by a "strategic frontier" of no strategic value into two portions, of which one should be free and the other subject to the Porte, has only laid the seeds of future trouble and wars.

The Duke of Argyll very properly treats the present war in Afghanistan as only "the Afghan part of the Eastern Question." His views on this subject are again interesting from the fact that he was Secretary of State for India in Mr. Gladstone's cabinet from 1869 to 1874. He recites at great length the relations existing between the Indian Government and Afghanistan from the first Afghan war in 1841 to the commencement of hostilities last November, endeavoring to show that the uniform policy of all the Indian governments up to the second year of Lord Salisbury's installation as Secretary for India and the inauguration of the "Imperial policy," had been to treat the ruler of Afghanistan with kindness but with firmness; to offer him substantial guarantees for his defence in case he was attacked by Russia, to abstain from interfering in his dynastic quarrels, to respect his independence so long as he remained friendly, and to avoid injuring his pride by forcing British resident agents upon him. This policy, the Duke maintains, has been wholly overthrown by Lord Salisbury, and especially since Lord Lytton has been Viceroy; and the course pursued towards the Amir has been that of bullying him into receiving British agents and forcing him into a position of hostility; and in so doing the British Government

"has paltered with the force of existing treaties; it has repudiated solemn pledges; it has repeated over and over again insincere professions; and it has prepared new treaties full of 'tricky saving clauses.' Finally, it has visited on a weak and unoffending native sovereign in Asia the natural and necessary consequences of its own incoherent action in Europe. The policy which brought the Russian army to the gates of Constantinople is the same policy which brought the Russian mission to Cabul."

To American readers the Afghan question is only of interest in its bearing upon the settlement of the Eastern Question, which involves the peace of all Europe and thus affects the whole civilized world. The unfortunate ruler of Afghanistan merely stands between two great Powers who are liable to come to blows, and he is in danger of being pulverized in their contest. When Russia thought that England was preparing to wage war upon her after the Treaty of San Stefano, she made preparations to strike England in India, and for this purpose began to negotiate with Afghanistan to secure the passage of her troops through that country. When the Treaty of Berlin removed the source of danger, Russia withdrew. England then made demands upon the Amir which he declined to accede to, and England proceeded to enforce them. Russia has not thought it necessary to interfere against these demands; and so the Amir suffers the consequences of his unfortunate situation.

The Duke's long and somewhat heavy narrative is valuable from the fact that it is drawn almost wholly from the Blue-Books published by Parliament, to which reference by volume and page is made in every

* 'The Eastern Question, from the Treaty of Paris, 1856, to the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, and to the Second Afghan War. By the Duke of Argyll.' 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 426 and 520. London: Strahan & Co. 1879.

case; and it thus forms a sort of hand-book of ready reference to the diplomatic proceedings during the last four years affecting the subject of which it treats.

HAGEMAN'S PRINCETON.*

LOCAL chronicles are always welcome as fresh material for broader and more ambitious history, and they have a human interest as far as they repeat and fix the details of human life. In this instance a village and villagers whose influence has been out of all proportion to the population supply the theme. Princeton's fame is a threefold union of martial, political, and educational renown. It embraces the lustre of brilliant victory; the credit of notably shaping the destiny of the young nation, and the distinction belonging to a time-honored seat of learning. The name, whose special significance is now forgotten, was bestowed in 1724, nearly thirty years after a Quaker colony bought and settled on large tracts of land on the neighboring water-course of Stony Brook. To those Friends, whose meeting-house and family names remain, but whose peculiar faith has now nearly faded out there, much of the prosperity of Princeton is due; and its annals are completely free from the injustice and bloodshed of Indian wars that stain so many pages of pioneer history. An accident of topography made it a Revolutionary battle-field, whose celebrity is due to the critical state of the country relieved by an exceptional victory. But nearly all of its higher and more lasting fame followed the thoughtful liberality of its citizens which in 1752 fixed there the infant college. For the college infused patriotism as well as learning, hence Princeton's Revolutionary and civic record. The college opened the way for the seminary, hence its theological reputation. The college atmosphere was that of letters and repose, hence its charming society. The dominating idea, the promotion of piety and sound learning, gave the college a succession of distinguished presidents, culminating at the Revolution in Witherspoon, a statesman as well as a divine. Following liberal influences, Princeton supplied seven members to the Provincial Congress, one of whom reported June, 1776, the State constitution that remained in force till 1844, and she gave two illustrious signers to the Declaration of Independence, and in all five members to the Continental Congress. The State government was organized there August, 1776, the village remained its seat till late in 1778, and there the Council of Safety held frequent sessions. In fact, all through the Revolution Princeton was a military and political focus, until in 1783 Congress itself retired thither from the menacing Pennsylvania soldiery at Philadelphia. During that five months' session the definite announcement of peace was received and the Continental army was disbanded by proclamation, and it was from Princeton that Washington published his farewell orders.

A chair of divinity was early established in the college, and the successive presidents prepared many candidates for the Presbyterian ministry. Princeton thus became the natural seat of the great theological seminary of the Presbyterian Church, founded in 1811. Wise and accomplished teachers have spread its fame far beyond denominational bounds, and, however opinions may differ as to its special tenets, the vigor of thought and depth of learning of Princeton theology have never been questioned.

The distinctive British stock of Princeton received a foreign graft from a mixed Protestant and Catholic colony of Gallic refugees that settled on its northern border in 1795. Of their names, now nearly all mere memories, Peter Anthony Malou's, whose career was full of romantic contrasts, was the most notable. But the constant exercise of a liberal but delicate charity by one of their direct descendants keeps, and will long keep, their warm and generous blood in grateful remembrance. Another refugee about the same period, but of different type, was Wolfe Tone, whose American residence was Princeton, whither his widow returned after his death.

As would be expected from its antecedents, a continuous succession of names eminent for secular and clerical erudition, and for high social and political place, and personal wealth and private and organized benevolence, have adorned the village. Besides its Revolutionary characters and its special scholars it has furnished at least two members to the early Federal House, five to the United States Senate, and diplomatists, judges, and two famous sailors to the public service. It was foremost in the organization of Colonization, Bible, Temperance, and local benevolent schemes, conspicuous and characteristic among which is the existing disinterested charitable institution to "assist indigent youth in obtaining a liberal and Christian education without regard or reference to their future profession, occupation, or employment." The New Jersey system of common schools found its earliest and most ardent supporters there, and there originated the State Agricultural Society. Princeton families have been more constantly represented in the army than is usual in a Northern village, but her most distinguished warriors were Commodores Bainbridge and Stockton, both natives, whose fame is public history. Stockton's naval career covered a wide range, and included as an episode the acquisition of the territory of Liberia for the Colonization Society, and was crowned in the conquest of California. His prompt appreciation of Ericsson's genius, and his controlling influence in transferring that engineer to this country, which is one of his greatest merits, the author fails to notice; nor does he seem fully to realize that the building of the *Princeton* man-of-war, the embodiment of Ericsson's science and Stockton's energy, was a pivotal point in the history of naval construction.

The features distinguishing Princeton from other country towns are those that make its actual history so attractive, but for their complete representation they require industrious research, enthusiasm in the subject, and vivacity of style. In this work the author has presented the salient points and has noted much of the minutiæ. The general outline of the early settlement is clear; the battle is concisely and intelligently described; the steps leading to the establishment of the college and of the seminary are well recited, and the careers of those institutions are fairly followed up; and the history of the First Presbyterian Church is admirable. The record as a whole is trustworthy, and it is accurate except as to a few minor particulars. For instance, to Dr. Breckinridge is given credit belonging to Dr. Maclean in establishing the Witherspoon Street church; from the notice of Betsey Stockton, a most estimable colored woman, is omitted the impressive fact that she taught the first school opened for the common people on the Sandwich Islands; Bishop Hare, of the Episcopal Church, is properly to be included among the prominent natives; the names Van Arsdale and Van Polanen are misspelled; a very curious transposition to the mercantile marine is made of a gentleman whose title of captain was derived from active military service, and whose walk and conversation in no respect savored of the sea. These and similar errors and omissions local criticism will probably correct against a second edition.

But, disregarding these minor oversights, there are positive transgressions that seem hardly possible of perpetration by the resident of a college town. Witness this: "This character of the climate of the State is confirmed by its proximity to the thirty-eighth parallel of north latitude, which is the point of the average temperature of the earth, and where the Great Pyramid of Egypt is located, the orientation there being more accurate than in any other observatory" (i. p. 13). Apart from the error of eight degrees of latitude in the position of the pyramid, does it seem possible to frame a more inexact, grotesque, and inconsequential sentence? So (i. p. 3) reference is made to "Hassler's Triangle-post" in such a way as to imply that it was "a height sometimes used to convey, by signal, intelligence . . . before the days of railroads and electric telegraphs." This obvious confusion of the Coast Survey "triangulation point," fixed on Mt. Rose by Mr. Hassler, with the old semaphore line that also had a station on Rocky Hill, is unworthy a local historian. Such eccentricities of statement are, however, less numerous than those of style or expression. For instance, in the preface Princeton is spoken of as possessing a "notoriety" which most of her lovers would prefer to call renown or fame, and then, curiously or carelessly, "notorious" is the somewhat mild epithet applied (i. p. 167) to the disorderly Pennsylvania soldiers of 1783. "The tidal wave of prosperity had *flown in*" (ii. p. 151); "It was he . . . *assisted some* by . . . who accepted" (i. p. 32); "what a mighty *stride it has taken* upward and onward since President McCosh has *taken the helm*" (ii. p. 296); and, with a persistence that shows the errors are not the printer's, quarter (mercy) is written quarters; Halle, Hallê; Lord Stirling, Sterling, etc. As mere narrative the style is very unequal. Occasionally it is easy and limpid, at times jerky and fragmentary, and again it is positively obscure.

One of the final chapters is devoted to Princeton authors and their productions, and, by an inclusion which at the ballot-box might be called repeating, the catalogue embraces not only publications issued or prepared at Princeton, or, at the furthest, by her emigrated children, but also comprehends all the writings of those who may at any time have had an actual, although temporary, residence there, whether published before their arrival or after their departure. Thus, valuable papers by Professor Young while at Dartmouth, by Professor Guyot while still abroad, by Professor Henry at the Smithsonian swell the list at the expense, it seems to us, of absolute fairness. Under these conditions there is counted an aggregate of five hundred and seventy-five volumes

* 'Princeton and its Institutions. By J. F. Hageman.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879. 2 vols., pp. 359, 449, 8vo.

from seventy authors. The theological works issued from Princeton are numerous and important, and for nearly fifty years the *Princeton Review* was a constant and eloquent exponent of Princeton philosophy. But until very recently the literary sterility of the college gave color to the undergraduate tradition, that a provision in the charter forbade any of its professors while in possession of his office publishing a text-book or other volume.

RECENT POETRY.*

THESE six new dramatic idyls which Mr. Browning has given us are less marked than his later works by that perversity of manner which has so alienated his American readers that his last volumes have not been reprinted in this country; they are forcible, intense, clear-cut; they show the old grasp of the striking aspects of character, the familiar masterly touch in detail, but yet it goes almost without saying that they are hardly worthy of the companionship of those earlier idyls in which Mr. Browning found the freest scope for his powers in all their variety and fulness. One of them, 'Tray,' is not dramatic or idyllic in any sense, but is a poor satire; 'Pheidippides" is the story of the Athenian runner who was sent to Sparta to ask aid against the Persians, and on his return met the god Pan, who promised victory, and this poem rises to a lyrical fervor which none of the others possesses. But the four important idyls are "Martin Relph," "Halbert and Hob," "Ivàn Ivànovitch," and "Ned Bratts," all of which are analyses of the retributive power of conscience. The latter two are the most varied and striking. Ivàn Ivànovitch was a Russian carpenter. While at his work one day in winter, amid a group of his neighbors, a sledge came up drawn by a dying horse and holding a senseless woman; on reviving she tells how she had set out from a burning village with her three children, and had been pursued by wolves, which stole her children from her one by one, pulling them out of her arms with teeth and paw; as her story goes on it becomes clear to the bystanders that she has flung out her children to save herself, and as she falls at Ivàn's feet—

> "Solemnly
> Ivàn rose, raised his axe—for fitly, as she knelt,
> Her head lay; well apart, each side, her arms hung—dealt
> Lightning-swift thunder-strong one blow—no need of more!
> Headless she knelt on still; that pine was sound at core
> (Neighbors were used to say)—cast-iron-kernelled, which
> Taxed for a second stroke Ivàn Ivànovitch.
>
> "The man was scant of words as strokes. 'It had to be:
> I could no other: God it was bade 'act for me.'"

The villagers gather with the Stàrosta and the Lord of the Land to judge the murder; the latter calls for sentence according to human law, but the Stàrosta, an old priest of a hundred years, has learned other wisdom, and, after one of those long, closely-reasoned discourses in which Mr. Browning delights, proclaims Ivàn "God's servant"; the neighbors find him at home building a toy Kremlin for his children—

> "They told him he was free
> As air to walk abroad. 'How otherwise?' asked he."

The other idyl we have chosen for mention opens in the court-house of Bedford, "quality-crammed," on a "broiling, blasting June," the judges sentencing "rank Puritans caught at prayer in a cow-house," gentry betting on the results of the trials, when in comes "publican Ned Bratts and Tabby his big wife too," "brass-bold, brick-built of beef and beer," "worst couple, rogue and quean, unhanged—search near and far"; in the midst of the hubbub, the heat and the sweat, they confess to murder, theft, adultery—tell how they have been converted by Bunyan's book, and ask to be hanged before they have an opportunity to fall from grace. Here is the tavern hag's account of Bunyan's words to her:

> "Then all at once rose he;
> His brown hair burst a-spread, his eyes were suns to see;
> Up went his hands: 'Through flesh I reach, I read thy soul!
> So may some stricken tree look blasted, bough and bole,
> Champed by the fire-tooth, charred without, and yet, thrice-bound
> With dreriment about, within may life be found.
> . . . . . .
> Woman, that tree art thou! all sloughed about with scurf,
> Thy stag-horns fright the sky, thy snake-roots sting the turf!
> Drunkenness, wantonness, theft, murder gnash and gnarl
> Thy outward, case thy soul with coating like the marle
> Satan stamps flat upon each head beneath his hoof!
> And how deliver such? The strong men keep aloof,
> Lover and friend stand far, the mocking ones pass by,
> Tophet gapes wide for prey; lost soul, despair and die!
> What then? "Look unto me, and be ye saved," saith God;
> "I strike the rock, outstreats the life-stream at my rod!
> Be your sins scarlet, wool shall they seem like; although
> As crimson red, yet turn white as the driven snow."'"

So the judge gave credit for the conversion to the peaceful years of Charles's "pious reign," and the couple were "happily hanged"—

> "Where Bunyan's statue stands facing where stood his jail."

Both of these idyls are worked out with a realism extraordinary even for Mr. Browning, so that the vividness of the description is sometimes sickening, as in the account of the death of the Russian mother, or the vigor of it sometimes unnecessarily gross, as in the talk of Ned Bratts to his wife. It will be seen that the poems are not idyllic in any ordinary sense of that word, nor are they dramatic in the sense that they are free from the author's personality. But there is no need to quarrel with terms; nor is there room for any but the old regret that Mr. Browning has mastered his art, not by subduing himself to it, but by dyeing it with his own nature.

The 'Poems' of Mr. Holmes describe his intellectual struggle rather than give the clear solution of his experience. The modern scepticism, with the attraction which nature-worship in some of its many mystical forms possesses for the poet who has lost hold of traditional faith, is the source and burden of most of his verses. In "Nature Lost and Found" he has expressed some moods of this spirit which have not often been revealed, but there is a haze over his thought even in this, which is one of the most carefully wrought of the poems. In others, where there is simple natural description or sentiment, he is more pleasing. This from "On Snowdon" will illustrate his style:

> "the darkness of the night
> Slowly became a pale and lifeless light.
> That touched with frosty red each orient cloud;
> And ever, as the circling mists allowed,
> A wilderness of mountains filled the sight—
> Black island masses, round whose shores were tost
> Billows of vapor—surgings of a sea;
> While to the West, in one vast crescent sweep,
> Ran fifty leagues of dimly outlined coast,
> Whose rocky headlands murmured voicelessly
> The white-lipped moanings of the eternal deep."

The finest and most vigorous poem, it seems to us, is "Standing Still," the reflections of a common soldier under fire for the first time, and ordered only to hold his post. It is seldom that minor poetry rises to such a level of refinement, correctness, and thought as is shown throughout this volume.

'Briefs by a Barrister,' is so named, we are told, "more to assert the often-denied right of the Bar to express itself otherwise than in prose, than to mark the character of my verses." These verses were written as "relaxation," but they will be fortunate if they serve any of their readers so good a turn. "A Geological Romance," composed in college, is a creditable attempt by an undergraduate to write amusingly for undergraduates; but the other poems hardly deserve equal praise. Some are in the worst taste; these lines will indicate what the Barrister is capable of in the way of refinement:

> "There would I with my love recline,
> And pledging to our love divine
> In brimming cups of ruby wine,
> I'd lull her soul to ease and rest,
> *Until with love and wine opprest*
> *She pillowed lay upon my breast.*"

Every one knows that Alexander, "with love and wine at once opprest," sank on the breast of the "lovely Thaïs," but the example of Dryden will hardly excuse our poet. In execution he is either negligent or ignorant, and his intelligibility suffers both from the printer and from his own hand. This is his average of sentiment, and illustrates his finish:

> "Ah, laughing eyes that can grow sad
> Now gay and now how meek
> Your language sweeter far than words
> How can I gaze and speak?" (*sic*).

The right of the Bar "to express itself otherwise than in prose" hardly gains from such work.

'Nadescha' is a graceful story of Runeberg's, translated with more knowledge of Swedish than of blank-verse. It has the flavor of the soil which is always delightful in poetry from the North, and gives some indication of the talents of one of the best writers of modern Sweden; it is to be regretted that the technical part of the work is not better done.

Foreign Classics for English Readers. Edited by Mrs. Oliphant. Montaigne, by the Rev. Lucas Collins, M.A. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.)—This set is as important, no doubt, as the original set of ancient classics. Our readers know the plan of both series: the presentation in a small volume and in readable style of an outline biography, an analysis of the writing, and a critical examination of the author and his work. This plan has been generally closely followed, although the

* 'Dramatic Lyrics. By Robert Browning.' London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1879.
'Poems. Second Series. By Edmond G. A. Holmes.' London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1879.

'Briefs by a Barrister. Occasional Verses. By Edward R. Johnes.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.
'Nadescha: A Poem in Nine Cantos. By Johan Ludvig Runeberg. Translated from the Swedish by Marie A. Brown.' Boston: Published by Marie A. Brown, P. O. Box 900. 1879.

great differences in the nature of the tasks and the peculiar views taken of them by the different editors have brought it to pass that some are vastly more valuable than others. Thus, in the ancient series, the 'Cæsar' by Mr. Trollope always seemed to us a masterpiece, for with scarcely a quotation, and in a continuous narrative, the great man and his writings are brought to our intimate acquaintance. With Montaigne and his essays this plan would hardly have done so well; and yet the complete division of this volume into chapters on "The Essayist in his Library," "Montaigne in Office," and the rest, is annoying. Cæsar lived the two-fold life of man of action on the broadest stage and man of letters; but Montaigne lived one life only that is a life for us, and we had rather have seen his views and opinions and the whole body of his published thought, analyzed, divided, and subdivided under appropriate headings, than to be put off with so little about his 'Essays,' and so disproportioned an amount of information about the man and the small events of his earthly life. Of all writers Montaigne is the most discursive and his work the least systematized. A good index of seventy octavo pages, in an edition beside us, fails to provide easy access to the mazes of his thought. And it is the more to be regretted, therefore, that it did not commend itself to the editor of this volume to devote his space to a fuller account of what Montaigne has to say. The most modern of essayists; the thinker who (as indeed Mr. Collins points out) saw two hundred years ago nobility and pathos in the lives of the poor, and proposed them in their patience and uncomplaining simplicity as a model to himself; the despiser of accusations of witchcraft, the denouncer of judicial torture, the advocate of the claims of dumb creatures to merciful treatment; the non-partisan in a day of civil war, the non-sectarian in a day of bloodshed and tyranny in the name of sects—this prince among critics and students deserves to be introduced to the modern world more completely than is done in this volume. Nevertheless, the long quotations are carefully translated from the crabbed original, and the view taken of the author's manner of thought, and of his opinions, and of his oddities is calm and just; we have read every word of the two hundred pages with pleasure.

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E. P. Bickford Mar 25 '79

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 1879.

The Week.

THE Congressional chapter has been as dull as a revolutionary anti-climax must needs be, and was made additionally solemn by a farewell exchange of views between Messrs. Blaine and Hill on the mighty question of the latter's loyalty to the Union, past, present, and future. The House discharged its proper business for the session on Wednesday week when it passed the Army Appropriation Bill with only 30 nays, of which 11 were Republican. The sixth section of the vetoed bill had been tamed down into a prohibition of the use of the money appropriated in transporting or in any manner supporting troops intended to preserve peace at the polls. Mr. Springer failed on Monday to pass, under a suspension of the rules, a bill declaring it unlawful to employ the army or navy for this purpose; the party vote standing 108 to 82. For the crude and unsatisfactory House Legislative Appropriations Bill, somewhat improved in committee, a faint-hearted attempt was made in the Senate by Mr. Beck to supply a substitute; but party discipline prevailed, and the bill passed on Friday by 32 to 23. Saturday was spent in debating the so-called Supplemental or Judicial Appropriations Bill. With the help of Mr. Hill it was amended so as to allow Federal judges anywhere at discretion to draw from the State jury-boxes instead of on the partisan plan also prescribed, and the bill was passed on Monday by 27 to 15.

The bill to prevent political contributions by civil-service employés, which was introduced in the House on Saturday, is by no means an admirable measure viewed merely as legislative handiwork. It is, too, open to suspicion as being proposed not by the party in power but by the Opposition, to whom it would give a great advantage in the elections of the next two years. Mr. Conger, of Michigan, went so far as to call it "the most infamous measure ever presented by a political party." All this, however, need not prevent it from serving as an excellent touchstone for both parties, and for the President himself if it should ever reach him. Mr. Hayes's order to office-holders seemed infamous to the Stalwarts, as everybody remembers, and we can all wait patiently for the result of this first sign of activity on the part of the select Committee on Civil Service Reform.

The attack made on Mr. Bayard as Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee is, perhaps, too confidently relied upon as a sign of an impending split between the Eastern and Western Democrats. The Warner Silver Bill had got into the hands of the Senate Finance Committee, which decided to do nothing about it this session, so his Democratic colleagues proposed a resolution discharging the Committee from the further consideration of the measure—or, in other words, taking it out of their hands. This, under Congressional usage, is a sort of insult; so Mr. Bayard and Mr. Kernan threatened to resign if this plan was carried out, and it is now reported that it has been abandoned. The Silver Democrats are, in fact, between the devil and the deep sea. They want to pass the Warner bill to satisfy their constituents at the West, who are silver mad, and at the same time they are afraid to break with the rich Democrats of the East, on whom they have to rely for campaign funds, having no office-holders to levy on. This last seems to be the most important consideration at present, so Mr. Bayard will probably be allowed to have his way. His theory is that he ought not to remain in a committee after it plainly appears that he does not represent the views of his party. This is not the prevailing opinion in Congress, however. Ordinarily the power of committees over measures in their hands is treated as little short of absolute; a view which, as the Boston *Advertiser* has pointed out, has its inconveniences. But the notion that there is likely to be a split among the Democrats is hardly justified by experience. It seems as if nothing could split either of the great parties at present. One will put up with anything in order to keep power, and the other will put up with anything in order to gain it. Union is kept up by allowing difference of opinion on every subject except one, and that is the propriety of letting the rival concern get the offices. There are among the Republicans as bad silver-men as Warner, but it does not injure their standing in the party a particle, and seeing this the Democrats are not going to be any more rigid.

The House Committee on the Judiciary made last week a long report on the President's veto of the Military Interference Bill—so long, indeed, that its utility as a part of the campaign "record" against Mr. Hayes and his party is seriously impaired. It first recites the history of the veto of the Army Appropriation Bill, which it dismisses with a cutting rebuke to the Executive for presuming to lecture Congress about attaching political riders to appropriation bills. Then, after noticing how much stronger ground the President took in his second veto than in his first, in spite of all the Democratic concessions to suit his prejudices, it examines and seeks to confute his objections in detail. His assertion that troops had not been and would not be used, under his Administration, to interfere with any State election, receives the proper comment that he might change his mind or have a less scrupulous successor; but nothing is alleged to justify the extreme urgency which the forcing of an extra session of Congress implied. Nor is a single instance adduced to prove the abuse under Grant of the permission to keep the peace at the polls; all such abuses being, as we believe, referrible not to the statute sought to be amended, but to the general view of the powers of the Executive at the South, which Grant inherited rather than originated. The Committee argue at length that the Interference Bill, if a law, would have been no hindrance to Washington in suppressing the Whiskey Rebellion, Jefferson in dealing with Aaron Burr, Jackson in cowing nullification, or Lincoln in meeting the rebellion. They also endeavor to show that the Interference Bill, by expressly repealing all laws in conflict with its prohibitions, ties the hands of the President in the execution of certain laws referred to in the veto not more than does the existing statute, with its specification of the emergencies that alone legalize the presence of troops at the polls. Finally, they deny that there is any such thing as a "national election" or a "national peace," even in connection with the power to execute a legal process, quoting on this point Mr. Evarts while Attorney-General under Johnson; and hence they conclude, against the President's hypothesis, that a situation could not arise in which Federal troops, lawfully called in to preserve the peace at a State election, would be debarred from securing the peace at a national election at the same time and place.

The *Times* has some excellent though sneering remarks on Mr. Thurlow Weed's habit of writing up silver and bi-metallism in the papers, by which he has undoubtedly done some mischief. We alluded to it when the Bland Bill was before Congress. Mr. Weed is a very old man, and has many titles to respect, but knowledge of the silver question is not one of them. He has passed a long life in politics, but he never was noted for attention to questions of finance, and a man does not become an authority on finance, as many people seem to think, simply by growing old, any more than by being a ready speaker, as other people seem to think. Authority on this as on other subjects is gained by experience, by reading and reflection, and not by the practice of "politics," either of New York or any other State. An old man who has not examined a question is no better off as far as the question is concerned than a

young man; is likely to be worse, because he is likely to approach it with a less flexible judgment and less keen perceptions. A man may have voted for every President of the United States and attended every nominating convention ever held, and yet have nothing to say about silver and gold that is worth listening to. In the matter of care in forming opinions the old ought to set the young a good example.

The negro "exodus" to Kansas has unquestionably run its course for the present, and it is now clear both that it was highly local in its character, and that the extent of it has been very much exaggerated. The reports received at the New Orleans cotton exchange from ninety correspondents show labor to be unsettled only in thirteen districts; Louisiana has lost fewer hands than Mississippi, and has even gained some emigrants from its neighbor. Governor St. John, of Kansas, states that "something over 3,000 colored people," mostly in destitute circumstances, have come there from the South. The Topeka correspondent of the Lansing (Mich.) *Republican*, a Stalwart sheet if there be any, cannot learn that more than 3,000 or 4,000 have entered Kansas since the first arrivals at Wyandotte, and believes that most of these "will find when it is too late that they have made a great mistake in leaving their old homes." What he hears of the older negro colonies in the State is not encouraging, and benevolent efforts to found new ones by providing lands and assistance while making a start are sure to fail, and would prove a curse to the colored people themselves. "It would engender idleness, encourage a spirit of reliance upon others, and bring about a state of things injurious to both the givers and receivers of this intended bounty." At the South the most encouraging symptom is the activity of the Cotton Planters' Association, whose headquarters is in Vicksburg, and whose aim is to unite the cotton-planting interest in behalf of the best methods of cultivation, diversity of crops, improved stock, and some practical plan of labor immigration. The President and leading spirit of this organization, according to a writer in the Boston *Herald*, is fully impressed with the evils of the tenant, share, and credit systems in which both whites and blacks are miserably involved.

One of the most marked and unmistakable signs of the revival of business is a strike on a great scale among the spinners at Fall River. A reduction of fifteen per cent. in their wages was submitted to in April, 1878, on the understanding that it would be restored with the return of better times. They have now decided, in view of the rising market, that the better times have come; but the manufacturers hold that the better times, as they understand it, will not have come until they have recovered some of the heavy losses of the past five years. The actual loss sustained by the mills at Fall River, apart from the depreciation, or in some cases total "wiping-out," of the stock, is calculated at $4,000,000. The wages at present paid by the various mills amount to $310,000 monthly, which the operatives are now preparing to sacrifice, and in addition to this they have resolved to get rid also of their savings, or run in debt, by pledging themselves to their own support for three weeks without taking aid from the Union. The movement is said to be mainly promoted by foreign labor-agitators, and it promises enforced idleness for many weeks to twelve or fifteen thousand men, women, and children, and the suspension of production amounting, in the case of thirty print-cloth mills, to 149,500 pieces weekly. All these strikes are, of course, in reality an attempt to manage very complicated business enterprises through universal suffrage; and the history of the co-operative movement in England seems to make it certain that in the existing state of human nature they cannot succeed—that is to say, co-operation in consumption has been an enormous, almost bewildering, success. The co-operative associations of the Rochdale type are immensely wealthy, and do a business of from $60,000,000 to $75,000,000 yearly, but not one of the producing associations has succeeded. The reason is plain enough. The talent needed for production is rare and has to be highly paid, and the men who have it, as a general rule, will not work for others, and least of all for mass meetings composed of people who grudge anybody higher salaries than they themselves can make by handwork, or than they get mere clerks for.

A murder strikingly resembling that of Mr. Nathan some years ago was committed during the week upon an elderly lady, Mrs. Hull, in her bed on the parlor floor of her house in West Forty-second Street. She was alone on that floor, in the back part of the house, and her room was easily accessible from the basement. As she had a good deal of jewelry the temptation to murder her, to any murderously disposed person who knew how she passed her nights, was strong; but it does not appear to be clear that her death was really intended by her assailants. She was gagged as well as tied, and the gagging may have suffocated her accidentally. Sleeping alone on the lower floor of a New York house, the rest of the family being up-stairs, is substantially the same thing as sleeping alone in the house, and no woman ought to attempt it. There is, therefore, nothing very remarkable about the murder, and nobody would have considered it very remarkable if Mrs. Hull had been awakened by burglars in her room, and they had threatened and gagged her until they got off with their booty; and in the present state of our criminal jurisprudence a burglar's temptation to commit murder when discovered is very strong. What gives the case most of its peculiarity is the treatment of it by the press. Some of the papers blame the police a good deal for not laying their hands at once on the murderer, apparently on the theory that the policeman is a sort of guardian angel who ought to watch over each citizen while he sleeps, or at all events meet assassins when they are leaving his chamber. Others again have undertaken the job of finding the murderer themselves, and will have it that it was the unfortunate lady's husband, a doctor over seventy-four years old, who killed her. What his motive was they do not as yet reveal, but they intimate that if we concede that he is guilty they will supply his motive by and by. In the Nathan case they charged the dead man's son with the crime, and were disgusted with him because he would not confess it.

All this is due to the deadly influence of the dread of "beats." This passion impels every reporter to go straight to the most sensational view of every subject because it may turn out to be the correct one, and in that case the glory and profit of having first propounded it will be very great. Should it prove incorrect, nothing worse will result than a certain amount of suffering to some individual or family. When somebody is murdered, of course the murder is better news if committed by some near and dear relative than if committed by a total stranger, and accordingly the reporter, if he has any chance at all, fastens it on a husband or wife or son. One who has had no experience of a calamity of any kind in his domestic circle which has a "newsy" look, has no idea of the fierce impatience with which the reporters now assault the house, the regular employés of the daily papers being reinforced, and indeed often swept away, by bodies of private collectors, who gather up news on speculation and sell it to the city editors. We know of a case in which a house had to be defended against them by the police, after they had threatened to kick the door in. To men in this temper anybody is capable of a murder or robbery, and has to keep a very civil tongue in his head to escape being charged with it.

The financial markets show a tendency towards a halt in the active speculative movement that has prevailed during the last few months; the result, perhaps, of unusually high prices, of doubts about the result of the Western harvest, and of the closing of speculative accounts in anticipation of summer recreation. Government bonds, however, maintain their late activity, and, as the supply of four per cent. certificates is rapidly declining, it is anticipated that the market will soon revert to the control of the loan syndicate, with the result of higher prices for the fours. The money market has returned to its usual summer ease. Currency is flowing freely into the city banks, and the last weekly statement showed an increase of $1,724,000 in the surplus over legal re-

serves. On demand loans the rate of interest ranges at 2¼ to 4 per cent. Owing to the rapid gain in the imports with a concurrent decline in the exports, and also to the return of called bonds from Europe, the foreign exchanges wear a firm aspect, and rates have ranged so closely upon the point at which specie can be exported that $850,000 of gold coin was exported during the week ending on the 14th inst. The information conveyed by the British Minister at Berlin, that the German Government has suspended its sales of silver, and probably permanently, has been the occasion of an active speculation in silver at London, under which the price advanced to 52⅝*d.* per oz.; the rise, however, was not maintained, and the quotation fell back to 52*d.*, apparently under a suspicion that strained inferences had been drawn from the official announcement. At the close of the week the value of the bullion contents of the 412½-grain silver dollar was 87.78 cents. The defeat of the Warner Silver Bill has not visibly affected the value of silver, while it has afforded marked satisfaction in financial circles, as at least the postponement of a serious threatened derangement of our currency system.

The blows which England is receiving in outdoor sports, it is safe to say, are likely to prove nearly as depressing as—to a portion of the public more depressing than—the financial and commercial difficulties of the day. Men who can hear of the decline of foreign trade and the sufferings of the landed interest with equanimity, have been plunged in gloomy foreboding by the American triumphs in shooting and horse-racing, and those of the Australians in cricketing. The final and easy defeat of Elliott, the champion sculler, by Hanlan, the Canadian, will come on these people with a great shock. One of the sporting papers says that these calamities are all due to excessive luxury, but how this drawback is to be got rid of it is hard to see. Nobody is willing to practise self-denial in the hope that some unknown man's stroke or wind, or somebody's horse's speed or bottom, may thereby be improved. English defeats in these things, like the loss of her foreign markets, are in reality signs of the levelling-up of the world. Peace and freedom gave her a century's start in nearly everything, but as these things have begun to come to other peoples, they begin to work and play as well as she.

The troubles in the French Assembly—in the last row two members came to fisticuffs, and Paul de Cassagnac was suspended for three days for insulting the Government—are due to the fact that the members of the Right, though they sit and vote, really do not acknowledge the right of the Republicans to be there and to carry on the Government. The fact that they were lawfully elected under the constitution and the laws with them goes for nothing. They deny that such bad men can acquire the right to govern by any process. In fact, this state of mind is not unlike that of our Stalwarts towards the Brigadiers. They will not even acknowledge the authority of the majority to regulate the proceedings of the Chamber. A vote of censure on a member for disorderly behavior entails a fine of a quarter of his month's pay. When this is inflicted on one of their number they subscribe the amount or purchase a present for him with it, in order to fortify him in his rowdyism and insubordination.

M. Emile Ollivier, the *enfant terrible* of the French Academy, who refuses to make Henri Martin's reception speech unless he is allowed to have his fling at M. Thiers, has written a long letter to the Academicians, which he published first in the newspapers, in which he instructs them in a very magisterial tone on the law and usage of reception oratory, and cites numerous precedents showing that criticism derogatory to defunct members had been permitted to those who had welcomed their successors. The whole letter is very characteristic in its want of perception, and the *Temps* points out to him in the cruellest way that there is no precedent for an attack before the Academy on the memory of a statesman who had freed France from an invading army and reorganized her government, by an orator who had plunged her without preparation or cause into a war which had brought her to the verge of ruin.

Prince Bismarck already begins to feel the inconvenience of his alliance with the Ultramontanes, who have begun calling for the reward of their support. When the Liberal President of the Reichstag resigned the other day, in consequence of his differences with the majority of the Chamber, the first vice-president elected was an Ultramontane; but the party refused to permit the election of a familiar of Prince Bismarck's, named Lucius, as the second vice-president, and the Prince had to submit. Their organ, the *Germania*, now says that Dr. Falk, the author of the ecclesiastical laws, must be got rid of, and that this would be the opening of a "beneficent reaction," and that the Chancellor must not flatter himself that the party will sell him its birthright for a mess of pottage. It seems, however, as if he would not surrender Falk to them, nor yet repeal the obnoxious laws; but some arrangement is believed to have been made by which they will not be executed at all, or not executed with rigor.

The Khedive has apparently been frightened, on calm consideration, by the prospect of French and English, and probably especially of French, displeasure, and has cancelled the grand plan by which, under native administration, he was to pay the bondholders in full. He now remits the whole matter of security and rate of interest on the consolidated debt to France and England. It is not likely that after this fresh display of weakness he will be long able to hold his throne.

The naval portion of the war between Chili and Peru apparently furnishes the same kind of instruction to professional men as all the others which have preceded it since ironclads came into fashion. In the Austro-Italian battle of Lissa the victory was won entirely by ramming, and the sole order of the Austrian Admiral Tegethoff was "to ram everything grey." All the ironclads which have come to grief in time of peace, too, have done so through the ramming of their consorts. The best work of our war even was ram work. In fact, so far as experience has yet gone, the tremendous artillery of the ironclads, on which such enormous sums have been expended, is of little value. It cannot keep an enemy off or sink him. In the late South American battle two Peruvian ironclads, the *Huascar* and *Independencia*, went in search of the Chilian fleet, and found it. The *Huascar* received three broadsides from the Chilian *Esmeralda* without damage, and then sent her to the bottom with a single ram. The *Independencia* went in pursuit of the *Covadonga* despatch-boat, which led her close in shore, and she speedily touched a rock—or, in other words, was rammed—and went to the bottom like a lump of lead, carrying her crew with her. This leaves Peru with no navy but the ram *Huascar*, which will probably be able to give a good account of her enemies as long as she does not use her guns, but rams boldly. In fact, the slightest touch of a ram seems to dispose of the largest ironclad afloat instantaneously. Worse news than all this could hardly reach the great naval powers of Europe, and especially England.

The Panama line having been decided on for the ship-canal across the Isthmus, the work seems likely to be taken in hand, mainly by French capitalists, who have been enchanted with the results of their venture on the Suez Canal, particularly as M. de Lesseps is to father the new project. He announced at a meeting of the International Literary Congress in Paris, the other day, that he had made a sort of experimental preliminary call for two million francs, in shares of five thousand each, and the whole had been subscribed in two days, without the publication of a single advertisement. The interest of the United States in this scheme is as great or greater than that of England in the Suez Canal, and England made the huge mistake of having nothing to do with the latter. We trust our Government will not be equally neglectful, and if the good faith of the enterprise had not been called in question by those who know how the decision as to a route was reached, investment in the shares would not be a bad thing, or a very bad use to make of the precious silver dollars now in the Treasury.

THE IMPENDING TROUBLE OF THE SILVER PROPHETS.

IF silver shall go back again to 59 or 60, the point at which it would circulate at par with gold—as seems now not at all improbable—it will be very interesting to watch the effect on the various advocates of remonetization. It will be remembered that silver stood at this point when the double standard was abolished by the Act of 1873, and that at the time it was passed there was not, and had not been from 1862, any silver in circulation in this country even as small change. For this reason the legislation in question, though it was very carefully considered in Congress, excited no attention whatever out of doors; indeed it had little practical importance beyond giving a certain increase of stability to the standard of value. Nobody paid his debts, or made his contracts, or settled his accounts in silver, and for fourteen years nobody had even carried silver tokens in his pocket. It was consequently not surprising that, for two years after the Act passed, the public remained in complete ignorance of its existence. In 1875, however, silver began to fall in value and continued to do so steadily. As soon as this was perceived—but no sooner—there arose the agitation which resulted in the Silver Bill of 1878. It was then discovered, and proclaimed, that the demonetization in 1873 was brought about by a conspiracy of European bankers and moneylenders and bondholders, who sent an agent to this country named "Ernest Lloyd" to corrupt Congress and the press, and whose efforts were crowned with success. Their object was to enhance the value of their bonds and of all evidences of debt, and, in short, to enable them to create a "corner" in gold, to the great detriment of the American people.

Mr. Murat Halstead, the great Western apostle of the silver movement, wrote a letter in these columns on the 22d of December, 1877, in which he declared that "the money-changers," when they brought about the demonetization of silver, "had knowledge" that it would depreciate, it being an axiom "that silver demonetized in the very country that produced it would decline in the metal market," and that "they couldn't help knowing it." He evidently wrote in a state of great excitement (he was then producing, according to one of his local contemporaries, "sixteen silver articles a day"), and we were therefore able to point out to him two important facts which he had overlooked. One was, that the demonetization of silver in this country could hardly have caused the decline, even if silver had been in use here, because the decline did not begin to show itself for two years after the demonetization. The second was, that silver was not in circulation in this country when the demonetization occurred, even as small change, and had not been for eleven years, and that "the axiom" of the metal market which was running in his head was, not that silver would decline if demonetized by a country producing it, but that it would decline if thrown out of circulation by a country using it. The demonetization of a metal by a country not using it produces little more effect on the metal market than a declaration signed by a large body of teetotallers that they will drink no more champagne produces on the wine market. We also pointed out to him that the probable cause of the decline was the demonetization by Germany, which actually threw an immense quantity of silver coin on the market as bullion, and this happened to come at a time when there was a great increase in the production of the mines. That a man of Mr. Halstead's perspicacity should not himself have perceived all this appeared very strange, but it was one of the not uncommon results of discussing or approaching financial questions in a state of great mental exaltation. It is now somewhat diverting to read in the Cincinnati *Commercial* that "the price of silver is advancing, and that there is reason to believe it will before long be placed close alongside gold at the American ratio"; and that "the advance in part is caused by the failure in the German supply." "Hitherto," it calmly says, "the Germans have been breaking the market, and now it seems they have no more to sell, and may even want to buy." The editor also candidly acknowledges that "he has for some time been disappointed in the silver market," and well he may be, considering that he held in 1877 that it was the Act of 1873 which had caused the decline, and has found that our remonetization, far from stopping the fall, produced no effect on it whatever. Usually a prophet who has made such dreadful mistakes as these either hides himself in the bushes until the affair blows over, or else abandons prediction and goes into some other business. But one of the peculiarities of the Silver Prophet is, that the course of events never abashes him in the least; so Mr. Halstead actually calls on "the Congressmen and journalists of the northeastern shore of this continent to begin to study to accommodate themselves to the facts about the silver question, and learn to treat it as it is treated in other countries—as a question of history, law, and science." To a student of manners this is one of the richest incidents in recent history, but we are not now studying manners.

What we wish to point out is the probability—which Mr. Halstead, to do him justice, himself appears to perceive in the article from which we have quoted—that the bulk of his supporters will probably desert him in case silver rises to 59 or 60. He belongs to the comparatively small body of silver fanatics who think untold good will result to the world from keeping the volume of the metallic currency large. The bulk of his supporters belong to the very large body of by no means fanatical persons who were made furious by the discovery in 1875 that the Act of 1873 had deprived them of the power of paying their debts with a depreciated and depreciating coin. Their interest in silver is due solely to the fact that it is much lower in value than gold. It is this motive which lies behind all the frantic efforts of the past two years to bring about unlimited coinage of silver. If now the old ratio between gold and silver should be restored by the withdrawal of Germany from the market, or by a great falling off in production, or by an increased demand for the Eastern trade, such as is likely to arise from the failure of the French and Italian silk crops, or by all these agencies combined, it is all but certain that we shall witness the sudden cessation of the silver movement—or, in other words, a return of the state of the public mind about silver which existed previous to 1875—that is, absolute indifference. There would then be little or no silver in circulation except as small change, because as long as there was nothing gained by handling anything so bulky nobody would use it, and if it rose above the legal ratio in gold it would be all exported.

The most that can be said about the rise at present is that it is not unlikely; that it would be for the moment a great blessing we need not say. But if it occurs it will be a most striking and effective illustration of the soundness of the opinion which has for years past been gaining strength, both as to the defectiveness of silver as a standard of value and of the uselessness of attempting to maintain a double standard. We wish we could hope that it would be an equally effective illustration of the danger and folly of blind fury about questions of finance. But we fear that, owing to the extraordinary faculty possessed by politicians of forgetting disagreeable things, and making others forget them, the most valuable lesson of the silver craze will yield no fruit. Those who have been most prominent in spreading the "conspiracy" story, and extolling silver as *par excellence* the poor man's money, as distinguished from gold, the banker's, usurer's, and bondholder's money, will a year or two hence laugh over this curious episode as heartily as they laugh over the activity of the French and Fenians in discovering "traitors" and "spies"; or else drop it from their recollection as successfully as Mr. W. D. Kelley dropped his own prominence in the very "fraud" in 1873 which he passed last year in furiously exposing and denouncing. These things do not increase one's respect for human nature, but the recital of them at least often enlivens the winter evenings.

INTERFERENCE OF THE CROWN IN BRITISH POLITICS.

THE last number of the *Fortnightly Review* contains an article from Mr. Henry Dunckley on the recent resolution of censure on the Ministry moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Dillwyn, touching the alleged interference of the Queen with Sir Bartle

Frere's doings in South Africa, and, indeed, touching the alleged growing disposition of the Crown to meddle in politics. Mr. Dillwyn's resolution would have failed, of course, in any case in the presence of the strong Tory majority, but it was covered with discredit through the refusal of the leading Liberals, including Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington, to have anything to do with it. It had in their eyes the fatal defect that it was capable of being construed as a reflection on the Queen. In fact, the discovery that it was open to this construction seems to have overwhelmed even Mr. Dillwyn himself with confusion. Mr. Dunckley, the Manchester journalist, whose remarkable pamphlet a year ago first called attention to what he considered the undue growth of the royal power under Lord Beaconsfield's instigation, now comes out with a defence of Mr. Dillwyn, which this gentleman had not the courage to make for himself in the House of Commons, and which no one else ventured to make for him, viz.: that even if the motion did touch the Queen personally it was proper that it should do so, because the nature of the evil is such that it cannot be cured without a certain kind of criticism of the sovereign herself, in spite of the maxim that "the king can do no wrong." Mr. Dunckley, too, heaps much ridicule on the delicacy displayed by the Liberal leaders in approaching the subject.

The cause of offence is that Sir Bartle Frere, a man of headstrong temper, and, as appears from his own despatches, of very advanced Jingo views regarding the destiny of England in South Africa, entered into recklessly, if he did not purposely set on foot, a war with Cetewayo, the king of the Zulus, without the knowledge or consent of the home Government. For this he was sternly rebuked in despatches from the Colonial Office, and directed to let annexation alone. But at the same time that he was receiving this unpleasant missive from his chief, Lady Frere was receiving a private letter from the Queen, expressing deep sympathy with "her noble-minded husband" in his difficulties. The effect of this letter was, it is alleged with much plausibility, to counteract in Sir Bartle's mind and that of his adherents the effect of the official despatches, and, indeed, to form a party among the Colonists to back up Sir Bartle and the Queen against the Ministry. Other incidents of a similar character, such as the receipt by the Queen of long and expensive private despatches from Lord Lytton, giving an account of the movement of the troops in Afghanistan, have been adduced in justification of the alarm which the extreme Radicals feel or affect to feel over the encroachments of the Crown.

There is no doubt, however, that Mr. Dunckley's letter would probably never have been written, and the discussion over the bounds of the royal prerogative never have arisen, if it had not been for the publication of the memoirs of the Prince Consort by Mr. Theodore Martin. The extraordinary frankness of these volumes, the fulness and freedom with which the life of the royal family and their motives of action in small as well as in great things are laid before the public, make them a complete novelty in literature, and probably the most attractive morsel which could have been offered to English society in its present condition.

The portion which has attracted most attention is the picture of the part played by the Prince in English politics. He brought over with him on his marriage an elderly German physician, Baron Stockmar, who had long been the friend and domestic adviser of the Coburg family, and was expected to be a useful guide for the Prince in his new and in many ways trying position in English society. Stockmar had a full supply of views on the English Constitution, which he dealt out in the most solemn fashion day by day to the young couple, and which the Prince, with true German thoroughness and conscientiousness, forthwith began to reproduce in ponderous "memoranda" on all the leading questions of the day, addressed to the ministers for the time being, and the composition of which the Queen watched with delighted interest. Under this process the Stockmar theory that the Crown had been deprived of its due prominence in affairs gained ground steadily, and before the Prince's death he had come to regard himself and the Queen, as his correspondence shows, as in a certain sense the Government of the country, and the Cabinet as a span of dull but necessary oxen, whom he had to goad into action and rouse to a sense of their duty. The most unpleasant passage in the memoirs is the account of the friendship which the royal couple contracted for Louis Napoleon immediately after the *coup d'état;* and probably few readers have noticed without something like pain the absence from the letters and journals and "memoranda" of the slightest expression of regret over that monstrous crime, or repugnance for its author.

The main importance of this episode, however, lies in the light it throws on the extraordinary favor which Lord Beaconsfield has enjoyed at court ever since he first took office. He is a man of essentially the same type as Louis Napoleon, and indeed began life in much the same way. He is flashy, unscrupulous, adroit, with a deep-seated contempt for parliamentary government and a passionate love of theatrical effects, and with a profound veneration for power in its coarsest forms and deep admiration for its trappings. His gross flattery, his gaudy rhetoric, with which he appears to have begun to ply the Queen from the very outset in his private accounts of the parliamentary debates, and his eager acceptance of the Stockmar view of the position of the Crown, have combined to give him a position at court such as no minister in this century has held, or, we may perhaps add, would have consented to hold. That he has been using his influence to embody in practice the fantastic views of government propounded by Disraeli the younger in his novels, Mr. Dunckley and those who agree with him have little difficulty in showing. That the Queen has been led by his counsels, and probably by his flatteries, into a certain amount of indiscretion in her correspondence with high officers, is perhaps also true. But for the difficulty which the Radicals experience in applying a remedy neither Lord Beaconsfield nor his Cabinet is to blame, but the present constitution of English society. The reason why the Liberal side of the House of Commons shrinks from even the appearance of censuring any practice in which the Queen has personally taken part, is social rather than political. There is not much left in England of the kind of loyalty which made the great Chatham kneel at the king's bedside when transacting state business with him, but another kind has sprung up which is perhaps a stronger force, and is much more widely diffused. We mean the reverence for the Court as the head of "society," and the power by which "social position" can be given or taken away. No matter in what calling a man is working in England to-day, the thing he seeks most earnestly as the crown of his labors is recognition in the Court circle for himself and his family, and the Court circle is now so large that loss of good standing in it has come to have the air of a terrible penalty, from which everybody shrinks. When the Prince of Wales mentioned Miss Thompson's picture at a public dinner he gave her fame and fortune, although every one in the room knew that his judgment of pictures was not valuable. In like manner an expression of his displeasure or dislike, and *à fortiori* of the Queen's, directed against man or woman would be a blow that hardly any one has the courage to face, so much loss or inconvenience and mortification may it involve. Even statesmen of the highest rank flinch from it, and the resistance to the interference of the Crown is left to those who are prepared to confess that they do not pretend to have achieved what the English would consider the highest success in life.

In fact, it is no great exaggeration to say that there is, since the wide diffusion of the suffrage, a perceptible leaning in favor of personal government among the wealthy and well-to-do classes—that is, the classes who have made money and want to enjoy it in an easy, elegant, and secure way. Political life grows more and more difficult for them under the parliamentary system, and, to put the matter somewhat roughly but concisely, they rather like to be ruled by somebody who gives good dinners, balls, and decorations. In England, the Disraeli view of limited monarchy is greatly aided by the unquestioned purity of the Queen's character, and by the length of her reign. She is an older politician than any man now prominent in public life except Lord Beaconsfield himself, and has known the ins and outs of every great

question which has agitated Europe for over forty years. Hardly any man who has made any mark in England, and is still on the stage, can recall the time when she was not on the throne, and when the loyalty of the country was trying to resist the influence of the lives of her uncles. The mere lapse of years has, therefore, given her an authority with which her natural powers have had nothing to do, and the frank way in which she has laid the story of her life before the world has deeply touched the popular imagination, for it puts in striking form the old truth that the palace is no better defence than the cabin against death and sorrow. A clever charlatan, with a theory to work out and personal ends to serve, could in fact hardly have found a more effective instrument than a sovereign like Queen Victoria, whom he had induced to believe in him.

THE DIDOT SALE.

PARIS, May 30, 1879.

THE sale of the great library of M. Firmin Didot is continuing this year, the family of M. Didot having wisely distributed it over several years. Though the passion for fine books and bindings has never been as intense as it is now, the floating capital which can be invested in books is limited after all, and it is not safe to throw too many books on the market at the same time.

M. Firmin Didot was somewhat of a glutton as a bibliophile. I have carefully examined this second series of manuscripts and prints which is selling this week at the Hôtel des Ventes, and I came to the conclusion that time was a necessary element even in the creation of a library. Surely there are wonderfully fine things in the collection which is now being dispersed. What library would not be adorned by a book like the 'Heures d'Anne d'Autriche,' which was sold yesterday afternoon at the price of $5,800? Who would not like to possess the pretty little manuscript called the 'Prières de Bussy-Rabutin'? I remembered the verses of Boileau about "les saints qu'a célébrés Bussy" when I turned the vellum pages on which Bussy had painted beautiful miniatures of Anne of Austria, of the Duke of Buckingham (as Saint Stephen), of Condé, of Mademoiselle de la Vallière, of Louis XIII., etc. The text of this profane prayer-book was only written on four pages; the others are still white; and on the four pages I mention the text has been scratched. Bussy was an admirable soldier, but his profanity and his verses on Louis XIV. in the 'Histoire amoureuse des Gaules' condemned him to perpetual exile in his château in Burgundy.

To return to the collection of M. Didot: it is impossible to praise too highly the manuscript of Charles VI., which will be sold in two days. This magnificent "missal" was executed for Charles, the King of France, and belonged afterwards to Henry V. of England, to Henry VI., Henry VII., and Henry VIII. It is a very fine specimen of our school of Touraine. After the Reformation it was sent to Antwerp and sold to the Abbey of Tongerloo, in Belgium, with a copy of Leonardo da Vinci's "Last Supper," executed for Henry VIII. The missal remained in this abbey till 1869; at that date it was sold by the monks, who were anxious to make a present of money to the Pope, and M. Didot was the happy purchaser of it.

Among the books and manuscripts of the Didot collection there are, however, many which a very fastidious bibliophile would not much approve of. M. Didot committed often the great mistake of repairing old books. Such repairs are always very dangerous; it is better to have an historical binding, with the wounds and injuries of time, than to see it repaired by an ignorant and coarse hand. We only trust in Paris a valuable old book for such repairs to one man, who has made a specialty of it, as he is attached to the Bibliothèque Nationale, with the special function of repairing its books. In his spare hours the excellent L—— makes a few repairs for a few bibliophiles, but he works discreetly—never attempts to conceal too much, never alters the character of a work. M. Didot has unfortunately employed a very able book-doctor, if I may use the word, who lived chiefly in England at one time, where he worked much for M. Libri and for some eminent bibliophiles. This French artist, for he is a real artist, has not the conscience of our good book-doctor of the Bibliothèque Nationale; he can even be said to be full of imagination; he likes to change lead into gold, to turn an ordinary book into an historical book by the addition of arms, devices, monograms, etc. Such transformation cannot be too severely condemned. M. Didot did not care enough about the quality of modern bindings; when he had as good a book as the original edition of the 'Characters' of La Bruyère he ought not to have had his copy bound by anybody but a first-rate binder. The chief service which M. Didot has rendered to the world of bibliophilism has been his incessant and almost ravenous collection of what we call the 'Livres à figures,' illustrated books. He found out early that engraving, even in the more modest form which it assumes in books, is really a form of art, and may become one of its highest forms in the hands of great artists. M. Didot applied himself particularly to the study of the French engravers.

M. Duplessis, son of the *conservateur* of our great National Library, who is at the head of the Department of Engravings, will soon publish through Hachette a large work on 'Engravers and Engraving.' Few men are as competent to treat this subject. He has added to the second volume of M. Ambroise Firmin Didot's Catalogue a short notice on the engravings in books, or what we should call now the *illustrations*. In some of the oldest manuscripts are found attempts at real engraving; the National Library has a manuscript which has been traced to the period which followed the year 1406, and in which are two engravings surrounded with writing; there are several engravings made by Israel van Meckenen, and painted by hand, in another manuscript of our Library, a book of 'Horæ' on vellum, made in 1466 for Jean le Bon, Count of Angoulême. It is well known that in the works which go under the name of *xylography* the text is engraved on wood as well as the figures. Many books have been written on the first xylographic works. The collection of M. Firmin Didot possessed a few of these rare works. The most important is an 'Ars Moriendi,' the only copy known of an edition which is not quite similar to the first edition of this book by Heinecken. There is no complete copy existing of this first edition; there are some parts wanting in the copy of Munich, in the copy of Memmingen, in the copy of our National Library. The edition of M. Didot was probably made in the Netherlands; the costumes are those of the low countries, and some good judges attribute the drawings to Laurens Coster.

These first books, or embryos of books, called xylographs, so humble, so poor when you compare them with the magnificent manuscripts adorned with golden letters and miniatures, are nevertheless of the greatest interest. They represent the first efforts made for the popularization of ideas; the manuscripts could only belong to the "happy few," the xylographs were intended for the people. M. Didot had, besides his 'Ars Moriendi,' two copies of the 'Historia Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ, ejusque visiones apocalypticæ' of the first and of the second edition; he had the only known Italian xylographic work, 'Opera nova contemplativa,' an imitation of the so-called Bible of the Poor. The engravings are by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, called Vadagnino; one of them is a faithful copy of an engraving of Albert Dürer's published in 1509. It is well known that Dürer applied his great genius to the illustration of books. His 'Life of the Virgin,' his 'Great Passion' and his 'Little Passion,' his 'Apocalypse' are works of art of the highest importance. Dürer shines like a star of the first magnitude among much smaller stars; still the names of Hans Burgkmair, of Jobst Amman, and a few others are still remembered, and the books which they adorned are much prized, especially in Germany. Bibliophiles are very great admirers of the books illustrated by Hans Holbein; his "Simulachres de la Mort" and "Icones Historiarum Veteris Testamenti" are, so to speak, necessary in any good library. The "Simulachres" appeared first without any text, and these first impressions are of the greatest rarity.

In Italy the printers of the fifteenth and of the sixteenth century did not fail to employ the numerous artists of the time for the ornamentation of the books which they published. Engraving on metal was first introduced by Nicolò di Lorenzo in the 'Monte Santo di Dio' of Antonio Bettini of Siena. In 1481 there appeared an edition of Dante's 'Divina Commedia' with some engravings by Baldini, made probably after the drawings of the admirable Botticelli, one of the most original masters of the time (see the Museum of Florence and the National Gallery of London). This charming Florentine art, which has no better representative than Botticelli, has left numberless traces in books; title-pages, ornamental letters, small cuts betray constantly the genius of the creative period of the early school of Florence. The greatest artists did not disdain to draw models for the printers; the prayer-books of the time, the printed sermons, the ponderous works on theology, on liturgy, everything, in short, bears the mark of the power and genius of this incomparable period. Firmin Didot wisely collected all the specimens he could find of this charming Italian art. The common bibliophiles generally are contented with the most famous specimens; the best known is perhaps the 'Songe de Poliphile.' M. Duplessis places on the same line with this famous

work the 'Metamorphoses' of Ovid by Buonsignore (Venice, 1497); the Plays of Terence, printed in 1499 by Lorenzo de Soardi; the Histories of Herodotus, translated into Latin by Laurentius Valla (Venice, 1494); the edition of the 'Decamerone' of Boccaccio published in Venice in 1492; the 'Fasciculus Medicinæ.' Venice had no especial privilege, though it turned out more books than any other city at first. Rome, Milan, Ferrara soon competed with Venice; in Florence the sermons of Savonarola were illustrated by great artists. Bernardino Luini, the divine Luini, the pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, illustrated a 'Life of Saint Veronica' (1518). How many others could we not name!

In the Netherlands we find Rembrandt and Rubens among the illustrators of books. Rembrandt made an etching for the tragedy of his friend the Burgomaster Six, 'Medea'; he made six etchings (the rarest of his work) for a book published in 1655 in Amsterdam by his friend the Jew Menasseh ben Israel. We could name hundreds of smaller, of very humble names among the illustrators of books in the Netherlands. In my opinion there is very little merit in most of these books. I consider them greatly inferior to the works of the Italian schools. In England and in Spain the art of engraving was not so constantly applied to the ornamentation of books; but the taste for illustrations in books having once become popular in England, has never since ceased to be so; and a school was founded in England which can boast of many famous names, Hogarth, Bewick, Stothard, Rowlandson, Cruikshank, etc.

THE VIVISECTION QUESTION IN GERMANY.

BERLIN, May 25, 1879.

THE development of physiology during the last quarter of a century in Germany has been by general acknowledgment unprecedented in the history of science. Instead of being united with anatomy in one professorship in the universities it is now often argued that it is too wide a field for a single specialist. In determining the curriculum of the large new Institute in Berlin, "the palace of the queen of natural science," according to the director, it was debated whether a year's course of lectures of five hours a week on general physiology must not be superficial, and whether the work should not be divided, as Pflüger and others have suggested, among its several constituent departments. A physiologist, it was said, must be by turns physicist, chemist, mathematician, toxicologist, microscopist, and now, by general consent, even philologist, like Brücke, and philosopher, like Wundt. The younger men who now overcrowd the market, and occasion the liveliest competition, devote themselves mainly to some one of its sub-specialties. The Berlin Institute is the largest of some half a dozen well-equipped and independent establishments of the kind which have been built in Germany during the last ten or fifteen years. Besides several auditoriums with every convenience for experimentation, and for bringing microscopic and other preparations under the eye of each student, it contains large and fully furnished laboratories for physical and chemical work and for vivisection, intricate webs of electrical wires connected with constant batteries in the cellar, a magneto-electric machine of several horse-power worked by steam, and extensive basement apartments for frogs, rabbits, dogs, guinea pigs, pigeons, etc., all cared for by nearly a score of servants, famuli, and assistants, and all directly under the care and inspection of the Government, with fully detailed records of all original work published in the various physiological archives. The pre-eminence of German science is nowhere more supreme than here.

These are the men and institutions against which the anti-vivisection movement is directed. The question is comparatively recent here, and has very different features from the agitation in England, as a result of which vivisection is there allowed only to a very few eminent men by Government license and under severe restrictions and liabilities. An illustrated brochure of nearly eighty pages, entitled the 'Torture Chamber of Science,' was published about the beginning of the present year, which has had an immense sale, already been translated into five foreign languages, and reached a sixth stereotyped edition. It is written with striking journalistic art by a young nobleman, who is one of the directors of the Dresden Anti-cruelty Society. Public sentiment has been so aroused by the discussion thus evoked that eminent physiologists like Ludwig have been threatened on the street, and one of his more timid friends expressed to the writer his fear that the trouble might become as serious as in the case of Prof. Schiff, who was lately obliged to remove from Florence by a league of workingmen who threatened his life. The author has turned many hundred pages of archives, and describes the roasting of live rabbits, the effects of curara, the throwing of dogs with extirpated brains into water-vats, etc. He conjectures how many animals different physiologists have sacrificed, charging one by name with having tortured to death fourteen thousand dogs, gives a long list of contradictory or doubtful results reached by different experimenters, describes and illustrates affecting scenes where animals have pleaded for life, and students have turned away sickened not only from the vivisectorium but from the study of medicine, and concludes that the evil he describes is one of the greatest moral stains upon modern civilization, making physicians unsympathetic and often careless and hard-hearted. Physiology, it is said, can scarcely be called a science as yet, and the contributions of vivisectionists to the understanding and amelioration of human suffering have been almost nothing. It is as if one sought to learn the secret of Raphael's art by cutting up his canvasses. Science, it is said, will be brought into popular disfavor, and ladies are exhorted to give up the patronage and acquaintance of all physicians who operate on live animals, and to become themselves members of anti-cruelty societies, now too often controlled and even presided over by "hypocritical vivisectors."

There is no doubt that, after making all allowance for the extravagance and sentimentality, and even the ignorance of many errors in the statement of fact, in such arguments as the above, there is sometimes unnecessary cruelty. It is largely a matter of individual character whether a physiologist carefully informs himself beforehand of all the results of previous experiments and of the anatomical situation, and specifies sharply in his own mind the question he wishes to determine, and the method of the least possible suffering by the use of anæsthetics when possible. Restrictions by competent authorities also cannot possibly be too great or numerous. But to one who is acquainted in laboratories and with their directors, the general charge of inhumanity is simply absurd. There are now very much fewer private experiments or experimenters than formerly. Nearly all studies are made by specialists and in institutes, with the greatest publicity, and thus contribute their moiety to general progress. In order best to observe, one must be collected and rapid, and for the moment unsympathetic; but every investigator knows that pain is always a disturbing element, and must be reduced to its minimum. Moreover, a clumsy or cruel experimenter is condemned nowhere more severely than by his own co-laborers. For ourselves, we cannot but regard the anti-vivisection feeling here as born of the same sentimentality of ideal over-refinement, wealth, or idleness which prompts the Brahmin to sweep his path before him lest he tread unconsciously on a worm, or a well-known Berlin clergyman to eat the flesh of only *large* animals, that he may share with many others the accountability for the taking of life; and which in this matter makes common cause with social democracy if the latter, as we suggest, may be defined as the consensus of the incompetent upon properly professional questions.

How much animals suffer when compared with men in the same conditions admits as yet of no psycho-physic formulation, and perhaps never will, but all indications drawn from the structure of their brain are that it is far less. Nearly all that is known of mitigating their pains and of curing their diseases is due to physiology. Their most inexcusable tortures are for man's amusement—the chase, pigeon-shooting, etc.—but how much more reprehensible these are than the excessive care lavished on lap-dogs, favorite race-horses, etc., we leave for moralists to determine, and content ourselves here with enumerating a few of the most general results which the practice in question has already contributed to the cure and prevention of disease. In certain cases of cramp, attended by dilation of the pupils, vivisection alone has been able to teach that the trouble is in the cervical sympathetic nerve, and designated both the nature and place of the application of the remedy. Since Bernard found the cerebral point, the puncture of which caused diabetes, a long series of experiments on living animals have led to a new and far more successful treatment of this disease. The methods and conditions of the transfusion of blood, of the removal of diseased kidneys and ovaries, of artificial nourishment by stomach fistula, sub-periosteal resection, the application of the artificial larynx, have all been learned by experiments on animals. The possibility of such operations could never have been first proved on human subjects. According to official statistics over twelve thousand men die annually in India from the bite of poisonous serpents. Professor Burdon-Sanderson conceived the idea of seeking an antidote by experiments on animals. Perhaps nothing could be more painful, and the discovery is not yet complete, but there is increasing reason to expect that it will soon be. After trichinæ were observed, and official microscopic examination of pork introduced, it became essential to know in what part or parts of the body the parasite was to be sought for, and

it was found that hams, carefully examined, were often still infected. By experiments on living animals the development-history of the worm is now so thoroughly known that a single examiner, by the inspection of a part of the diaphragm, can tell at once and with certainty whether or not meat is marketable. Such are but a few of the immediately practicable ways in which animals have been offered to save human lives.*

It cannot be denied that there are very many details respecting the functions of the brain, the stimulation of circulatory centres, various secretions, reflexes, etc., in which eminent authorities disagree, and which can be decided only by experiments on living animals, but the incontestable fact remains that whenever physiology is thoroughly cultivated it has almost re-created the study and practice of medicine. Helmholtz, who has never published investigations requiring vivisection, and who may be called an impartial and competent judge, in speaking of the wonderful technique which its methods have developed, adds that the practice has made accessible to scientific observation a great number of most profound problems which a few decades ago seemed quite hopeless. Following the example of Claude Bernard, French professors often try to combine original observations with demonstration in the class-room, while in Germany it is held that a few fundamental experiments on living animals are indispensable for "heuristic" purposes alone. Every medical student has a struggle with his instinctive feelings in making acquaintance first of dissecting-rooms and museums of morbid anatomy, then of hospitals, and especially of surgical cliniques; but every one knows these feelings must be repressed, or he will never have the steady hand and eye which give poise and self-control in a critical emergency. The half-unconscious knowledge of this is no doubt at the bottom of much of the demonstrative and offensive, but often utterly insincere, affectation of hardheartedness by young medical students. It is not only as necessary but, we think, as natural for a good physician to grow more rationally sympathetic as for a moralist to cultivate conscientiousness. Vivisection is cruel, but disease, man's greatest enemy, is more so ; and if we were to retort in Herr von Weber's style of argument, we might ask him if he would refuse to torture a favorite dog for even a forlorn hope of saving the life of a member of his family ? We shoot noxious animals, slaughter calves and appropriate the mother's milk, etc., with the conviction that it is our duty to make way for the higher organization. For the same reason the physiologist has not completed his task when he has told us how animals grow ; he must also describe the important changes which take place between injury or the death of the brain and the beginning and progress of decomposition. No science has such problems and possibilities before it, and we consider the controversy we have attempted to epitomize as one of the most important of the many battles which science has waged with sentiment.

* See 'Die Vivisection im Dienste der Heilkunde. Von Prof. R. Heidenhain.'

Notes.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS announce for early publication the 'Life and Letters of Madame Jerome Bonaparte,' edited by Eugene L. Didier.——We learn that Dr. Emil Bessel's 'Nordamerikanische Nordpolfahrt' (Leipzig : Engelmann; 1879), whose success has been most gratifying—the whole edition of 5,000 copies having been taken up in a week—will be re-written in English by the author for this market.——A. D. F. Randolph & Co. issue immediately the 'Life of Prof. Albert Hopkins,' prepared from his journal, letters, and published articles.——'Bimetallism,' by Hugh McCulloch, will form No 17 of G. P. Putnam's Sons' "Economic Monographs."——Mr. Frank L. Pope's article on the "Life and Work of Joseph Henry," with special reference to his electrical discoveries, has been reprinted from the *Journal* of the American Electrical Society in pamphlet form (New York : D. Van Nostrand.)——The latest (No. 8) of the series of 'Personal Narratives of the Battles of the Rebellion,' published in Providence by S. S. Rider, is Dr. Wm. F. Hutchinson's account of the battle of Mobile Bay, the writer's post of observation being the deck of the *Lackawanna*. This paper was read before the Soldiers and Sailors' Historical Society of Rhode Island more than two years ago, and therefore before the appearance of Commodore Parker's compiled account, which we reviewed last fall. As showing what discrepancies occur in contemporary histories, we may mention the omission by Dr. Hutchinson of all reference to the *Lackawanna's* ramming the *Hartford* by mistake instead of the *Tennessee*. A heliotype interior view of Fort Morgan, and a diagram of the battle, accompany the text.——In the June number of the *American Naturalist* Mr. Richard Rathbun gives a very clear and highly interesting account of the late Prof. Hartt's determination of the origin of the Brazilian sandstone reefs. The *recife* of Pernambuco is naturally selected for detailed description.——The first number of vol. ii. of the New London *Boat Race Bulletin* has appeared in anticipation of the coming contest between Yale and Harvard on the 27th instant. This paper, gratuitously distributed, was a very effective auxiliary in the excellent management of the race last year. It contains a map of the entire course, and much other desirable information.——A useful work, called a 'Glossary of Terms and Phrases,' and intended (we quote the *Academy*) to include technical, historical, geographical, proverbial, and allusive words and phrases occurring with more or less frequency in general English literature, is announced to be published by C. Kegan Paul & Co.——It is proposed to publish immediately in five octavo volumes a complete collection of the fanciful extravaganzas of the venerable but still vivacious J. R. Planché. There are forty-four of these little plays, of which the first was originally brought out in 1828 and the latest in 1871. They are to be illustrated with portraits of the author and of the principal actors whose skill contributed to their success, including, of course, those of Madame Vestris and the late Charles J. Mathews. Mr. Planché has undertaken to revise for the press and contribute prefatory and marginal notes giving much curious information of the original actors and managers. This side-view of the history of the past sixty years of the London stage is of much interest. The entire profits go to the author. Subscriptions may be sent to Mr. Samuel French, publisher, 89 Strand, London, or Union Square and Fourteenth Street, New York.——Edmond Scherer, long connected with the Paris *Temps* in a literary capacity, has left that journal for the *National* on account of political differences.——A new book by Count Moltke, 'Letters from Spain,' is announced.——B. Westermann & Co. send us the prospectus of a new German monthly to appear in 1880, viz., the *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, conducted by Drs. Otto Behagel and Fritz Neumann, with whom Dr. Karl Bartsch will be associated. It will not be addicted to any school or tendency.——The Russians, as might have been expected, have made a profitable use of their sojourn in Bulgaria and Rumelia, and by geodetic and astronomic observations have laid the basis for really reliable cartography of this part of Turkey. The results, according to *Globus*, are expected to be published next year.

—At the instance of the Harvard Club of this city, a considerable number of the alumni lately put forward Dr. H. W. Bellows as their first nominee for a place on the Harvard Board of Overseers. Their candidate was, however, thrown out of the count on the ground of his ineligibility as a non-resident of Massachusetts ; but inasmuch as the alumni are not bound at the approaching election on Commencement Day to vote only for the Nominating Committee's list of declared favorites, the Club has just issued an address urging that the vote for Dr. Bellows be renewed at the polls. They also reargue at great length the legal question of eligibility, and show with much force and justice that remote parts of the country are, thanks to railroads and telegraphs, practically as near the college as Western Massachusetts is, so that non-resident Overseers might easily attend the meetings, and would do so at short summons in case of emergency. They might have added that probably only those whose disposition and ability to attend were notorious would be selected. The weak point of the address and of those which preceded it is the failure to demonstrate the evils of the present exclusive system, whether it be legal or illegal, or the gain to accrue from the extension of eligibility to non-residents. Is it really a misfortune that the great majority of the Overseers reside in Boston and its suburbs ? Does it tend to keep the college management old-fogyish, or on the other hand expose it too unrestrainedly to that radical spirit of innovation which we associate with the modern Athens ? Does it diminish the claims of the college on the munificence of non-resident alumni ? Does it make them indisposed to send their sons to their Alma Mater ? If not, where is the grievance ? We, for our part, see no objection to the liberty demanded by the Harvard Club, but we think we do see decided advantage in maintaining the active interest and participation of Bostonians (in the largest sense) in the college at their doors. They furnish, and always will, the most compact and influential contingent to every college class, and on them the college has relied, and always will, for steady pecuniary support, extraordinary contributions, and the most valuable legacies and endowments. This condition of things may be susceptible of improvement, but it does not seem to us alarming.

—The tenth annual report of the Massachusetts Board of Health commends itself, like its predecessors, to every intelligent person who has any

regard for his own or the public health. The papers on "Coal-Gas from Heating-Apparatus," "Common Defects in House-Drains," and "Ventilation"—the last highly to be praised for its scientific quality—should interest and will instruct every householder or housebuilder; the last two are copiously illustrated. Professor Edward Hitchcock, of Amherst, describes the system of physical education at that college, and shows the attendance on gymnastic exercises to be to that at college-prayers as 95.36 to 84.50 per cent. Dr. Henry P. Bowditch returns to the important subject of the growth of children, as observed in the public schools of Boston; and recalling the fact deduced from his discussion in the eighth report, that "children of American parentage are taller and heavier than children of the same age of Irish parentage," narrates the result of an attempt to discover whether easier circumstances or race should be considered the more important factor. To this end the statistics were tabulated for each nationality according to the occupation of the parents. From this it appears that "in general the children of the professional and mercantile classes are larger than those of the laboring classes," especially in the case of Americans; but generally also this difference is not so great as that between American and Irish children of the same social class. So far the stock seems of more importance than the mode of life, but Dr. Bowditch gives reasons for thinking that in the Boston community the latter factor "is at least equal to, and possibly even greater than, that of race." The general report of the Board marks continued progress in sanitary regulation with a proportionate effect upon the death-rate of Massachusetts. The abolition of the office of coroner and of coroners' juries has fully justified its advocates, and the new method of trained "medical examiners" in connection with the courts is estimated to cost the State one-third less than the old system.

—*Art-Interchange*, the journal published by or in the interest of the Decorative Art Society, offers $140 in prizes for three designs or sets of designs. There is a first and second prize for a design for a "portière," presumably to be embroidered, though that is not stated; a first and second prize for designs "for a set of twelve tiles or six dinner-plates"; and, finally, a first and second prize for designs for a "set of twelve dinner cards." The names of the judges have not yet reached us. A recent number of *Art-Interchange* contains the other necessary information, and all this can be had by addressing the editor of the paper, 140 Nassau Street. Every such attempt is worthy of all encouragement, provided there is a premium offered for simplicity and directness, for designs in harmony with the purposes of the object to be decorated and with the material it is composed of, for ornamental effect rather than for a display of skill in drawing from nature. But as to this particular contest it seems an awkward arrangement which allows competitors to send in at their pleasure either the completed *portière*, plates, cards, or tiles, or merely drawings. The case is nearly this: there will come in an hundred designs which are really very bad, for one or two tolerable ones; the one or two tolerable ones will differ from one another broadly and decidedly, one having more apparent originality of conception, another a more purely decorative feeling, another less originality and less decorative effect but much greater excellence in drawing the figure. Now, the difficulty which the judges will have in awarding the prizes here—a difficulty which will be greatly increased if, as is probable, no one design seems to them at all admirable or unusually good—will also be increased by the necessity of comparing a set of drawings on paper with a set of finished paintings on pottery. Probably it will be still worse in the embroidered *portière*, if it is to be embroidered. To compare finished work with the needle with a drawing on paper, however carefully made, will be very difficult. The editor of *Art-Interchange* expects that well-known artists will enter the lists, and compete for these prizes. If they should do so, if (to name a very few) Mr. La Farge, Mr. Colman, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Lathrop from among the painters, with a similar number from among the younger architects of European training, were actually to strive for these prizes, our inferences and assumptions as briefly worded above will not be altogether verified; but there is small chance of that. Where there are only two prizes for the whole number of competitors they must be great prizes indeed to induce men who have any profitable work on hand to compete for them. If a manufacturer should order a dozen tiles of one of the artists named above he would expect to pay twenty dollars apiece for them, let us say. Now, it is true that the premiated designs of this contest may remain the property of their makers, for all that appears in the published "Rules," but then their profitable use is not certain. No, all the designs submitted will be the work of people having plenty of leisure, who, except in rare cases, are not the ablest people.

—The prize print of *L'Art* this year is an etching by M. Lalauze of Makart's famous painting of Charles V.'s triumphal entry into Antwerp. This is the picture which was so especially a matter of general admiration at the Paris Exhibition of last summer; all across the Austrian art-gallery it stood, thirty feet by eighteen, or thereabout, with a half-dozen chairs secured to the floor along the line of supposed best points of sight. This also is the picture to which Mr. Comstock objects, as agent for some society for the encouragement of good morals. It was a colored photograph of it that he ordered taken out of a Fulton Street window. As for the picture, it has its merits, although we are of those who prefer to it the Catharine Cornaro by the same artist, which was at Philadelphia, and although there are assuredly as many disagreeable and doubtful tendencies as there are good points in the work of this so-called modern Paul Veronese. As for the etching, it is not a masterpiece. Mr. Lalauze's work has never seemed to us of the first rank. It is rather matter of surprise that Mr. Hamerton finds room for so extended a mention of his pretty little pictures for children, and this large work, with its somewhat harsh black and white contrasts and not very perfect disposition, is not more than fairly good either as a piece of engraving or as a reproduction of the painting. A right good *un*colored photograph would probably be a better thing, both as a picture and as a record.

—The *Gazette des Beaux Arts* is, as we said last week, definitely received into the slowly enlarging circle of European journals with American agencies. The five numbers for the months of the present year up to May are at hand; they have no announcement of Mr. Bouton's store as the New York publication office, but we may look for that hereafter; meantime, the way to complete this adoption of the stranger as a compatriot is to fill up the subscription-lists. The *Gazette*, all allowances made, is the first of art journals, and it is time that it should be at home in America elsewhere than in a few clubs and public reading-rooms. Beginning in 1859, the first two or three years made four volumes apiece, so that when, in 1868, an end was put to the "first series" there were not twenty but twenty-five volumes to bind. There are two index volumes accompanying this first series. The second series, which is still current, was marred by the war of 1870–71. We are now on the eleventh year of it, but instead of twenty stout octavos there are only eighteen as yet, this year bringing with it the nineteenth and twentieth volumes. There is an eight-page sheet called *La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité* coming this year regularly every Saturday, though it has not always been published so frequently. This gives the news of the day in matters of art—discoveries, publications, important sales, and gossip of many kinds—and is given to subscribers of the *Gazette*. One thing must not be forgotten: the size of these books. The *Gazette* and the *Chronique* each measure seven and a half by eleven inches, or a half-inch wider and an inch higher than *Scribner's Monthly*. This moderate size makes them possible to handle, whether as unbound numbers, without the certainty that their weight and size will tear them to pieces, or as bound volumes, without the immediate need of a table to support them. Nor does the reader of the current numbers, nor he who consults the encyclopædic set of accumulated volumes, find anything to regret in the small size. The page is big enough for sufficient illustrations. Larger ones than these pages allow are not needed to "illustrate" any paper, or to convey any requisite idea. The supposed need of much larger pictures is rather that the public who won't take an art journal to read and bind may at all events subscribe in order to get a number of prints "fit for the portfolio or for framing" pretty cheap. It is a pity that the newly-announced Boston *Art Review* should have adopted so large a page—as big as our own, if we are not mistaken.

—While the Théâtre-Français is undergoing needed repairs—which we hope will include an improvement in its ventilation—the entire Comédie-Française has gone to London, where it acts nightly at the Gaiety Theatre for six weeks from June 2. While some of the London journals hold up the visitors as models to be aped in everything, others are moved to self-vindication, not to say self-assertion. The *Saturday Review*, for instance, has had a long article contrasting Miss Ellen Terry with Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt, not to the disadvantage of the former. Now, Miss Terry is a very clever and charming woman, who acts very brilliantly when she feels in the mood, and at other times impresses one only as an intelligent amateur, while Mlle. Bernhardt, whatever her artistic deficiencies and eccentricities—and they are not a few—is, at all events, a trained actress with a wonderful gift of delivery, of *diction*. The comparison evidently is not without its comic side; indeed, there is abundant food for laughter in the attitude of the London press towards

the Comédie-Française, the writers apparently having no real appreciation of the relative importance of the company or of its individual members. Perhaps the most amusing article is one contributed to the June number of the *Theatre*, a very well conducted dramatic monthly magazine, by a Mr. Edward Rose. His essay on "Our Visitors" is preceded by an editorial of welcome, an account of the origin of the company, with fewer blunders than such compilations usually contain, a "sonnet de bienvenue" in most extraordinary French, and a biographic sketch of Mlle. Bernhardt, with photographs of her in "Ruy Blas" and in the male attire she wears in her studio. Mr. Rose, after remarking that this is in "some respects the best of Parisian companies," takes up the leading members of it. Mr. James has called M. Got "perhaps the first of living actors." Mr. Rose praises him, but "he is not a great actor; one is apt now and then to grow tired of him." . . . "In pure low-comedy parts . . . he is downright dull." M. Delaunay is praised also, but "he wants repose, is too conventional—hence his manner, though charming, is not the grand manner." At first M. Coquelin seemed to Mr. Rose "to possess that amount of versatility which enables a man to play all parts pretty well," but he was led to think better of him on seeing him in a low-comedy part. The paragraph devoted to the younger Coquelin—an actor of great comic force in farce and caricature—deserves to be quoted entire as a delightful specimen of insularity:

"There is one actor only in the *troupe* who yet needs to be mentioned—the one who, as an eminent critic said, seems destined to 'restore to the French stage the lost art of character-acting' [!], the one young comedian of the Français whom it is always interesting to watch, whose performances one does not know by heart before one has seen them—Ernest (the younger) Coquelin. His style always seemed to me, as contrasted with that of his companions, curiously *English*; and this because his strong point is the one in which our actors (inferior as in many other respects they may be) unquestionably do beat the French—originality."

—Among the short articles in the *Revue Historique* for January is an account of the revolt of the Jacquerie in Beauvaisis, in 1358, by J. Flammermont; it is a graphic and intelligible narration of the origin of this affair and its general course. The author differs from the historian of the Jacquerie, M. Siméon Luce, in two points—the date of the outbreak at Saint-Leu, which he fixes at May 28 instead of May 21, and its occasion. M. Luce attributes it to the instigations of the agents of Étienne Marcel, who was now at the head of the Paris insurgents; M. Flammermont regards it as growing out of one of those disputes between soldiers and peasants of which the history of wars is so full. He points out that the dauphin had issued an ordinance calling upon the peasants and others to defend themselves against the outrages of the lawless soldiery, and shows by a narration of the affair at Saint-Leu that it bears every appearance of being in pursuance of this order: the aggression would seem to have come from the other side. He does not in any way extenuate the horrors of the revolt, but ends with the statement—which is too often overlooked—that the reaction, after the suppression of the insurrection, "was more abominable and bloody than the revolt itself, and the nobles and the brigands of the great companies committed as many and even more excesses than the Jacques themselves." The correction of the date is of some importance, as M. Luce had crowded the entire history of the insurrection into the week between May 21 and 27, while the present account gives it twice the space—from May 28 to June 10, when the insurgents were defeated at Clermont. It moreover gives, he asserts, a better arrangement to the events of the insurrection.

—Prof. Willems, of the University of Louvain, favorably known by his 'Droit public romain,' has lately published a thick volume entitled 'Le Sénat de la République romaine.' It is not a complete treatise, being devoted only to the composition of the Senate; its powers are reserved for a second volume, in which he promises to disprove Mommsen's theory of the *patrum auctoritas*. In the present volume he takes issue with Mommsen in regard to the time when plebeians were admitted to the Senate; with great plausibility, it must be admitted, as he connects it with their holding curule offices, which was not till the close of the fifth century B.C. This view is, however, connected with a theory of the origin of the plebeians which we cannot admit, as he derives them exclusively from the clients, from which it would follow, of course, that none of the class would be qualified by wealth and intelligence to have seats in the Senate as early as the first years of the Republic. The most valuable part of the book is the careful analysis of the composition of the Senate at two different epochs—B.C. 179 and 55. At each date we have an approximately complete "blue book" of this important body, containing a list of members classified by rank, with a brief biography of each. This presents the same graphic view of the *personnel* of government of the respective periods that Mr. Masson gives, in his Life of Milton, for the Long Parliament. The lists illustrate completely what we know from other sources as to the Senate and the orders in the state. In 179 there appear to have been 304 members, of whom 88 were patricians; in 55 the proportion of patricians had fallen to 43 out of 415.

—The third volume of Marquardt's 'Römische Staatsverwaltung' (being the sixth volume of Marquardt and Mommsen's 'Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer) has been published, and treats of the *Sacralwesen*, or Public Worship, that being an integral part of administration under the Roman system. The volume is not materially enlarged—594 pages against 568 of the earlier edition; it is, however, in great part rearranged and rewritten. The new arrangement is a great improvement in the way of simplicity and clearness. It consists now of four divisions, besides a very short introduction. The first division, The Epochs of the History of the Roman Religion, contains four epochs: the Kingdom, the Republic before and after the Punic Wars, and the Empire. The second division, The Organization of the Worship, falls into three groups: the worship of the Family, the Gens, and the State. Then follows The Individual Priesthoods, a long division, nearly half of which is devoted to the College of the Pontifices, with the priesthoods dependent upon it (Rex, Flamens, Vestal Virgins, etc.); the entire division containing eleven sections. The fourth division, The Games, is by Ludwig Friedländer, author of the 'Sittengeschichte,' and contains four sections—one general, one on the Circensian games, one on scenic games, and one on the amphitheatre. Two more volumes will complete the work: vol. iii. (Mommsen), 'Bürgerschaft und Senat'; and vol. vii. (Marquardt), 'Privatleben'; the fourth volume is now in the press.

A NEW YORK TORY DURING THE REVOLUTION.*

AARON BURR only expressed what all men thought, in saying that the history of the American Revolution could never be truly written. He spoke bitterly, contrasting his branded and broken life with the deserved fame of better men among his contemporaries. This book is a contribution to its story, heated with the passions of the time, from one of that class which suffered worse than defeat in the exile and ruin inflicted by their countrymen. It lacks method, gravity, reflection, candor—almost all the qualities of a history. But it has the one element of truth in what it baldly tells—it shows insight into character, and its vehemence and spite suggest due correction for what it infers or implies.

The author was a native of Queens County, connected with the aristocracy of the colony, and one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the province just before and during the war. He resents the indignity thrown upon the bench when he was defeated in the hope of promotion to its second seat, by the appointment as chief-justice of William Smith, that accomplished trimmer, whose family connection screened him from due punishment for treachery to both sides, and whose doubtful loyalty was overpaid by the chief-magistracy of Canada. No forgiveness appears in these pages, which deepen with a vindictive skill all the blots in that enemy's career. Himself an unflinching loyalist, Judge Jones fell under the ban, suffered imprisonment, robbery, and at last exile and attainder, retiring to England, where he employed the few years of his life after the war in composing this indictment against nearly all who were engaged in it. Coming as an heirloom into the possession of the late Bishop Delancey, the manuscript was left by him to his son, under whose conscientious care it is now edited, and published by the Historical Society with the means provided from a fund bequeathed to it for such purposes by John D. Jones, a kinsman of the writer.

The condition of New York City in 1752 is described as one of peace and harmony. All that threatened its happiness was the conspiracy of three young lawyers, William Livingston, William Smith, and John Morin Scott, "to pull down church and state, and raise their own government and religion upon its ruins." This conspiracy, aided by certain other matters familiar to historians, which the author leaves unnoticed, continued to inflame and excite the people until the passage of the Stamp Act, in 1765. Its speedy repeal (which quieted the many) taught far-seeing thinkers, and the restless and ambitious too, that what was now concession must at the next encounter become defeat. An impious thought for those, independence grew for these to be a faith and a purpose. These pages do not trace the working of the leaven, but the obduracy of so much of the lump as it could not permeate.

The author has a clear view of the importance and energy of the ec-

*'The History of New York during the Revolutionary War. By Thomas Jones. Edited by Edward Floyd Delancey.' Published for the New York Historical Society by D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

clesiastical tribunes of the day. A graduate of Yale College, he belabors Alma Mater as the nurse of sedition, faction, and republicanism. With the zeal of a loyalist churchman he assails the Presbyterian clergy as promoters of discord and preachers of wrath. What part conscience had in their preaching and what the pride of dissent, can never be known, but it was a force, and not the weakest of the forces that undermined the throne. "Without the Presbyterian clergy," John Adams once said to Josiah Quincy, "the Revolution never would have succeeded." The author takes less account, among such forces, of the pure logic of democracy, dismissing contemptuously, as party cries, the talk of the rights of man and the doctrines of equality. Nor does he pay much heed to the constitutional principles which were the life and justification of the struggle. On the other hand, he does full justice to the generally loyal feeling of the people at its beginning, to the hopes and efforts for conciliation, and to the wretchedly inadequate agencies employed for that object by the mother country.

For the royalists' conduct of the war after it became flagrant he has nothing but contempt, expressed with a civilian's rashness, but justified by contemporary military judgments. Both sides meet impartial condemnation. In the writer's opinion the success of the Revolution was due to no courage or capacity in its military leaders or its civil guides in Congress. Faction in Parliament and the imbecility of English commanders gave its occasions and invited its triumph. The armed chiefs were sybarites on one side, tyros on the other, and blunderers on both. The American army, Congress, and officials might all have been bought. Negotiations conducted by craft on the one part against raw incapacity on the other ended in a peace disgraceful to the power that conceded, and with little promise of good to the power that won it. We should never learn from these pages that Franklin was anything more than a trickster, that Washington ever won a battle or displayed one unperverted virtue, or that Jefferson existed at all. Their criticism paints Howe (and in fainter colors Clinton) as a general who slighted information, wasted opportunity, failed to combine, neglected to strike, omitted to pursue. Having the end of the war within his grasp on several distinct occasions, he refused to close his hand upon it, lest he might lose his hold on the state and profit of his position. This bitter civilian's judgment is supported by the authorities of the time. The Duke de Lauzun and Count Fersen, less prejudiced witnesses, are hardly less severe; and the lately published memoir of the Count de Deuxponts confirms their censure.

Many things combined to make the condition of loyalists in New York more intolerable than in the other colonies. The city was a nest of families wherein the larger quarrel of rebellion drew venom from private enmities. The wave of war rolled to and fro throughout the populous colony, from Montauk to Fort Stanwix and Lake George, and family feuds fed it at Albany as in New York. The long military occupation of the city, with courts suspended and government interrupted, wore out the inhabitants, while the war, carried on as the author describes it against the British treasury, lived by levy with impartial severity on loyalist and rebel alike. Moreover, the Republican party in New York was better compacted and older in growth than elsewhere; its leaders more practised, if not more statesmanlike, than in other colonies, and their followers, of mixed population, more audacious. Partisan violence at the outset was more common, and, irritated by long repression, partisan vengeance in the end more cruel than was the case in other provinces.

Two-thirds of the property-holders of New York, the richest city of the colonies, were loyalists. Some of these being in England at the outbreak of the war, remained there to lose their property at its close. Many who left the city during its brief occupation by the patriot forces refused to return at peace to rescue their fortunes at the risk of their lives. By far the greater part remained under the protection of the authority which had its seat here throughout almost all the struggle. They gained little help from that authority, and learned at last to look to it with little hope. Much of the book is taken up with surprising details of the various devices of violence and extortion invented by the king's agents to peel those miserable people. In and near the city the regular tribunals were suspended, and so-called police courts, set up under military management, became mere machines for exaction. In the city the loyalists were squeezed; on their farms throughout Long Island and Westchester they were harried by foragers and plunderers of both sides, sometimes carried off prisoners to Connecticut, now and then killed in fray or cold blood. Throughout the colonies, in Carolina as in New York, the writer assures us they were worse used by the English troops than the rebels were. At the peace the greater number, of course, submitted to the new order of things. Many families emigrated to the West Indies and to Canada, evacuation being humanely protracted by Sir Guy Carleton till transports could be provided for those who flocked to this port, to the number, it is said, of 100,000. In the northern provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the descendants of these refugees form at this day the strength of the population, their leaders having been rewarded by the crown with important offices. Has New York gained or lost by exchanging these wanderers for the immigrants, so different in quality, who came afterwards to fill their places?

The great Tory landholders suffered most severely. An act of attainder, passed in 1779, menaced their lives and confiscated their lands to the use of the State. Other statutes, passed in 1784, in violation, or at the least in evasion, of the treaty of peace carried out the cruel purpose of the first. These laws are an indelible stain on the history of New York. The great De Lancey estate, lying in the heart of the city, assessed to-day at a valuation of sixty-three millions, was parcelled into lots, sold, and paid for in the depreciated currency of the time. There exist in New York fortunes built up out of speculation in the ruins of that one. Scarcely any more curious chapter of New York's private history could be written than one which should begin with the record of the Commissioners of Forfeitures. Nor is it easy to find a parallel for the story of vicissitudes which befell a family crushed and exiled from its native seat by religious persecution, to find its ruin repeated in a later generation and another hemisphere through political fury.

It would be the first instance in the history of civil strifes if the families then controlling New York could be parted asunder by a sharp line as loyalist and rebel. So intermixed were they through alliances that each party, often conveniently, found kin in the other's camp. As a general fact, however, the De Lancey connection, Episcopalians, landholders, and officials, were on the king's side; while the Livingstons, Presbyterians of provincial estates or lawyers in the city, held to the people's. Neither of these names was Dutch, but it would be a mistake to infer that the blood of either race was not. It was wholly so on the spindle side. The descendant of Norman nobles, coming over in 1686, and the adventurer (in the old and better sense) of Scotch stock, landing in New Amsterdam in 1674, chose wives, as their merit warranted, from the good and rich Holland families, and among such families at that day the range of choice was large. Kinship and cross-marriages resulted in intricate family connections between the two parties. The persistence of original New York names is remarkable. Of those given in the notes as recorded on the list of the Committee of Sixty in 1774, and on the longer one of signers of the "Petition to be restored to the King's peace" in 1776, not many, in their identical form, are extinct, and fewer still if they are traced through the female line. Our author's simple rule disregards lineage—his censure is all for liberals, his praise all for tories, nor does station silence his reviling, nor sex check his insinuations.

In some of his elaborate and careful notes the editor takes pains to correct the wrong done to certain memories by the work itself. Others are piously devoted to the praiseworthy task of rehabilitating certain names long marked by ignorant prejudice with the common slur of toryism. A few, and it is to be regretted that they are not fewer, give particularity and detail to the hints of the text upon misfortunes or faults known as painful traditions in the families they concern, and useless to history. In general, the pains and research bestowed upon the notes, making them far the most interesting part of the publication, deserve hearty praise, as do the form and dress of the volumes. Very likely they will provoke controversy; but whether accepted or contested they are a valuable and in some respects unique addition to the literature of the subject they illustrate.

The Recorder of Birmingham: A Memoir of Matthew Davenport-Hill; with selections from his correspondence. By his daughters, Rosamond and Florence Davenport-Hill. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1878.)—We took this volume up with such dreary anticipations as to its character that, having read it, we feel almost as if an apology were due to its authors at the outset for our suspicions. Memorial volumes by near relations constitute, as a rule, a class of literature by itself which has to be judged by special rules. The tendency of the authors of such books is always to print much that had far better remain in manuscript, and at the same time to leave out much that would really interest the public. Their relation to the public is apt to be a false one, for, instead of having for their first aim to interest their audience, they generally proceed upon the assumption that interest must be aroused

when their own feelings are so deeply enlisted. Consequently, as a general thing, however valuable as a memorial for family or friends, such books are rarely very much more, while in their revelations of the most secret and sacred passages of their subject's life they frequently shock the reader's taste. We say all this at once to discriminate absolutely from such memorial literature the life of Mr. Hill. If it did not bear his daughters' names on the title-page we should hardly have guessed that it was the work of members of his family. It is a well-written biography of a lawyer who eminently deserved to have his life written, composed with great simplicity and good taste. The book might have been shortened with advantage, but there is no other respect in which it could have been improved.

Matthew Hill was born in 1792 and died in 1872, at the age of seventy-nine. Although not a famous lawyer, he was a man of remarkable abilities, and filled the judicial positions to which he was called with success. He was connected with several celebrated cases, among others that of the Baron de Bode, of which a very clear statement is given in an appendix, and the libel suit of the Duke of Beaufort against the proprietors of the *Spectator*. For some years he sat in Parliament for Hull, where he took part in the passage of several measures of more than temporary importance.

Mr. Hill's life covered a period marked by the most enormous changes in the whole system of English law. Born in the reign of George III., and living far into that of Victoria, coming on to the public stage at about the time of the beginning of the agitation for reform which secured its first great popular triumph in the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, but which did not spend its force till a generation later, he lived in an atmosphere of reform, and was, like his friend Lord Brougham, by temperament and disposition, and soon by habit, rather a reformer than a lawyer. His mind turned from the first not so much to the legal aspect of the questions that came before him as to their relation to the happiness or improvement of mankind. In abstract questions of law, or in the applied art of trying cases, he seems to have taken little interest. The improvement of the criminal law, the reformation of delinquents, the equal and exact administration of justice were matters of the gravest importance to him. In fact, he was by no means an obscure member of that school of English law reformers which fell heir to the teachings of Bentham, and in a great measure carried them into practical effect. Their work was so thoroughly done, and the system they overturned was so barbarous, that we are apt now to overlook the importance of the services they rendered to humanity. It is difficult nowadays to imagine a state of society in which prisoners accused of offences punishable with death were not allowed counsel ; in which the difficulty of repressing crime was met by constantly enlarging the list of capital offences; in which large classes of society were deprived by their religion of the benefit of the laws of the country of which they were subjects ; in which truth was no justification of a libel, and parties could not be witnesses in their own behalf. In the first half of the century in England law-reform was a crying necessity. Mr. Hill had his share either as a writer for the press, or in Parliament or on the bench, in advancing almost all the great reforms of this kind, as his correspondence with Brougham bears witness. Later in life he shared the fate of most reformers, of finding most of the causes which he had at heart as a young man triumphant, and being obliged to look about him for new ones. By a singular process of reasoning he persuaded himself that a prohibitory law was the goal to which reformers ought to direct their efforts. This was in 1855. During the remainder of his life he was more or less identified with the cause of temperance.

Of Mr. Hill's private life and character this book gives a pleasing account. A man of generous sympathies, amiable disposition, and unflinching courage, he seems to have endeared himself to all who knew him, and to have enjoyed the respect and consideration of many of the most distinguished men of his time. We find him corresponding with Brougham on the ticket-of-leave system ; on the temperance question ; on criminal procedure ; on popular recreation, and a host of other subjects coming under the head of law-reform, or what is now called Social Science.

As in the case of most lawyers, Mr. Hill's life was spent without much external incident. Consequently his daughters' memoir can hardly be said to have much narrative interest. It contains, however, several good stories, and an entertaining account of Mr. Hill's childhood and early life. In 1814 he made his first journey to Paris. Having heard of the then universal bargaining over prices in French shops, he adopted the novel plan of notifying the shopkeeper that he understood the custom ; that it was not to his taste ; that, considering it a waste of time, he had brought a book, which he would proceed to read until the proper time had elapsed, when, if the shopkeeper would state the price which otherwise would have been arrived at by chaffering, he would make his purchase. This plan seems to have worked admirably. An amusing anecdote relating to Mrs. Siddons belongs to this period. Some child remarked of the actress that people called her tall, though she was not so in fact. Mrs. Siddons replied : "No, my dear, I am not tall, but I have a tall manner." On his admission to the bar Mr. Hill chose the Midland Circuit, and some reminiscences are given of the Circuit mess, the most singular one being the fact that drinking claret seems to have been regarded as a crucial test of the character of a new member ; not, of course, on the score of temperance, but because claret being then a highly-taxed wine, it appears to have been thought that men of extreme views might avoid drinking it in order to escape from contributing to the revenues at the disposal of the government. The somewhat antique social condition of the lower classes of the population in the counties embraced by the Midland Circuit may be inferred from a conversation between a Dudley man and a Stourbridge man, vouched for by Mr. Hill as true, on the subject of a candidate for office :

"*Dudley Man.*—Oi say, surree, hew dust thee vowt for ?
"*Stourbridge Man.*—I caw tell ; I've not made up my moind.
"*Dudley Man.*—Whoysna vowt for —— ? Thur best feller ee the wurrld ; damned his own feyther at foiv' 'ear ode !"

In 1848 Mr. Hill went to Paris for a short time, and on his return stayed at Brougham Hall. The following anecdote we have never seen in print before :

"Brougham gave a dinner to Sir Walter Scott, and asked Wellington, Croker, and John Bankes to meet him. Scott was the hero, and was expected to talk ; but Croker went off at score, and nobody could edge in a word. Bankes, a rival talker, did not attempt it, but worked hard at his dinner, watching, nevertheless, his opportunity. At length Croker left an opening, into which Bankes rushed, and held it for a long time. At last, however, Croker getting another innings, addressed to the Duke a full narrative of the battle of Waterloo, correcting him when by signs Wellington showed that he had the presumption to differ from his teacher. From Waterloo Croker got to percussion-caps. But now he was on forbidden ground.

"'Croker,' exclaimed the Duke, 'you may understand the battle of Waterloo, but I'll be damned if you know anything of copper caps !'"

On the occasion of another visit to Brougham Hall Lord Brougham, speaking of Erskine, cited an impromptu riddle of his which is new to us, and which we commend to our readers' ingenuity :

> "I never can die, though I may not live long ;
> I seldom do right, though I cannot do wrong ;
> My jowl is quite purple, my brain is quite fat ;
> Come, riddle my riddle, what am I—what, what ?"

Impressions of Theophrastus Such. By George Eliot. (New York : Harper & Bros. 1879.)—In her later work George Eliot has moralized at such length as to weary the best-natured of novel-readers, and make them wish sometimes that she had put her wise saws into an appendix, and so facilitated judicious skipping for those who do not care for such seasoning of their afternoon amusement. In this book she has dropped all pretence of a story ; so those who care only for her narrative may go by on the other side with an easy conscience. Theophrastus Such is a satirical moralist, and displays in the first chapters, where he talks of himself, an eccentric and amusing individuality ; he is a man known to enquiring strangers as "the author of a book which you have probably not read," and who assigns to his awkward feet, long upper lip, and bad gait his failure to get recognition. He is of little consequence, however, being only a ventriloquist trick to deceive the audience, and as the book goes on the author speaks in her natural voice, without much attempt to maintain the characterization with which she began. The town-people she has met and the contemporary opinions to which she has listened are the objects of her satire—bores and the thoughts of bores, in other words. She has set up warning placards, as it were, on the broad way of stupidity, or over the demesne of the literary man-eater, or on the hat of the pitiable fellow who always carries it in his hand and twirls it deferentially in a mistaken effort to please. The characters she describes, natural, lifelike as a party in any parlor, resemble, nevertheless, those mild-eyed, moving advertisements who, in obedience to American ingenuity, perambulate the thronged streets of New York. The youthful Ganymede, "so young," precocious, with the brilliant future, who at forty is "the sad survivor of his own manifest destiny," but is still pardoned by able pens because he is so "remarkably young," in conformity with "the high Homeric precedent for keeping fast hold of an epithet under all

changes of circumstances"; "the half-breed," who set out to be a literary philanthropist after he should make money, and finds himself with millions and can't get himself recognized as a literary philanthropist, remembering the youthful vision and ill at ease in the cushions he never meant to occupy; "the watch-dog of knowledge," who "equips himself with a penknife to give the offender a *comprachico* countenance, a mirror to show him the effect, and a pair of nailed boots to give him his dismissal, all this to teach him who the Romans really were, and to purge enquiry of incompetent intrusion, so rendering an important service to mankind" (a character illustrated well by the author's story of Pummel: "What is the cause of the tides, Pummel?" "Well, sir, nobody rightly knows. Many gives their opinion, but if I was to give mine, it 'ud be different")—so the catalogue goes on with the man of bad temper, the ready writer, and other incompetent or malformed individualities which the reader will recognize and apply to this or that acquaintance too readily, perhaps, for it is only in the looking-glass that it is difficult to recognize a bore.

Much space is devoted to scourging the current opinions of the professedly cultivated, such as the wish to have lived in the time of Leonardo or of the Æolic lyrists, and the doctrine of compensation for one's apparent failure by a rise in his spiritual value, which is termed a very odious sort of self-cajolery. But the opinion that Sir Gabriel Mantrap, who was concerned in companies "ingeniously devised by him for the punishment of ignorance in people of small means," is a moral man because he is, as Melissa says, "an excellent family man—quite blameless there, and so charitable round his place at Tiptop," is a falsehood which calls out a most vigorous denunciation and the healthiest comment on the present meaning of morality in society; and the prejudice against the Jews receives, in what is the most powerful chapter of the book, a sound drubbing of such vigor as shows a true pleasure in wielding the whip. It is a piece of forcible argument, brilliant declamation, and open scorn, with so much heart in it that we fancy it was called out by the criticisms on the weakness and visionary scheme of Daniel Deronda, and is a defence of his nobility and wisdom; and this is almost certain from the conclusion:

"Every Jew should be conscious that he is one of a multitude possessing common objects of piety in the immortal achievements and immortal sorrows of ancestors who have transmitted to them a physical and mental type strong enough, eminent enough in faculties, pregnant enough with peculiar promise, to constitute a new beneficent individuality among the nations, and, by confuting the traditions of scorn, nobly avenge the wrongs done to their fathers. There is a sense in which the worthy child of a nation that has brought forth illustrious prophets, high and unique among the poets of the world, is bound by their visions. Is bound? Yes; for the effective bond of human action is feeling, and the worthy child of a people owning the triple name of Hebrew, Israelite, and Jew feels his kinship with the glories and the sorrows, the degradation and the possible renovation of his national family."

This various criticism of contemporary life, there is no need to say, is full of intelligence and pith, animated, marked by exactness of illustration and aptitude of allusion, not overburdened with philosophic or scientific references, and penetrating to the core of matters; but it deals only with the absurdities, ignorance, and stupidity of men, and the race makes but a sorry figure before its spectacles, frequently merely through inevitable failure. Here and there a short colloquy recalls the novelist, and there is a fine passage on the peculiar attraction of English scenery; but it is in the main a fund of experience, a collection of maxims, a transcript of morals and manners, which is full of suggestion to the reader, and may help him if he be not himself too hardly struck, and will, at any rate, afford the novel amusement to the bored of transforming their torturers into comic actors.

Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes. By Robert Louis Stevenson. (Boston: Roberts Bros. 1879.)—This is one of the pleasantest of outdoor books, an excellent description of the places and people the traveller saw in the little-known and picturesque Cévennes, and an amusing narrative of the adventures he met with in his twelve days' journey, in which he tramped with no companion but a donkey to carry his pack, and no purpose but to go where civilization would not din in his ears. He is communicative, almost familiar, like one (to use his own illustration) who writes a letter to friends, sure of their good-will and their interest in himself. At first his own haps and mishaps, arising from his inexperience, or from peasant surliness, or from nature's lack of consideration for the camper-out, fill his daily journal with the human nature, the barrenness and poverty of Vélay and Upper Gévaudan, until he reaches his first resting place, the Trappist Monastery of Our Lady of the Snows. Notwithstanding the common report of Trappist rigor, he found this monastery a tolerably comfortable abode. The vow of silence is remitted to those who entertain visitors, and the traveller found it easier to begin than to break off conversation. "They were full," he says, "of kind and healthy interest in all sorts of subjects—in politics, in voyages, in my sleeping-sack—and not without a certain pleasure in the sound of their own voices." In the cell of one brother he found the Waverley Novels, in the library were Veuillot, Châteaubriand, the 'Odes et Ballades,' and Molière. Each had his special employ of his own choice; one bound books, another made roads, another was a photographer. It is true the workingman's day is there eighteen hours long, the meals but two, and from September to Easter only one each day, scanty and eaten of sparingly with voluntary denial of a small *carafe* of wine; but the monks were "firm of flesh and high in color," noticeable only for an extreme brilliancy of eye. Death, however, is a frequent visitor, when the Trappist lies down in his habit as he lived, and at the last moment the monastic bells ring out for joy that another soul is with God.

After leaving this monastery Mr. Stevenson walked on through the country of the Camisards, "the Cévennes of the Cévennes," the scene of that prolonged and bloody Protestant revolt which, as he happily says, makes so romantic a foot-note in the world's history. He adorns his pages with reminiscences of that time, and brings out fairly the difference between the Scotch Covenanters and these Southern Covenanters, who resembled them so closely in their belief, moods, and actions, and dealt much more in blood, yet differed from them in the cheerfulness and peace which were transmitted, the author thinks, from the climate and landscape, and forbade the gloom and superstitious terror that oppressed the North with a waking nightmare. He tells an old and beautiful story, one of the most beautiful in all the history of martyrdom, how Pierre Séguier, who had led the attack on Du Cheyla's house, and had given the first of the fifty-two wounds with which his body was pierced, on being captured and tried replied to his judges: "My soul is like a garden full of shelter and of fountains"; and with these words went to his torture. In the midst of this country and these associations the journey comes to an abrupt end, having been one well worth recording and reading for its humor, sentiment and romance, its graceful sympathies and fine perceptions, as well as for the instruction it so pleasantly and modestly conveys.

Cassell's Illustrated History of the Russo-Turkish War. By Edmund Ollier, author of 'Cassell's Illustrated History of the United States,' etc., etc. Vol. I. From the Commencement of the War to the Fall of Plevna. Including an historical sketch of the Russian and Turkish Empires. (London and New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin.)—No date is attached to the title-page of this volume, but the contents indicate its publication, in parts at least, before the termination of the war, as Montenegro, Servia, and Rumania are still spoken of as dependencies of Turkey, and some speculations show that the issue of the struggle was still a matter of doubt to the author when he wrote his earlier chapters. The book is thus one of those hasty compilations of contemporaneous history, executed in instalments during the course of the events which they are to record. One of the necessities of such compilations is to devote much space to preliminary matter and extensive retrospects, which, while giving the reader the introductory information required for a good understanding of the subject, furnish the writer the time required for studying the passing occurrences. This plan Mr. Ollier has pursued with due regard to the extent of his work and the wants of that portion of the public for which it was undertaken, namely, the mass of readers to whom rudimentary knowledge, presented in a plain and pleasant form, is much more acceptable than more strictly literary information presupposing some study and demanding close attention. The whole history of both Russia and Turkey, from the foundation of those empires to the outbreak of the war, is sketched at length in a number of chapters. To demand strict correctness from ephemeral compilations of this character would be applying an unfair standard of criticism. Comparatively speaking—with due consideration of the position which it pretends to occupy in the world of books—this history is well enough executed as far as its narratives go, barring the spelling of names, which betrays the levity common among compilers from newspaper files. The war events and political complications are related with laudable minuteness, in a pleasant, unadorned style, without any attempt at creating effect by sensational coloring. Of course, there is no critical sifting of materials, and generally that correspondence of the London *Daily News*, *Times*, or *Telegraph* is chosen in preference as the exclusive authority which at the

time appeared the most striking or the fullest. The author knows none but English authorities. What must render the book specially attractive to its class of readers is its large number of illustrations, some of which are good, and most of which are tolerably instructive. What chiefly impairs its value as a work of historico-political information is its extraordinary partiality for the Turks as against their enemies, a partiality which is productive of a vast amount of talk against Mr. Gladstone, Carlyle, the *Daily News*, Count Andrássy, the Triple Alliance, etc., and of many forced apologetic efforts in behalf of the Crescent. Some points, however, are well taken, and the author's bias, fortunately, does not lead him to the suppression or garbling of facts.

Lectures on French Poets. Delivered at the Royal Institution. By Walter Herries Pollock. (London : C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1879.)—These four attractive lectures, excepting the first upon Béranger, illustrate the beginning of the romantic school of France, which in these later days is fulfilling the prophecy of De Musset, here quoted : "There, tell me if imaginative literature can live when people so brutalize their readers and themselves. Do you not see that this housemaids' literature will generate a whole new world of ignorant and half-savage readers ? I know well enough it will die one day of its own excesses ; but before that it will have disgusted finer minds with reading." This disgust is turning many from the school already, but its history is well worth study for the light it throws on French social conditions for the historian and the moralist, and because its errors and eccentricities so forcibly confirm the laws of art. Mr. Pollock has not attempted much criticism ; his work is biographic rather. He introduces us to the men who founded the school, describes the great contest of 1829, and the early years of its strength, and aims at interesting those who are unfamiliar with it, and leading them to read. His purpose and method are both excellent ; he lets the poets reveal themselves by their own words and acts, and has woven his narrative very skilfully of delightful quotation and instructive comment. The lectures are not profound, and contain little that is original or not commonly known to those acquainted with French literature ; but for those who enter with little or no preparation on the reading of Victor Hugo and De Musset the author has done commendable service. The lecture on De Musset is from the hand of a friend of the poet, and his life is interpreted with more truth and human sympathy than in Henry James's late essay ; one sees the source and excuse for the increasing number of De Musset's lovers, for a less strong word would not express the abandonment of many of his admirers. Victor Hugo is less finely described; he is too great and of too varied power to be treated adequately in the space given to him. The lecture on Béranger is very good, and for the same reason as that on De Musset, because the author quotes freely. The secret of Béranger is made plain at the beginning : "I have sometimes thought," he says, "that if contemporary writers had reflected that henceforth it is for the people that letters must be cultivated, they would not have envied me the little palm which their neglect has enabled me to gather, and which, I doubt not, would have held its own among even more glorious rivalry. When I say the people I mean the mob—I mean even the lowest grade of the populace." No wonder the people loved him, and that from his faith in them he drew courage as well as inspiration. We again commend the book to those who have not read or, reading, have not enjoyed Béranger, De Musset, and Victor Hugo.

Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst. Von Dr. Carl Bernhard Stark. Erster Band, Erste Abtheilung. (Leipzig, 1878. New York : L. W. Schmidt.)—This is the first part of the first volume of a comprehensive work on the archæology of art, to be completed in three octavo volumes. It contains one of three books which are intended as an introductory and systematic essay on archæology, a science whose limits, according to the author, have hitherto been arbitrarily restricted, in striking contrast with the latitude implied by the very derivation of the term. The recent discoveries of hitherto unknown civilizations of antiquity, the ever-widening and light-shedding studies of historic and prehistoric times have considerably changed and expanded the lines of demarcation. The history of the study of archæology on general principles is, as the author assumes, almost a new chapter in science. Unlike his great predecessors in this field, Winckelmann, Wolf, Müller, Gell, Leake, Wilkinson, and others, who dealt with special groups only, Dr. Stark intends to establish on a broader basis a general system.

In the six paragraphs of the first chapter he explains his ideas of the limits of the archæology of art ; its relation to classical philology, to æsthetics, and to the theory of art in particular ; its connection with the general history of art and of ancient civilization ; and, lastly, he gives a very ingenious and extended account of the origin and historical development of the name and system of the science of archæology. The word ἀρχαιολογία was in use among the ancient Greeks, who understood by it the knowledge of a past period, quite distinct from the present, and strictly limited to the oldest history of a nation, of its government, religion, manner of warfare, physical and other characteristics. The Romans expressed the same idea by the word *antiquitates*. The Greek term occurs in Plato, Thucydides, and other writers ; the Latin in Juvenal, Tacitus, and Suetonius. The second chapter classifies the science with regard to its propædeutic, historic, and typological bearings. The third and last chapter of the first part is the most considerable, and by far the most interesting, portion of the volume. The author begins with a review of archæological studies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the spirit of the Renaissance. The genius of Petrarch and Boccaccio, which had already influenced poets and scholars, began to exercise authority over all men of culture, and particularly over students of the plastic arts. Colas di Rienzi, in his attempt to re-establish the old splendor of the Roman Republic, appealed with impassioned language to the noble architectural monuments of those days as witnesses of the greatness of that time. The ancient statues in Padua and in the gardens of the Medici in Florence became the models of Michel Angelo and his contemporaries. The study of medals and coins had its origin in this period of struggle for the regeneration of arts and letters. As the first literary fruit of this stirring epoch the works of the great Florentine, Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472)—'Breve compendium de componenda statua,' 'De pictura libri tres,' and his principal work, 'De re ædificatoria'—deserve foremost mention. Dr. Stark proceeds to review the progress made during the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries, giving detailed accounts of, and copious extracts from, the writings of the pioneers of the science in Italy, France, the Netherlands, England, and Germany. The concluding portion of the chapter leads us to the epoch immediately preceding our own, which introduced into the study of archæology the broad principles of the general philosophy of the beautiful, of which Winckelmann may be considered the author. It reviews the discoveries of Herculaneum and Pompeii, the Greek monuments in lower Italy and Sicily, the necropolis of Etruria, the ruins on the coast of Dalmatia, and the beginning of the great state collections in Europe. It gives a careful analysis of the systems of Winckelmann, Lessing, and Wolf, as well as the influence of ancient art upon Goethe's character and writings, and finally treats of the removal of the Elgin marbles to the British Museum, of the school of French archæologists, and the Musée Napoléon.

The notes, which form about two-thirds of the volume, indicate the sources from which Dr. Stark has drawn his information. They bear evidence of the immense amount of conscientious labor bestowed by him on a subject which in our day has few rivals in comprehensive interest.

Essays of To-Day. Religious and Theological. By Wm. Wilberforce Newton. (Boston : A. Williams & Co. 1879.)—Both in style and matter these essays would properly be called sermons, for they have in them much more of the pulpit than of literary skill or interest. They are the product of reading rather than thought ; the author reports what he has found valuable in other men's books, and he does it very well, to judge from his quotations. Taine has impressed him more than any other secular writer, but the books of theology and church history which belong to his calling are the main sources of his knowledge. The essays on Savonarola, Lacordaire, and Edward Irving seemed to us best, particularly the latter, which is a clear, sympathetic, and interesting account of a man whose life is more touching in its tragedy than any other in the religious biography of the century. The essay upon the Schoolmen is also excellent, and contains a good deal of well-arranged information for those who know only the names of the great doctors. In the theological essays there is little of interest to the general reader. The author shows a liberal conservatism, and apparently looks for a reform in the direction of less dogmatic statement in creeds, but insists on the necessity of retaining distinctly the fundamental truths, such as the personality of God. He calls Matthew Arnold's philosophic theology "charlatanism," and classes it with "Turnerism in painting, Carlyleism in history, and Wagnerism in music." The clerical temper is strong in him, and he displays not unfrequently the clerical habit of allowing his logic to evaporate into rhetoric. "See the way," he says, "in which, in this suffering world, God has written it as a law in our nature that it is only by sacrifice the best results of character can be obtained, and then who can refuse this same

privilege to the Almighty?" He is showing the reasonableness of the Atonement, but a sceptical mind might suggest a query as to how sacrifice is a "privilege" to the Almighty when its value is stated to lie in its power to better character. This is an illustration of a common fault. The essay on original sin contains an admirable résumé of the opinions of Coleridge and Müller. It seems to us a misfortune that these latter essays, of which the interest is so professional, should have been bound up with the earlier and more generally useful essays.

Life Questions. By M. J. Savage. (Boston: Lockwood, Brooks & Co. 1879.)—These seven Sunday morning addresses are reprinted, at the request of the author's friends, from stenographic reports. They are not put out as a careful consideration of the questions propounded, or as contributing much that is novel to the discussion of them, but as advice befitting an educated man talking to a congregation upon money, culture, love, good society, the world, the body, work and play. Mr. Savage's well-known position in religious matters prepares the reader for some sensational radicalism which to the orthodox might seem profane, as when he speaks of morality as "simply a sentiment," or where he dwells very strongly on physical culture, so that to judge from that lecture he would seem to have the cure of bodies rather than of souls for his special business in life. Here is an interesting sentence which shows his great sympathy with medicine, and his sense of its necessity as a sort of preliminary to theology:

"It is said you must live on Graham bread, oatmeal mush, on this thing or on that; or you must not eat more than one kind of thing at a meal. Do not think these are unimportant things, not dignified enough to be spoken of in the pulpit. I tell you they reach to your mind and to your morals; they reach to your theology; they reach clear to heaven, so far as you are concerned, and are of fundamental importance, touching your religious and moral life a good deal more, sometimes, than what you think about the Bible, or think about Sunday, or think about any other religious institution whatever."

His advice is to eat as many things as you want and can get—a conclusion so broad that there will be no need of detailed consideration of diet, and the ground for "the Bible" and "Sunday" is left tolerably clear and open. After medicine play seems to occupy his thoughts, as we are oppressed by our inherited Puritanism, which numbs our power of stopping work and must be eradicated; but how, he confesses he does not know. This is, we believe, a novel consideration in the problem of the number of hours which should constitute a day's work. On other subjects, where the originality of the view is not so unquestionable, Mr. Savage's advice is clear, timely, direct, and well-considered, coinciding with the common sense of most educated men.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Adams (H.), Writings of Albert Gallatin, 3 vols.	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Alexander (Mrs.), Maid, Wife, or Widow?	(Henry Holt & Co.) $1 00
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Fine Arts.

THE USES OF A MUSEUM OF ART.

THE *Times* of Sunday, May 25, contained an article about the Metropolitan Museum of Art in which it was charged upon that institution that it had done nothing but collect and house works of art. This, by itself, does not seem a very formidable indictment; it is like an accusation against a shoemaker that he does nothing but make boots and shoes. It is generally thought a virtue to stick to one's own business. But there is a good deal of pressure upon the Museum just now, all intended to persuade or to browbeat the trustees into adding to their cares the organization of art-schools, and this paper in the *Times* is a part of that influence. In it the "public-spirited members of the Board of Trustees" are assured that "their present Museum is not arranged for the best interests of the commonwealth." It is pointed out that South Kensington has its home schools and its branch schools throughout England; that Boston has its art-school, organized in connection with the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; that it is the duty of the New York institution to take the same course, either alone or by inviting the co-operation of the Cooper Union, the Students' Art League, the Academy of Design, and the Society of Decorative Art, those four institutions being separately named. It is asserted that in this way the Museum would become more popular, and that if it would "look farther than to the mere acquisition of this or that collection of ceramics, paintings, or antiquities," its appeals for money would be listened to.

In all this the objects and the uses of a Museum of Art are, we think, overlooked or belittled, as a consequence of an ardent and proper advocacy of other means of education. Schools of art are good things, and are not entirely unknown even to this community. Schools for the instruction of those who would be painters or sculptors already exist—few, indeed, but their importance is universally admitted, and it is only the ease with which the great schools of Europe are reached that delays a little longer the foundation of many more. Schools for mechanics, to teach them drawing and modelling, power of observation, knowledge of form and feeling for color, can hardly be said to exist as yet; but serious undertakings are in progress, and the only cause of backwardness in this movement is the actual difficulty of it—the difficulty in deciding what is to be done, the absence of good instructors and those who can advise, the uncertainty lest more harm be done than good in turning out half-taught, and therefore conceited and bumptious, "designers" instead of trained workmen. The post-graduate courses of the great colleges are beginning to provide definite instruction in the theory and history of art, and practical instruction also so far as drawing goes, and in some cases more than that; some of the colleges, indeed, include in their regular curriculum a fair amount of teaching in these directions; the public schools in many parts of the country give only too much time to drawing-lessons by means of an ingenious "Drawing-without-a-master" apparatus, supposed to enable a teacher who may know nothing about drawing to teach it. If it must be granted that art-education has not reached any very great development with us as yet, that is true of all the branches of the higher education. There is always the tendency in America to confuse the teaching everybody a little with the teaching a few completely, and to fill the community with persons who have been taught just enough to make them hasty and presumptuous in pronouncing upon all the subjects of thought and training.

It is just here that the Museums of Art should be brought into the body of teaching as standards of right and wrong, tribunals of appeal. Silent teachers, they are not less eloquent because of their silence. Their mission is to get together works of art of all schools and epochs; to exhibit them well, so that they can be seen easily, clearly, on all sides, closely, in a good, pure light; to catalogue and describe them as thoroughly as possible, so that every five minutes given to the examination of an object of art and to the study of what the catalogue says about it shall be a positive lesson in historical criticism, in design, in technic, or in all combined. Museums as museums have no other object than this. Direct art-teaching by means of lectures, ateliers, lessons of all sorts, may organize itself outside, and in more or less close connection with the Museums; but there are serious questions that must be answered before a Museum itself undertakes to provide teaching other than the teachings of its collections and catalogues.

But of all those questions there is only one that ought to be considered now in connection with the New York Museum of Art—the question whether the organization is ready to grapple with a new and most difficult, most harassing, most ungrateful task, when the old and already familiar duty is only in part discharged. The Museum's collections are small; they are limited to the Cesnola discoveries, a collection of paintings of which some are of real value and importance, and a very few other acquisitions. To increase them should be the first object of all friends of the institution and of sound knowledge and love of art. The Museum's collections, small as they are, were not half exhibited in the Fourteenth

Street building, as was inevitable; now, in the new quarters, it is to be hoped there will be opportunity and care united to remedy that evil. The Museum has done little in the way of catalogues and hand-books of instruction, and that from obvious reasons; it takes time to study such a collection as that made by General di Cesnola, and it takes trained skill to elucidate and describe it, neither of which has the Museum had as yet. In short, the Museum is on the point of a new departure, with a much larger and probably fire-proof building, with a regular director, and, we suppose, a sufficient staff of assistants. New and rapid development is possible to it. To arrange and display in the most perfect fashion all it now possesses, to call together loan collections, whether for definite fixed times or in the old way, ever changing and ever renewed, to describe and explain the Museum's property perfectly and the loan collections as well as may be practicable, and to take all honorable and worthy means of gaining the favor and approval of those who can give, so that what with donations and bequests in kind, and with subscriptions in money, the collections shall steadily grow and increase—such, we take it, are the obvious duties of the Museum of Art. The trustees and the officers have their work cut out for them, if they undertake only this in a vigorous and thorough-going spirit. Let others found the needed school or schools, and the school and the museum can then aid one another to grow and to teach.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 26, 1879.

The Week.

THE Army Bill was the subject of much hot debate in the Senate (in the course of which Mr. Lamar and Mr. Conkling fell to calling each other liars and cowards), and of some well-considered speeches—by Mr. Carpenter among others—till the small hours of Saturday morning, when it passed by the usual party vote. Senator Burnside alone among the Republicans refused to oppose it, and by so doing put himself in accord with the President, who signed the bill on the ground, it is understood, that it deprives the Executive of no real powers. He also signed the Legislative Appropriations Bill, which had been agreed to in conference on Wednesday, the 18th; but the Judicial Expenses Bill, about which the two houses had adjusted their differences on Saturday, he returned with his veto on Monday, and the veto was, as heretofore, sustained. The House, making the proverbial misuse of its idle time, passed on Thursday a bill directing the Secretary of the Treasury to recoin trade-dollars, not deficient in weight and not "chopped" in China, into standard silver dollars; to coin no more trade-dollars, and to reckon the recoinage apart from and in addition to the monthly silver coinage enjoined by the Bland Bill. This is a measure which Secretary Sherman has publicly opposed, and which it may be supposed the President will be advised by him to veto. But it is by no means certain that the Senate will adopt it, since Mr. Bayard's successful stand against the admission of the Warner Bill. The Stalwart Democrats in the House offered on Tuesday a resolution for adjournment next day, but the party could not be held to the irreconcilable policy, and only eighty-one votes were mustered for it, against one hundred and three opposing.

The proximate cause for the row between Mr. Conkling and Mr. Lamar was probably a misunderstanding. Mr. Lamar had not, it would seem, concurred in the agreement the disregard of which led Mr. Conkling to charge the majority with bad faith; and if Mr. Lamar had been on good terms with Mr. Conkling this fact would doubtless have been brought out in an amicable way, and "the subsequent proceedings" would not have taken place. But Mr. Lamar's mode of meeting the imputation by an expression of contempt not only for the charge but for its author, showed that a deep-seated hostility had long existed between himself and the New York Senator. The mode in which the latter met him, by pronouncing him a hypothetical "liar, blackguard, and coward," did not support the statements so frequently made by the reporters as to the commanding ability and inexhaustible mental resources of Mr. Conkling. In fact, the only mark of superiority to an enraged 'longshoreman which he exhibited in the fray was his putting in the supposition that if the affair had not occurred in the Senate, etc., the 'longshoreman would have dealt with Mr. Lamar by a direct proposition.

The President has vetoed the Judicial Appropriation Bill on the ground that in forbidding any department or officer of the Government to incur any liability for the payment of general or special deputy-marshals "for service in connection with elections," and in making no appropriation for the payment of such officers, it deprives him of the means of executing laws now on the statute book and which it is his constitutional duty to execute, and the execution of which can be called for by any two citizens of any city or town having over twenty thousand inhabitants. The object of the majority in inserting this provision in the bill is to prevent the operation of laws which they are unable to repeal, but he points out with great force that there are only two lawful ways of overturning legislative enactments: "One is their repeal; the other is the decision of a competent tribunal against their validity." Neither of these being within the reach of the majority, there is something perverse in attempting to accomplish their object by reducing the Executive to helplessness in the presence of a duty of which they acknowledge they cannot relieve him. It must be said, however, that the veto would have more weight if there was any possibility of the President being called on to perform this duty before Congress meets again in December. As there is not, it must be treated as simply a contribution to the controversy now raging over the powers of the General Government in the regulation of Federal elections.

The failure of the silver-men in the Senate to draw Mr. Bayard from his position on the Warner Bill and compel him to report it, gives him a fresh claim on the respect of the friends of honesty in all parties. It probably makes more true than ever the saying that of all the men now prominent in public life he would probably be the easiest to elect to the next Presidency, but that he would probably be the hardest of them all to nominate. No Democrat would draw so heavily on the Republicans, and no Republican would draw off so much of what is best among the Democrats, and it is quite certain that any candidate with whom the managers on either side are entirely satisfied will win by so close a vote as to make the count a source of well-founded anxiety.

There has long been a suspicion in the public mind that Mr. Hill, of Georgia, better known, perhaps, as "Ben" Hill, was really a Secessionist, and had been so during the late war, and had even favored secession from the outset. Mr. Blaine is entitled to the thanks of the community for having, by a frequent and laborious catechization of Mr. Hill during the present session of Congress, confirmed the worst fears of the Northern public on this subject. There appears, in fact, to be no longer any doubt that Mr. Hill was a Secessionist. The acuteness, persistence, and knowledge of human nature which Mr. Blaine displayed in dragging this fact to light place him in the front rank of American statesmen. How Hill feels, now that he stands before an afflicted and amazed people in his true colors, is probably known only to himself and his wife. Few will gaze at him without invoking blessings on the head of James G. Blaine, who found him out. With Blaine to discover the Secessionists and Chandler to "give them fits" after they are uncovered, he must be a gloomy man indeed who feels anxious about the future of the country. We feel authorized in saying, for the satisfaction of the dyspeptic croakers, that Chandler will blackguard Jeff. Davis again whenever it seems necessary. All reports to the effect that he "dursn't do it again," or is sorry he did it, are unmitigated falsehoods.

Mr. Blaine has written an elaborate letter to the New York Chamber of Commerce in reply to an invitation from them to address them in explanation of the cause of the decline of the American shipping trade. The sum and substance of it is that American ships disappeared from the ocean partly owing to the substitution of iron for wood in ship-building, and partly owing to the depredations of the rebel cruisers during the war; and their restoration is prevented by high taxation, and want of such encouragement from our Government as foreign ships receive in the shape of subsidies and postal dues. He would therefore pass a general law offering a fixed rate of subvention to all persons putting American ships into the carrying trade, under certain conditions, between fixed points. The reason he gives for singling out this trade for special encouragement is that we must depend on it for our supply of seamen and for our capacity to produce fighting ships in case of war. His scheme, of course, will not bear examination from a purely economical point of view. The business of carrying goods at sea differs in no respect, economically, from the business of carrying goods on

land. If foreigners are willing to carry our goods to market at lower rates than we can do it ourselves we are the gainers as purely as if they came here and carried freight for us on a railroad at lower rates than those now charged. If they can only do this by the aid of subsidies from their own government, these subsidies are really granted in large part for our benefit; in fact, they cheapen transportation for us. Instead of being annoyed or aggrieved by them, we ought to be thankful, as they enable some of our products to reach markets from which they would otherwise be cut off. There is, therefore, from the economical point of view, something almost ludicrous in the proposal that our Government should spend money in enlarging the carrying trade when it is already overcrowded and the loss in it is borne voluntarily by foreign governments.

The political view is less easily disposed of, but it ought to be examined separately. It may be that subsidizing steamers would increase the supply of sailors and keep yards in existence in which we could get men-of-war built on demand. But do we need more sailors? With our enormous coast-line and protected coasting trade, have we not already as large a seafaring population as we are ever likely to need for military purposes? Is it true that the encouragement of private yards by subventions is an economical, effective, or necessary mode of supplying vessels of war in the remote contingency of our having to fight a maritime power? In other words, is there no other mode, and, if there is another, is it not a better one? On these points Mr. Blaine throws no light whatever. What has made the carrying trade at sea always a source of mental confusion is the fact that ships carry the national flag, and therefore it seems to many people as if there was something profane and unpatriotic in applying the ordinary commercial rules to them, and treating them like a railroad train. A good many subsidies have been granted in this country to railroads, but it was to induce their construction in regions in which it seemed doubtful whether they would pay. The notion that a subsidy ought to be granted to somebody to make a road alongside one already in operation, doing a large business at low rates and paying satisfactory dividends, has never entered any one's head, and would not enter it but for the flag.

Mr. Whitthorne, of Tennessee, has written a letter to Mr. Goode, the Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, urging a Congressional investigation into the material progress made by the South since the war. We have more than once, during the "outrage" agitation, spoken of the importance of this, and have called attention to the fact that all investigations thus far made by Congress have been purely political, and directed to matters connected with elections. An examination of the industrial condition of the country, however, is the only one which would throw real light on the condition of the colored laborer. All the volunteer testimony on this point, from independent observers of high character, such as Colonel Higginson, Mr. Edward Atkinson, and Mrs. Stowe, recently published, concurs in maintaining that the negro population has made and is making remarkable progress; but the politicians have thus far carefully avoided taking evidence about the amount of property the negroes own, the wages they earn, and the protection afforded them by the courts. We do not vouch for the accuracy of Mr. Whitthorne's figures, but, if accurate, they are very striking. Here are a few: For the eight years preceding 1861, 27,142,285 bales of cotton were produced at the South; during the last eight years there have been produced 33,226,531 bales; while the number of acres of cotton under cultivation in 1871 was 7,557,579, in 1878 there were more than 12,000,000. He calculates at $200,000,000 the value of products of Southern labor which go to purchase the merchandise and manufactured goods of New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. He even goes so far as to assert that the amount of wages paid the laborer in the South is considerably larger, in proportion to population, than that paid at the North.

This may or may not be, but the subject appeals powerfully for examination to all upright and conscientious men at the North, and particularly to those whose interest in the negroes' condition is leading them to second the efforts of unprincipled politicians in keeping alive the flames of civil discord. We must remind them, too, that the evidence of the thousands of murders and "outrages," by which their indignation has been stirred during the past four or five years, has been in the main furnished by the kind of witnesses who testified a few days ago before the committee in the Spofford-Kellogg case. It has been almost invariably gentlemen like the grandson of "Sir Hugh de Lacy," of Ireland, who bring in the stories of long rows of colored people hanging on the trees by the roadside, and of the infants thrown into the flames by the red-shirt bayonets, and of the aged colored clergymen shot on their knees at family prayers. When perjurers of this class are rewarded for their "bloody particulars" by places in the custom-house it is not wonderful that the stream of horrors is so strong and full and permanent, and that they actually come into court and confess their mendacity with a broad grin. The bit of casuistry furnished by one of them, that he "had as much right to perjure himself as the Democrats to burn his house," we fear was suggested to him by some of his white friends at the North in 1876, who maintained gallantly that the Democratic outrages in the country districts justified the Returning Board in New Orleans in cheating in the count.

Judge Christian, of Virginia, has discussed the matter of summoning negroes on juries, in reply to a petition of some colored men, in a way which shows that the Civil Rights Act cannot really be used to give negroes a right to be summoned without some serious straining of the law. To summon a man because he is a negro Judge Christian has no difficulty in showing is just as much a violation of the law as to leave a man out because he is a negro, or to summon him because he is white. He says he summons men not because they are either white or black, but because they are qualified, and it would be hard to prove the contrary. Judge Rives, who caused five county judges to be indicted for not summoning negroes on juries, laid it down that this plea might be met by the presumption that where a judge habitually abstained from putting negroes on the panel he did so on account of race and color, and in violation of the act. But this, again, might be upset by showing that the negroes of a particular county supplied no men of sufficient intelligence and capacity. In fact, if the object of the act was to put negroes on juries, it is, as we pointed out some time ago, fatally defective in not directing the summoning of negroes on every State jury. Whether if it did so it would stand the Constitutional test, is another question.

The commissioners appointed by the Mayor to lay out rapid-transit routes in the upper wards of the city took it upon them also to lay out one along Central Park in Fifty-ninth Street, and another from Harlem to the Post-office. As the latter, above Forty-second Street, is identical with the existing tracks of the New York Central, no one else can take advantage of it, and its obvious object is to enable Mr. Vanderbilt to extend his road below the Grand Central Depot to recover, if possible, the Harlem traffic taken away by the cheaper Third Avenue through-line. As proposed, it would run down Fourth Avenue, along Union Square, and through Lafayette Place (in front of the Astor Library) and Centre Street, cutting through the blocks when necessary. Fortunately, the consent of the Park Commissioners is needed before the Central Park and Union Square can be invaded, and if the Common Council, to whom the report of the commissioners has just been referred, accept it, there will still remain the Mayor's veto, which must be overcome by a two-thirds vote. He has been visited by very respectable delegations of property-holders, who have shown the inevitable loss which they must sustain if the franchise is granted without compensation; that capital now eagerly seeks investment in rapid-transit enterprises, once regarded with so much distrust, and can afford to pay for privileges conceded; and that, so far as the Fourth

Avenue route is concerned, it violates the obvious intent of the law to allow the stock of the railroads organized under it to be open to public subscription on equal terms. The grant in this case would not be to the public, but to the corporation which owns the New York Central and Harlem roads, and, in fact, to one person—Mr. Vanderbilt.

We hope there are very few residents of New York who relish the idea of any further extension of the elevated railways, even the most justifiable. It seems incredible that any one should be content to surrender another rod of street or avenue to a system which no amount of use can make anything but a necessary nuisance. It may have to be done, but it ought to be done with a wry face; and when it is proposed to destroy one of the three remaining central avenues, we ought not to be expected to forget that it was the comparative inferiority of Third and Sixth Avenues and their connections which made the existing railways seem at all tolerable. But with a rapid-transit connection at the Grand Central Depot it cannot be pretended that there is any necessity for a Fourth Avenue line, the result of which, if not disastrous to property values on the avenue, could have but one effect on the blocks intermediate between it and Third Avenue. As for the Fifty-ninth Street route past Central Park, it condemns itself.

The murderer of Mrs. Hull has been discovered in the person of a colored man named Cox, with a tinge of rose in his cheeks. As we conjectured last week, he entered her room to steal, and when she woke up strangled her to prevent her giving the alarm. He fled to Boston with the plunder, but had not wit enough to stay away from the pawnshops, and pledging some of the jewelry led to his detection. He confessed everything when Mrs. Hull's watch was found on him. His arrest and confession make the newspaper speculations as to the origin of the crime very queer reading.

The financial markets have been dull during the week. Money in London became easier for borrowers, and the actual discount rate fell to 1¼ per cent., and Government securities there advanced. Here the money market was made easier by the prepayment of called bonds, the Treasury disbursements on this account having amounted to about $5,000,000. There has been a decline in the rates for bills on London, so that there is no fear of gold exports, which circumstance, together with the heavy Treasury interest and bond disbursements early in July, warrant the expectation of a very easy money market. The market for U. S. 4 per cent. bonds was heavy early in the week, the price falling to 102⅜, and strong at the close, when the price was 102¾ to 102⅞. The principal buyers were the banks, which hold 10-40 bonds as security for their notes, and which must replace them within a short time or give up their circulation. Silver bullion fell in London from 52⅛*d.* to 51⅝*d.* Here the gold value of 412½ grains of silver at the close of the week was $0.8739.

Weston, the pedestrian who has been known to the public on both sides of the Atlantic for eighteen or nineteen years as a walker of long distances, has accomplished the feat of carrying off the Astley champion's belt, which Rowell took away from this city only a few weeks ago. The triumph is the more welcome because in these trials of endurance hitherto the duty of upholding the American fame has generally fallen into the hands either of pure-blooded Irishmen or American citizens of Irish parentage, thus preventing the contest from throwing any light on the much-debated question whether the stamina of the Anglo-Saxon race had undergone any diminution in this country. The interests of American pugilism are, in fact, attended to almost wholly by Irish gentlemen, and O'Leary, who brought the Astley belt to this country, and Ennis, who made such a gallant effort to prevent its being carried back by Rowell, were to all intents and purposes Irishmen. Weston, however, is a genuine Yankee, born and bred in Rhode Island, and his making the best time on record—550 miles within six days—is a pure gain for the United States, and a consequent source of despondency to the United Kingdom, which on this occasion was represented by "Blower" Brown. But the London public, doubtless knowing what was coming, stayed away in a shabby manner from the spectacle, so that the profits on the gate-money only amount to $3,000, in contrast to the $18,000 or $19,000 of the late contest in this city. According to the sporting Froudes and Macaulays of the daily press, however, the interest in the affair in this city has all along been maddening. The historian of the *Herald* says that "quiet and respectable men" on Saturday night "shouted themselves hoarse for joy," and "the crowd" subsequently "leaped for joy."

The French Republic is doubly fortunate in the death of Prince Louis Napoleon and in the recovery of his body. A distinguished contributor of our own, in an article which was in type when the news arrived, pointed out, by a curious coincidence, the likelihood that if the Zulus killed him and his body was not recovered "claimants" would arise to personate him for many a year, with stories of his having been taken alive by the savages. It is a happy circumstance, if anything can be called happy in a tragedy so miserable, that his remains were found on the field where he fell. If his business in life—the calling, one may say, for which he was trained—had not been the disturbance and vexation of a sorely-tried people, who have already sacrificed hecatombs of young men to gratify the ferocious ambition of his family, there would probably be many mourners over his untimely fate. As it is, he will be actually regretted by few outside the circle of friends of his unhappy mother. He appears to have been really anxious for active service, as his going on a reconnoissance into the country of such an enemy shows. The stories as to the part Prince Napoleon will now play are conflicting, but it seems most probable that he will neither assert his claims nor oblige the more ardent Imperialists by laying them aside and permitting his son to take his place.

Alsace-Lorraine, after nine years of existence as a conquered dependency of the German Empire, though with representation in the Parliament, has at last received a government of its own and becomes a member of the Confederation. It is to consist of a governor, appointed by the Emperor, with ministers, two consuls, one local and the other imperial, also appointed by the Crown, and a legislature, elected by indirect popular suffrage—some of the members in two degrees, others in three.

France and England have united, as might have been anticipated, in asking the Khedive to abdicate, and Austria and Germany have joined in a threatening communication to him with regard to his treatment of their bondholders. He has referred the two former to the Sultan, who says he will not depose him, but that he must settle with his enemies as best he can. Lord Cranbrook has denied vehemently, in a speech at Sheffield, that there is any coolness or difference of any kind between France and England on the Egyptian question or any other; but it is none the less true that England has lost the controlling influence in Egypt, which nobody disputed until the present Ministry came into power, and the fact will tell heavily against them at the general elections.

One of the surprising incidents of the existing situation in Russia is that she has just been able to raise a new loan of three hundred million roubles at 5½ per cent., and twice the amount called for was at once subscribed. As the Russophobists were all certain that her credit was virtually ruined for a long time by the war with Turkey, or that if the war had left anything of it, it was swept away by the Nihilist agitation, this expression of continued confidence in the financial future on the part of people with money to lend is exciting considerable surprise, and is likely to have a good deal of influence on the coming stages of the Eastern Question. The London *Times*, which has defended the British Ministry vigorously thus far, acknowledges that they will have some difficulty in explaining at the polls what they propose to do next in Turkey, the "reform" of Asia Minor having been virtually abandoned as a bad job.

POLITICIANS AND STATE RIGHTS.

THE average voter, who depends for his political ideas upon current discussions in the newspapers and in Congress, is at the present time in a fair way to have his mind hopelessly confused on the subject of the relations of the State and General Governments. All the speeches of his Congressman and all the leaders in his favorite newspaper lead him to believe that the political contest is assuming a new phase, in the reopening of an old question which he had supposed to be settled for ever by the war: that the Republicans on the one side are not going to concede any rights to the several States, and that the Democrats on the other hand are endeavoring to throw off all the authority of the General Government by a certain old and pernicious heresy known as "State rights." To whichever party he may belong, he is gradually imbibing the idea that according to Republican doctrine the separate States exist only by the sufferance of the Union, and have no rights whatever as against anything the General Government may choose to do. If he is a Republican, he feels that any one claiming rights for the States is at least a promulgator of dangerous theories whom it would be very unsafe to trust with political power.

A much better political education would be given him by showing that the relations of the State and General Governments are laid down in the Constitution with so much precision, and in words so simple and comprehensive, that there is really very little room for difference on any question of principle. The States have their well-secured rights, among which the chief is that of local self-government, and not one of them would give up these rights without fighting for them. The powers of the General Government are equally well defined, and it is safe to say that they will never be surrendered by any party which once finds itself in a position to make use of them.

Of course, when we leave general principles and come to the adjustment of special cases, the decision of which turns upon the respective powers of the General Government and of the States, there must frequently be room for differences of opinion respecting the precise limits of the two authorities. But if we look at the attitude which each party has assumed when such questions were before it, we shall find that there is not the slightest foundation for the view that one party is specially in favor of and the other opposed to State rights. If we wish to know what an individual or a party thinks of any principle or rule of conduct, we must note how he behaves towards it when it does not operate to his advantage. All the eulogies he may pass upon it when it is going to put money into his pockets or power into his hands, go for nothing with persons of average perspicacity. To find the actual position of the two parties on the question we must throw aside the "glittering generalities" and high-sounding phrases which politicians love to weave into their discourses, and examine only the acts and formal declarations of communities and authorities. We shall thus discover that whenever a State or local authority has been called upon to do something it did not want to do, and thought it could constitutionally evade, it has always become for the time a State-rights advocate, whether in the North or in the South, whether controlled by Republicans or by Democrats. We shall also find that each party reviles the other when the latter, being placed in the same position, takes the same privilege. The art of suddenly forgetting all the principles one has propounded when they are going to operate to the disadvantage of one's party or section, is now cultivated by politicians of all classes. Badly as the Democrats have behaved during the past six months, we question whether there is a single Republican leader who could say nay, if called up in church and made to answer on his conscience whether his own party would not do just what the Democrats are now trying to do, if it believed that a Democratic President was going to make an improper use of the army.

If we seek for proofs that the reserved rights of the States are as dear to Republicans as to Democrats we have only to compare their constitutions, their laws, and their acts under them. If we wish the most complete and comprehensive assertion of the right of each State to govern itself that any one could desire, we have only to read the fourth article of the declaration of rights in the constitution of Massachusetts:

"The people of this commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent State; and do, and for ever hereafter shall, exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not, or may not hereafter be, by them expressly delegated to the United States of America in Congress assembled."

No implied powers are here conceded to the General Government. The latter can exercise no powers except such as are "expressly delegated." The most ardent advocate of strict construction could not go further. If we desire statute proof that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts will never be backward in asserting her rights as a "free, sovereign, and independent State," we may find it in the action of Governor Rice when he refused to surrender Kimpton to the State authorities of South Carolina, under discretion given him, he said, by the State law.

During the last two sessions of Congress the questions to which we have alluded, considered as mere abstractions, have been discussed in a wider and more desultory manner than ever before. Statesmen have thrown at each other's heads great principles, selected without regard to any other consideration than their fitness for knocking down their opponents. Among these principles the one at which Republicans have professed most alarm is, that under our system there can be no such thing as a United States election, but that all elections, those of President and Representatives as well as of Governors and State Legislators, belong exclusively to the State. But are not the Republicans themselves the authors of this very doctrine, and did they not produce it two years ago when the Electoral Commission had to decide whether the votes of the Louisiana and Florida electors should be counted? In the discussion before the Electoral Commission it was asserted on the one side that the General Government, as representing the whole people, had the right to make the very modest enquiry whether certain State officers were legally appointed and had honestly performed their duty in selecting a President for the whole people. If a case could arise in which the whole Union had an interest in claiming a supervisory power over an election, surely it was before us when the question who should be President turned upon the proceedings, in a remote corner of the Union, of a half-dozen men about whom nothing good had ever been known. The claim was so reasonable that it could be set aside only by a statute of the most positive and binding character. Yet every Republican on the Commission denied the existence of any such right on the part of the General Government, and in doing so they formulated the very doctrine which they now profess to consider so dangerous. The real authors of the doctrine are not the Democrats of the present day, but Republicans as high in the party as Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Garfield, of Ohio. The former said, among other things:

"The appointment of electors and the ascertaining who has been appointed is the sole and exclusive prerogative of the State. The State acts by such agencies as it selects. The powers conferred by the State upon these agencies cannot be exercised by Congress. When the agencies which the State has selected have acted, the State has acted; no power can reverse its action for mistake in law or fact, for fraud, or for any cause whatever, unless it be a power higher than the State on whom the Constitution has expressly conferred such authority. But there is for this purpose no such power higher than the State, and the President of the Senate and Congress are but the mere servants of the State's will and registers of its action, with power only to open the certificates and count the votes of the electors whom the State authority has appointed and certified."

Mr. Garfield said:

"The preservation of the right of the States under the Constitution to appoint electors and to declare who has been appointed is, in my judgment, a matter of much greater importance than the accession of any one man to the Presidency."

We need not enquire whether this is or is not sound law, but we do affirm that both parties are estopped by the position they then took from pretending that the other has propounded dangerous and revolutionary doctrines. If we turn from the Republicans to the Democrats, we shall fail to find a single recent instance in which the latter were the champions of State rights when the assertion of such rights did not operate in some way to their advantage. Nor can we for a moment suppose that they will fail to use any power of the General Government when they have a chance to do so with profit to themselves. Their advocacy of State rights means simply that the other party is in power, and that the States which they control want to manage things in ways not satisfactory to other parts of the country.

END OF FRENCH IMPERIALISM.

THE death of the heir of Napoleon III. will probably prove the extinction of "Imperialism" in France. To the rank-and-file of the Bonapartists the late son of the late Emperor was the only person who represented the dynasty, and the only person through whom the restoration of the Empire seemed possible. Now that he is gone the struggle will undoubtedly to them seem hopeless, and they will turn without further hesitation to the acceptance of the Republic. Whether the elderly Bonapartist chiefs like Rouher will try to keep the cause alive is very doubtful; first, because the possible realization of their hopes is too far off, under any circumstances, for them to see it; and, secondly, because the law of their own making—the Senatus Consultum of 1870—passed on the eve of the war, gave the succession, in default of direct male heirs of the Emperor, to Prince Napoleon Bonaparte, the son of Jerome, and *his* heirs male. Against this the will of the late Prince, which Paul de Cassagnac is said to know of, passing over Prince Napoleon and giving the succession to his son Victor, is, of course, of no validity, even if it exists. Victor may perhaps prove a good person for the Imperialists to pin their hopes to; but his father stands between him and the throne by an instrument the authority of which it would be suicidal for them to dispute. Even a Bonapartist has to acknowledge the sanctity of *some* legislation, and nothing in his eyes ought to stand higher than a decree of his Senate, passed at the instigation of his Emperor. It is true the Senatus Consultum of April 20, 1870, which gave the Senate legislative power, took away its constituent power, and lodged it in the hands of the people through a plébiscite; but until the plébiscite is taken, undoubtedly the order of succession stands as settled in that year, and Prince Napoleon is the heir-apparent of the Bonapartist claims. But then the Bonapartists hate him. He never was in thorough sympathy with the Empire, the honors of which were almost thrust upon him, and he repudiated Imperialist ideas and claims when he appeared as a candidate in Corsica last year. The near prospect of a return to power might possibly lead him to accept the leadership of the party; but the chances of anything of the kind are too shadowy to tempt him into reappearing before the public as a pretender—a rôle in which he would be more than usually ridiculous. For various reasons he has never filled the imagination of the French people, and suspicions about his personal courage have been afloat ever since the Crimean War which would injure any Frenchman seriously, and to a Bonapartist "claimant" would be ruinous. A part he is not willing to play himself he is not likely to make way for his son to play, and the influence of King Humbert would doubtless be thrown strongly against any plan for converting his nephew into a professional enemy of the existing French Government.

Of the gain to the French people from the Prince's death there can be no question. To a country like France, in which political traditions have been lost, nothing is so needful as that some form of government shall have time to grow, and work itself into the habits of the people as fixed and permanent. To this there can be no greater obstacle than the existence of pretenders outside the state, intriguing through a faction in the legislature and in the administration, for the overthrow of the established constitution. It was the curse of England for full sixty years, and has been the curse of France now for nearly a century. That the Comte de Chambord has no children is a most fortunate circumstance, particularly as the younger branch of the Bourbons have shown sufficient wisdom to accept the situation and to live in their own country as peaceable citizens. We must not refuse to praise them for this, even if it be true that they have no hold on the people, and that not one Frenchman in a thousand knows that the Comte de Paris is the heir-presumptive to the old crown. Monarchical traditions have undoubtedly perished in France. No sovereign since 1789 has managed to die on the throne, except old Louis XVIII., and he would in all probability not have been able to do so had death not overtaken him while the country was still plunged in the exhaustion of twenty years of tremendous war. In fact, if there be a crown for which it seems useless as well as wicked to strive, it is that of France. Nowhere has the divinity that doth hedge a king so completely perished; no country, not even ours, is now so thoroughly committed to the experiment of a republic. It is not possible in our day to create a royalty any more than an aristocracy. It is essentially the product of time and of a sentiment which, even where it is strongest, and where no revolution has ever quenched or abated it, has to struggle for existence against the positivist spirit of the age—a spirit for which nothing is sacred, and which sternly demands of every man that he shall earn both his money and his honors by ability and hard work. Even if another Bonapartist pretender should now come forward in the person of Prince Victor, he would probably find by the time he was ready to claim his crown that he, too, had been forgotten, that the magic had gone from his name, and that he had passed into the category of historical curiosities in which the last of the Stuarts ended his days.

But Bonapartism in its last stage nevertheless must always remain one of the most interesting phenomena of modern history. The rise of the first Emperor had nothing in it for which the times and his own genius would not account. He made himself Cæsar because he was irresistible in war, and because there was no public opinion in France which required moral satisfaction. But the second Empire was imposed on a new France, which had had half a century of political experience and of constitutional government, and was imposed by a man who had no great exploits either civil or military to boast of. His followers, too, when they seized on the Government were not only obscure adventurers fresh from the billiard-room, the card-table, and the race-course, but they were the successors of statesmen of the first order who had long filled Europe with their fame. Moreover, the régime they set up was something absolutely new, and the way in which they made it work in one of the most highly civilized countries in the world was truly marvellous. It was not a military monarchy like that of the first Napoleon, founded by a conqueror, for there was not a great or even well-known soldier, or a man who had commanded in a great battle, among them. Nor was it an elective monarchy like that of old Poland, or like the Papacy, in which the votes are cast for one of two or more candidates, or, in other words, in which the elector has an alternative. On the Bonapartist plan the elector was asked to say whether he would accept a man already in possession of power, without receiving any indication of what would happen in case the noes were in a majority, and, indeed, knowing that if they were in a majority it would make no difference. All the Bonapartist plébiscites, or appeals to the people, which form so prominent a feature in their system, were made in this way, and it was something unique. The history of electioneering contains nothing like it. On its face it looks like what is known in this country as the submission of a constitution to the popular vote, but this submission with us always presents the elector with a real choice. He knows what will happen whichever side triumphs. The Bonapartists never even pretended that they would surrender anything in case they were defeated at the polls.

Another most curious feature of the system was the way in which it mixed popular sovereignty and the divine right of kings. This

also was unprecedented. The fundamental law of all European monarchies declares that the sovereign reigns by "the grace of God," but it assumes, and does not declare, that he also reigns by the will of the people. The third Napoleon, however, called himself formally "Emperor by the grace of God and the national will," and he boldly ascertained the national will at the polls by a process which determined the result beforehand. Consequently, under his system the grace of God designated the person for whom the people ought to vote. This was not all, however. The two Bonapartists who have reigned were men who obtained power before they asked the people whether they ought to keep it. This was true both of the Constitution of 1799 creating the Consulate, and that of 1804 creating the First Empire, as well as of those of 1852 creating the Presidency for ten years, and subsequently the Second Empire. The electors were thus asked to vote for a person of whom they knew something, and of whose merits and capacity they had some opportunity of judging. In spite of the fact that no alternative was offered to the noes, there was about this, perhaps, a show of reasonableness. But at this point the hereditary principle was introduced, and actually made to work in conjunction with popular sovereignty. For not only did the late Emperor reign by virtue of the will of the people, but his son, the unhappy young man who has just perished in Africa, claimed the crown by virtue of the same warranty as against all other competitors. So that his title to the throne, as asserted by his followers, was really a hereditary right to receive a majority of votes, which is something absolutely novel in public law. The majority cast for the present Government of France at the last election, therefore, counts for nothing in the eyes of the Rouhers and Cassagnacs. It gives the Senate and Assembly no authority or color of authority to rule France, and they treat them in the debates as mere usurpers and intruders.

It would be well, however, if the system for which the late Prince stood was nothing worse than illogical. But it was besides this a sort of incarnation of brute force, let us hope the last we shall witness in the politics of Christendom. The original conspirators who set it up had a hearty contempt, which they made no attempt to conceal, for intelligent opinion, and for all the arts by which it is in the modern world formed or persuaded. Their strongest tradition was that their chief should be a soldier, and that he should meet discontent with bayonets. The only mode of satisfying national aspirations which they understood was making war and spending heavily in embellishments and ceremonial. They approached the French fancy, in fact, on its meanest side, and left nothing undone to feed its most depraved tastes. They made no secret of the close connection in their minds of politics and sensuality, and most of them lived vigorously up to their theory. The young prince who has just been killed was taught from his earliest years that soldiering was the first of a sovereign's duties, and he was actually taken from the nursery to participate in a useless attack at Saarbrück, in which many men lost their lives, undertaken for the sole purpose of giving him what, in the disgusting cant of the Court, was called his "baptism of fire." This piece of barbarity alone, which was worthy of the worst days of Louis XIV., would have given the misfortunes which followed the air of tremendous and richly-merited chastisement. It was creditable to him and to his mother that he should have afterwards submitted himself to the wholesome discipline of a good English school; but it was characteristic of his race and of his politics that he should have perished as a military adventurer in a quarrel not his own, under the spears of savages who were defending their soil and on whose mercy, even if they were merciful, he had not a single claim.

THE FUTURE OF THE NEWSPAPER.

MR. WHITELAW REID'S address on the present condition and prospects of journalism, delivered last week before the Ohio Press Association, has attracted a good deal of notice. It is a subject on which he is fairly entitled to attention; for whatever view may be taken of the political course of the *Tribune* since the war, no one can deny that as a newspaper it has done a great deal to elevate the general tone of the press in New York, and to discourage the gross personality which marked its old incessant editorial warfare. With most of what he says we cordially agree. There are, however, certain points in his address which, as tending to confuse the minds of the public and of journalists themselves, are open to criticism.

It should be premised at the outset that Mr. Reid does not predict for journalism the tremendous future as an agency for the regeneration of society and the purification of politics that other prophets have fondly hoped for it. It is rather to do the things better which it now does, than to do any new things. It is to collect the news of the day, as it does now, and discuss it, as it does now. Its relations to parties are to be very much what they are now. It is to avoid on the one hand extreme partisanship, and on the other what Mr. Reid considers the affectation of independence; to try to "elevate the standard" of the party, but at the same time be careful to remember that no good can be accomplished in the government of a free country except by the intervention of parties. All these things, however, are to be done better than they are now done. On one point only Mr. Reid does permit his fancy to rove—for the art of reporting he predicts a brilliant future. Why, he asks, should the busy man read the history of yesterday at a greater disadvantage than the history of a hundred years ago? In order to inform himself about that, he is not forced to read official documents and dry reports; all this work is done for him. "Thousands of pages are searched to give you one, but on that one is all you need to know." For the history of the Dutch Republic we go to Motley; for that of England, to Macaulay, Green, or Froude. Why, then, shall not the newspaper of the future be that which shall still employ colossal capital to gather all the news, and "a staff of Greens and Froudes to tell it"? It is not only to the reporting of the great events of the world's passing history that the efforts of these gentlemen are to be directed, but to the daily events of their own city and country. In short, the future of the newspaper is to be that we shall have better newspapers—

"the story better told; better brains employed in the telling; briefer papers; papers dealing with the more important of current matters in such style and with such fascination that they will command the widest interest. There will be more care and ability in selecting, out of the myriad of things you might tell, the things that the better people want to be told, or ought to be told. There will be greater skill in putting these things before them in the most convenient and attractive shape. Judgment in selecting the news, genius in telling it—that is the goal for the highest journalistic effort of the future; and to do all this a staff of Greens and Froudes to do it. With this improvement, and as a part of it, there is to be a steady improvement in the character of the men who embrace the journalistic career."

Even now, according to Mr. Reid, "there is more good young blood tending to this than to any of the other professions. There is more movement in it than in bar, or pulpit, or whatever other so-called learned profession that you will; more growth, a larger opportunity, a greater future." These last statements are so very general that they are incapable of proof or disproof; but the assumption which underlies them, that journalism has attained or is rapidly attaining the rank of a liberal profession, is either true or not true. If it is true, it is highly important that we should know it. As a liberal profession, offering a career for young men of education, the press would occupy a position of power and influence greater than ever. The question is whether there is any truth in it.

It must strike any reader of Mr. Reid's address at the outset as rather singular that two-thirds of a discussion devoted to the future of a liberal profession should be taken up with such matters as the cylinder press, the effects of railroads on the "area of circulation," the Hoe press, cheap advertising, and the cost of paper and printing. In connection with a profession all this sounds much as if we should find a great part of a lecture on law devoted to the cost of "legal cap," steel pens, and stenographic reporting; or two-thirds of a lecture on pathology to the cost of the production and manufacture of drugs. It is clear, therefore, that if journalism is a profession, there is one respect in which it is very different from other professions—that it is closely connected with, and dependent upon, commercial enterprise; that it involves the use of a large amount of fixed capital. A further study of Mr. Reid's essay discloses the fact that the uses to which this capital is put are the collection and sale of news, and the discussion of the bearing of this news upon the interests of the public at large. By a very simple natural law (to the existence of which Mr. Reid alludes, though he naturally does not dwell upon it) a newspaper is enabled to sell its columns to venders of other articles than news who wish to bring their wares to the notice of buyers, for a price which varies with the number of persons reached—or, in other

words, the "area of circulation." Although it is perfectly true that a few newspapers may from particular causes constitute exceptions to the rule, the law, as a general thing, works with the uniformity of a law of nature, and is generally expressed among newspaper men in the form of a mathematical ratio between the cost per "line" of advertising and the circulation; so that middlemen find it safe to engage in the business of furnishing advertising by the quantity.

It is obvious, therefore, that the *sine quâ non* and foundation of this "profession" is circulation. As the circulation increases, advertising increases; and as advertising increases, the property becomes more and more valuable. The first interest of all concerned is, therefore, a wide circulation. It is generally the custom of writers on this subject to represent the interests of the editor as at war with those of the publisher, the editor caring only to make his paper valuable and interesting; the grovelling publisher caring only for advertisements, and hence interfering with the editor's free discussions of topics which may endanger this source of prosperity. Mr. Reid has something to say on this head, and, like most journalistic reformers, insists that the editor must have absolute control over the publisher, and never allow the latter's low mercantile instincts to interfere with the higher interests of the paper. But this distinction between the objects held in view by editors and publishers, however real and painful the effect of the antagonism may be in many editorial "sanctums," is of little or no consequence when the enterprise is looked at as a whole. The general interest in the enterprise is one and the same among all concerned. What is wanted is a commercial success, and this cannot be obtained without advertisements, nor these without circulation. The manner in which the business will be carried on, therefore, will be determined in general by the means which in any given community are found most effective in securing circulation. The motive most operative upon all those connected with a newspaper will, in the long run, be not the desire to make the world better and nobler, nor to mould public opinion, but at all hazards to get an audience. As a consequence, we should expect to find most newspapers securing an audience in matters of politics by following more or less closely the steps of one or other important political party, in matters of religion by following the path pointed out by some sect. So in matters of news, we should expect to find that sort of news treated as most important in which most people are for the time most interested, without regard to its intrinsic consequences; and, moreover, we should expect to find *news* itself on any subject of momentary interest regarded as of great value irrespective of its truth. In addition to all these means of obtaining an audience, we might not unfairly expect self-laudation and solicitation resorted to as a further means.

It follows from all this that Mr. Reid's "staff of Macaulays and Froudes" replacing the present "city editor" and news agencies is a vision which there is no reason for ever expecting to see realized. It is the first business of Macaulays and Froudes to spend years of patient research in arriving at the truth with regard to what is of all things the most uninteresting and unprofitable from the newspaper point of view—the Past; to enable them thus to engage in this unprofitable work millions of capital are accumulated for their education and a lifetime is spent in research. The results are momentous additions to the world's knowledge. But these momentous additions to the world's knowledge are of less immediate interest to the public as a general thing than the condition of the stock market or the last walking-match. There is probably nothing in the world of less intrinsic importance than the name of the particular horse which comes out first at the Derby, unless possibly it is whether "Blower" Brown or Weston can walk the greater number of miles in a given time. Yet no events are treated with more respectful and minute attention by the press, and for a very good reason—that the love of a contest of any kind, no matter between whom or for what, will always extend the area of momentary circulation. To secure Froudes and Greens for picturesque "descriptive writing" on such subjects as these would be an economical blunder, for which the sordid publisher might fairly call the impractical editor to account. Regarding its Green or Froude as so much "plant" on which the business must earn interest, their employment to do work which generally far inferior men could do as well would be a great waste.

A very slight attention to the actual conditions of a professional career will show how utterly unprofessional newspaper work must always be. A young man, for instance, who wishes to practise at the bar knows that if he acquires a certain amount of technical knowledge he will be admitted to advise clients and argue cases. By careful preparation and compliance with established rules he can, with a certain amount of education, be almost confident of a fair success. He is besides charged with important and responsible duties as an officer of court. Journalism holds out no such career as this. Success in it requires a peculiar combination of faculties, a sense of what the public are interested in, combined with a literary faculty, and a power of making use of other people's literary faculties, which nobody can acquire by study or imitation. It cannot be got by collecting "news," nor by writing brilliant descriptions of murders, hangings, or races. Some few men have this journalistic faculty, and they succeed, become "able editors," and undoubtedly secure the sweet incense of the flattery and consideration of their fellows to a degree that seldom falls to the lot of professional men. But the great mass of journalists do not attain this position. They do not attain any position. Most generally they remain all their lives collecting news or writing brilliant accounts of murders or hangings.

The thing that most seriously interferes with any development of journalism as a professional career is its necessarily anonymous character. It is established as well as anything can be established by experience that the power of the press is in exact ratio to the strictness with which the incognito of its writers is preserved. There is no more terrible moral engine of the world than reiterated anonymous attacks upon persons, institutions, or abuses by a widely-read paper. But it is essential for the success of this sort of warfare that it should never be known who are the authors of the attacks. It must seem always to be the loud, unanswerable voice of public opinion, and not that of some enterprising young journalist who has just graduated from Yale or Harvard. But this necessity is a most serious drawback to the press as a profession. A professional success in which there can be no gratification of ambition, no personal glory, holds out no very tempting bait. If lawyers and doctors were only admitted to practice on condition of their names and even identity remaining unknown, the professions of law and medicine would certainly not have the attractions they now possess. It is a very noticeable fact—one, too, which Mr. Reid would be the last to dispute—that with the growth of the press of this city in decency and sobriety the persons actually engaged in the editorial work upon them have withdrawn into retirement, and now avoid that parade of their names which formerly seemed to make the editor of a "great daily" such an important person.

That enormous improvement in the character of the press is still possible, and that editors may do much to heighten it by directing their efforts in many of the directions pointed out by Mr. Reid, there can be no doubt; but we do not think that any good can be accomplished by exciting hopes of the establishment of journalism on a foundation which does not belong to it. Its importance in modern times arises chiefly from the fact that it furnishes what the world has never had before—a constant medium for argument, explanation, exhortation, criticism, and debate by that class which inherits the world's best traditions of thought and conduct, and which before the invention of the newspaper could speak with but a muffled and indistinct voice. It is not a profession and cannot be made one.

Correspondence.

CUSTOM-HOUSE PRACTICES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Would you enlighten one of your readers, and with him others, by unravelling the intricacy of custom-house practice as regards importation of foreign books for educational purposes? Having occasion lately to try and secure the valuable series of books known as the "Early English Text Society's Publications"—a series which can now be obtained only in the bulk and at second-hand—application was made to an importing firm as to the possibility of obtaining the series, in the name of a Southern university, for one of its professors. The books were in no case intended for sale or distribution, but were quite essential to the person concerned as professor of English in the aforementioned university and through him to the university course in that specialty. Could he, by a liberal construction of the existing law for the importation of books designed to benefit schools and colleges, conscientiously procure books free of duty in the name of such school or college, though paid for by himself? Further, is there any law authorizing custom-house officers in their port-of-entry *printed* forms to depart from the printed form and insert, for example, in a form lately received by your correspondent, after the words "for the use of said university" the *written* words "are its permanent property," and after the words "not in-

tended for sale" the words "or distribution"? The series mentioned is for the use of the university, but is not to be its permanent property, inasmuch as it is not intended for the university library.

Very respectfully, H.

A HARD-MONEY CANDIDATE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: All good citizens, of whatever political complexion, are, I think, sick to death of the Congressional wrangles—of Mr. Blaine's quixotic attacks upon Southern wind-mills and of their defence by Southern brigadiers; of Mr. Conkling's arrogance and blackguardism, and Mr. Lamar's attempt at rivalry therein. But these wrangles are likely to continue just so long as the present party-lines continue.

There is but one live question in politics to-day, and that is a question of finance. The contest, moreover, is not merely between hard money and soft money, but between honest hard money and dishonest hard money. And the dividing line of neither coincides with the dividing line between Republicanism and Democracy—if, indeed, there is any such line, for I personally fail to see wherein the two parties differ upon any subject of importance. There are as many soft-money Republicans as Democrats and as many hard-money Democrats as Republicans, and on the silver question there is a large element in both parties utterly wild in their theories. With what sort of consistency can hard-money—honest hard-money—Republicans in the East rejoice at the nomination or election of "Charley" Foster in Ohio? With what sort of consistency can Thurman and Bayard work side by side?

Party discipline is very powerful, and frequently compels the lion and the lamb to lie down together. It is only party discipline that has so long prevented a split in one party or the other. But has not the time nearly arrived when a new division should take place? Does not the stand taken by Senator Bayard afford a fitting opportunity for such a division? Why should not all believers in honest hard money, East and West, take him for their standard-bearer, and, uniting on that one issue, put him in nomination in 1880 as the honest hard-money candidate for the Presidency? He is the nearest approach to a statesman now in Congress, and if untrammelled by old party ties he would be a worthy successor of the present incumbent—and that, to my mind, is very great praise.

We should then know just where we stand. To-day it is impossible to tell how strong the silver or the greenback movement really is. But if the matter were put directly in issue before the public, the full strength of both sides would be brought out. We might, of course, find ourselves landed on the other side of the street, like the man who wanted to find out how hard his mule could kick; but, like him, we should have at least the satisfaction of having got at the bottom facts. We should have tested the mule.

There are a good many men, in Massachusetts at least, who would be glad to see something of this sort tried, and I believe that such a movement would find ready response from all parts of the country. It would put an end to the Grant "boom," and would give us all something to fight for, and a party for which we should not have constantly to apologize, and of which we should not necessarily be ashamed.

Very respectfully,

A Hard-Money Republican.

Boston, June 21, 1879.

STIELER'S NEW MAP OF THE UNITED STATES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your notice of Part II. of 'Stieler's Hand Atlas,' new edition, you gave expression to your astonishment, no doubt shared by most subscribers, that map 79, the N.W. portion of the United States and S.W. Canada, was called "West-Indien, Blatt 1." The title of this map, even in an abbreviated form, should have been more explicit, as the so to speak official title of it will be "West-Indien und Central-America bis zum südlichen Canada," and the whole map (in four sheets) is intended at the same time to take the place of the old general map of North America (one sheet in the former editions). It is on the scale of 1 : 7,500,000, one-half of the size of Petermann's map of the United States in six sheets, which, however, it is not intended to supplant but rather to supplement, as the important surveys of Lieutenant Wheeler and Professor Hayden, the Atlas of the General Land Office, Mr. W. L. Nicholson's, and many other special maps, published since Petermann's six-sheet map was first issued, have been used for this new four-sheet map, which thus for the first time, and especially in the two northern sections embracing the territory of the United States, embodies in a general map the results of very important special researches concerning this continent. The publisher acknowledges the mistake made in the abbreviated title, but trusts that the importance of just this map may plead in his behalf.

Very respectfully,

B. Westermann & Co.

New York, 838 Broadway, June 21, 1879.

Notes.

Roberts Bros. have in press 'Our Autumn Holiday on French Rivers,' by J. L. Molloy.——J. A. & R. A. Reid, Providence, announce 'Narragansett Sea and Shore,' a guide to those famous waters, by the Rev. Frederick Denison.——A 'History of the War Department of the United States,' by L. D. Ingersoll, will shortly be issued by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.——Porter & Coates will publish a translation of Élie Berthet's 'Prehistoric World.'——'Through the Light Continent,' by William Saunders, a work on the United States in 1877-78, is announced by Cassell, Petter & Galpin.——'Cousins,' a new novel by the author of 'Mr. Smith,' will be the next addition to Henry Holt & Co.'s "Leisure-Hour Series."——Macmillan & Co. have in preparation a new net catalogue of the Clarendon Press series of educational works issued under the direction of the Delegates of Oxford University, as well as of their own text-books. Its appearance in the fall should be awaited with interest by all instructors, for a list of equal excellence and authority it would be hard to find in the English language. Nor need we confine the remark to teachers alone.——G. P. Putnam's Sons have printed in a handsome pamphlet the proceedings at the reception lately given the Rev. O. B. Frothingham by his church, on the occasion of his departure for Europe.——Among the other good services of the Boston Appalachian Mountain Club has been its endeavor to fix the true names of mountains; and in case of homonymy, not an infrequent thing in New England, to ascertain the rightful priority and strive to obtain recognition for it. In this way the question of the two New Hampshire Kearsarges came up, and appears to be still undecided by the Club. A convincing little pamphlet, asserting the superior title of the southernmost or Merrimack County mountain, has been published at Concord (*Republican Press* Association). It serves also the purpose of defending against Johnson's Encyclopædia the thesis that the corvette which sunk the *Alabama* was named for the same eminence. An account of the memorable fight is appended.——We have received from Miss Christine Ladd, of the Johns Hopkins University, a separate copy of her paper on the Pascal Hexagram which appeared in volume ii. of the *American Journal of Mathematics*. Miss Ladd's marked ability in this study has led to the trustees of the University voting her an honorary stipend, equal to that bestowed upon those who are appointed to fellowships, in order that she may continue her mathematical studies in Baltimore.——Some fruitless applications having been made by Americans to the English Fine Art Society for Mr. Seymour Haden's etchings, it should be generally known that his publishers are Hogarth & Son, 96 Mount Street, Grosvenor Square, London.——It is with great satisfaction that we record the formal presentation to the Government of the invaluable collection of Indian portraits and curiosities made by the late George Catlin. This collection was, a generation ago, one of the standing attractions of London, was afterwards exhibited in Belgium, and there fell into the hands of the late Joseph Harrison, Jr., of Philadelphia, who not only helped Mr. Catlin out of his financial straits by the purchase, but intentionally preserved for his country this most remarkable record of the American aborigines. His widow has now offered it to the National Museum, where it will be duly displayed.

—The fourth Library Convention, to be held at Boston next week (June 30–July 3), promises to be even more interesting than its predecessors. The first and third day are given up to the technicalities of the profession—to classification in catalogues and on the shelves, indexing, binding, ventilation, insect pests, and contagion, the catalogues of small town libraries, and similar subjects, which only librarians and here and there an outsider will care for. But on the second day questions will be discussed which claim the attention of every one who is interested at all in the cause of popular education, and feels either hope or anxiety about the result of the system of public libraries which has started into such rapid growth in the last two decades. These questions are, the relation of libraries and schools; how to make

them work together; whether libraries are doing, as some say, more evil by deluging the youthful mind with a torrent of sensational literature than good by furnishing real pabulum to the minority who want it; or whether, as others maintain, fiction is a justifiable and indeed necessary bait to entice the wild colts of our streets into a paddock where they can be trained to some useful work. Much can be said on both sides, and as we are promised papers by Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, and Mr. S. S. Green, and remarks by Rev. J. F. Clarke, Rev. E. E. Hale, Mr. S. Eliot, and Prof. Atkinson, no doubt something good will be read or said on both sides. At the previous conventions no subject so instantly aroused flagging attention, and called up a crowd of eager speakers, as this. The entertainments provided are a combination of the lighter features of previous years. An evening reception corresponds to the "spreads" of Philadelphia and New York, except that it is at a private house, and not at a library. For the afternoon visit to the Art Museums of those cities is substituted the somewhat more brilliant evening exhibition at the Boston Museum of Fine Art; the banquet given by the Lord Mayor of London is paralleled by an excursion down the harbor, at the invitation of the Mayor; and the Convention concludes with a trip to Plymouth and its Rock, that had no counterpart on previous occasions.

—Availing ourselves of the latitude with which our esteemed contemporaries of the daily press use the word, we may say that the literary end of the Grant "boom" has reached us in the shape of Parts 1 and 2 of Mr. John Russell Young's 'Around the World with General Grant' (American News Co.) The total length of it, we are told, will be twenty parts, making 1,280 pages; it will be obtainable only by subscription, and is expected to be completed by November 1. Unlike Mr. Sherman's modest and rational boom—a collection of speeches showing his capacity for civil administration—the present is tricked out with "heavy extra-calendered paper, manufactured expressly for this work," and "eight hundred illustrations designed and engraved by the best artists and engravers in America," also expressly for this work. As the pages are uncut, we presume these arts will prevail in the rural districts. The text is in truth as dreary as the typographical and artistic performance is excellent. General Grant is abruptly introduced as having well earned the foreign attentions about to be recorded, by (among other things) his "judicious direction of the Executive branch of the Government for eight years," and the narrative begins with the farewell hospitality of Mr. Geo. W. Childs. On shipboard, we are told, "the reticence which had characterized the manner of the Ex-President [*sic*] during the many years of his onerous and toilsome employment in the service of his country, dropped from him as though it were a mask," and the captain of the *Indiana* pronounced him "the most interesting and entertaining talker he had ever met." General Grant "smoked incessantly during the voyage," while Mrs. Grant "suffered slightly from *mal de mer*." Mr. Young's companionship was not constant during the General's stay in England, and when the newspaper reports are not handy he falls back upon Mr. Smalley's letters to the *Tribune*, Mr. Smalley having the advantage of being a host as well as a *convive* of our ex-sovereign. Neither was Mr. Young of the party when the Rhine tour was made, and he accordingly throws in a lot of padding about Alsace and the brutal Prussians and intriguing Bismarck, which has no relation to his subject, and must prove embarrassing to the book agent in German settlements. But "our lady readers," to whom Mr. Young occasionally alludes, will probably not mind this. Most of the work thus far consists of formal receptions, addresses, and replies. Part 2 breaks off at General Grant's arrival in Paris.

—Mr. Joseph Thacher Clarke, a young American architect, who is now abroad to examine the remains of Doric temples and to attempt to settle some of the many vexed questions in regard to their construction, has published as the fruit of his preliminary studies an essay upon "The Hypæthral Question—an Attempt to Determine the Mode in which the Interior of a Greek Temple was Lighted" (papers of the Harvard Art Club, No. 1, Harvard College, Cambridge, 1879). He brings to his work a wide acquaintance with the original sources of information and a careful examination of what has hitherto been written upon this question, which has long been in dispute, and finds all the old theories insufficient. He maintains "that the Parthenon, the temples of Olympia and Poseidonia, in short, all true Greek temples, were covered with a complete roof and ceiling, and that the light by which they were illuminated was artificial," and he makes in behalf of his theory a very consistent and forcible argument. It has been generally believed that Greek temples were lighted by an opening in the roof, but as to what this opening was there has been much difference of opinion. Mr. Clarke states each theory and criticises it in detail. He reminds us that there is no contemporary reference to an hypæthral opening; that the theory rests on a doubtful interpretation of a doubtful passage of Vitruvius, himself an untrustworthy author; that the danger to the interior from rain would have been very great, especially to the chryselephantine statues and the treasures, while great pains were taken to prevent moisture coming from the ground. He shows that Mr. Ferguson's theory of lighting by means of a clerestory is inconsistent with the very text on which the hypothesis of an hypæthral opening is founded, and calls attention to the lack of any remains indicating such a method of construction, and to the very imperfect light it would afford, owing to architectural difficulties; he recounts the æsthetic difficulties in such a construction, and the æsthetic advantages of artificial light for such an interior and such decorations as a Greek temple possessed; he recalls the fact that travellers who saw the Parthenon when still unimpaired speak of its darkness, and that all ancient representations of finished temples show an unbroken roof; and, in ways too various to be mentioned in detail, he reinforces and supports his arguments. Whatever may be the decision as to the worth of this theory it is a valuable contribution to the discussion, and exhibits a careful and thorough study which is as novel as it is gratifying in American contributions to the study of art. Mr. Clarke's paper is reprinted in the last number of the *American Architect*.

—A Southern teacher writes us privately as follows:

". . . I surmise that before the coming campaign is over the South is the only part of the country where such honesty and independence as characterize your paper will be tolerated. There is a great deal of sad truth in the letter of your Illinois correspondent; but, as you say, he goes too far. There is no more unrepentant rebel in the South than myself, yet I do *not* hate the North. My hostility is exercised only towards the Blaines, Chandlers, etc., and my sentiments towards them are only what the *Nation* expresses and implies. There has been a steady growth South in national patriotism in the last ten years. One Democratic Administration, under such a President as Bayard or David Davis, unmarked by the follies of the Democrats or the bitter partisanship of the Republicans, would bring about a state of things never experienced since the Revolutionary War—that the Southerner would feel as much at home in Maine as in Texas or South Carolina. Your correspondent mistakes a general feeling of resentment towards the Republican party, as the author of all the wrongs the South has endured, for a sectional feeling of hatred towards that part of the Union where the Republican party is in the majority. We know that the Republican party will attempt, if possible, the very things your correspondent speaks of in regard to remanding the South back to the state of things existent from 1868 to 1876, and I believe we would fight before submitting to it again. Hence the eagerness with which the South seeks to increase her power and influence in the Government—not to rule, as the 'Stalwarts' say, but to keep from being ruined. The apparent hostility between North and South is no greater than that between up-country and low-country in South Carolina. It did not 'ante-date the Revolution.' So far as *real*, it is due to the brutal and overweening vanity of Southern M.Cs. in Congress and their manner towards members from the North; to the infamous assault of Brooks upon Mr. Sumner, and the general defence of the same throughout the South; to the association in the mind of the Southerner of Abolitionist (with all it implied and Abolitionism meant for the South) and Northerner or 'Yankee,' and to the misunderstanding at the North that free speech, the natural inheritance of the modern Anglo-Saxon, was hated *per se* at the South, when it was because free speech on the slavery question meant insurrection and its attendant horrors.

"But all that has passed away for ever. There can scarce be found an intelligent Southerner who will not admit (though not to a Northerner) that slavery put us as a people behind all others of our race in civilization. The same sentiment is now held as to the Brooks-Sumner affair here at the South that was always held at the North. At the Commencement at the Biddle University (N. C.) for colored young men, Dr. Mattoon, President, there were present some old slaveholders, who expressed surprise, and even gratification, at the proficiency of the colored young men. In fine, the 'problem' of the New South is working itself out as well as the same conditions could possibly admit of among any people; and I beg leave to suggest that those who are interested in the solution of this problem send a circular letter to those in charge of all the educational institutions for colored people in the South, asking such questions as would bring out the truth."

—As the Democrats in Congress rely greatly on English precedent in denouncing the use of the army as a police, the history of the suppression of the Gordon riots of 1780 will help them to an impartial view of the question. Dr. Johnson wrote to Mrs. Thrale:

"There has been, indeed, an universal panic, from which the King was the first that recovered. Without the concurrence of his ministers, or the assistance of the civil magistrates, he put the soldiers in motion, and saved the town from calamities such as a rabble's government must naturally produce."

Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, in his 'Life of Shelburne' (iii. 89), says:

"The ultimate suppression of the riots was owing to the courage of the Attorney-General, Wedderburne, who was rewarded with the Barony of Loughborough and the Lord Chief-Justiceship of the Common Pleas. While London was burning, the Privy Council was discussing whether the troops could fire till after the Riot Act had been read and one hour had elapsed. This was the theory embodied in a War-Office Order on the subject; the question, however, was if it contained the law on the subject. The Attorney-General gave it as his opinion that when a felony was being committed, and the Civil power lacked other means to repress it, the Military could interpose, without any formality whatever, not as soldiers but as citizens. 'No matter,' said Mansfield [whose house was sacked by the mob], 'whether their coats be red or brown, they are employed not to subvert but to preserve the laws and Constitution.' This doctrine, though probably correct, is clearly one which requires very close watching; as Dunning pointed out in some observations which he addressed to Shelburne on the subject."

The miserable condition of the police was of course the reason why the mob obtained such headway, and the necessity of reorganizing it upon a more efficient basis was strongly urged by Shelburne while the riots were still in their incipiency. At Bath, according to Samuel Curwen, an American loyalist residing in Bristol, the mob gutted the Roman Catholic chapel and the priest's house before the Hereford militia and a troop of dragoons stationed near by could be called in ('Journal and Letters,' p. 283). Bristol, on the other hand, "by a vigorous internal police taking early precaution dispersed a threatening storm."

—A subscriber sends us the following off-hand answer to the riddle of Erskine's which we quoted last week, ending "What am I—what, what?"

"You're a king. When you die
Vivat Rex people cry.
Though, fat-brained and bloated,
For sins you be noted,
Despite of all protest,
Rex peccare non potest."

—Three court-plaster illustrations on the usually staid cover of *Lippincott's* for July emphasize the three articles for which original designs appear to have been procured. Of these articles the best in all respects is Mr. L. Clarke Davis's "At and After the Play," a biographical sketch of Joseph Jefferson, the actor, with special reference to his impersonation of Rip van Winkle. Mr. Jefferson is, as is well known, a fine example of hereditary genius, being the fourth in a direct line of actors, of whom two besides himself were eminent, and having also inherited from his father a taste for painting which he has cultivated perhaps beyond the latter's excellence in that art. All but the first Jefferson have been intimately associated with the Philadelphia stage, for which, as Mr. Clarke shows, the legend of Rip van Winkle was first dramatized, probably by J. H. Hackett, and afterwards by Mr. Jefferson's half-brother, Charles Burke, himself an actor to whom Mr. Davis awards the highest praise. Mr. Felix L. Oswald's opening paper, "Rambles in the Backwoods of Mexico and Central America—Sonora," and "Stratford-on-the-Sound," are both agreeable papers, which do not, however, call for special remark, unless we ought to mention the mysterious "Stratford Knockings" of thirty years ago. Miss Porter's "My Village in the South" takes a new turn without ceasing to be romantic. In a review of Bigelow's 'Franklin,' Mr. Thomas Hughes endeavors to make some amends for the English underestimate of Poor Richard.

—*Harper's* opens with a jaunty pictorial description of Narragansett Pier, by Professor Charles Carroll. Mr. Howard Pyle apparently concludes his entertaining series on the "Peninsular Canaan" with glimpses of the peach country in Delaware. The inexhaustible literary resources of Long Island are exemplified anew in Mr. A. A. Hayes, Jr.'s "Romance of Easthampton," which seems intended to pass for a true story. Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin writes with his usual unprofitableness when dealing with such subjects on "Fifty Years of American Art," the period, namely, from the founding of the National Academy of Design and the death of Gilbert Stuart (in 1828) to last year. Both the text and the engravings recall the work of the older worthies of the brush, such as Huntington, Durand, Cole, etc., and their immediate successors. A centennial article describes in a somewhat wooden manner the taking of Stony Point in July, 1779. Mr. E. P. Whipple's "Recollections of Charles Sumner" have the quality of being least flattering when most apologetic; and as they are frank and truthful between times, they convey a very fair idea of that statesman's weaknesses. In Mr. Henry James, Jr.'s charming little story, called, rather improbably, "The Diary of a Man of Fifty," the dénouement is well concealed from the beginning, and the moral very unexpectedly enforced with a wholesome regard for the reader's feelings instead of for the narrator's. The scene is laid in Italy, and all the appointments show the practised observer with a gift for description.

—Professor Adolfo Bartoli, of Florence, whose important work, 'I Primi Due Secoli della Letteratura Italiana,' we noticed in the *Nation*, No. 464, has undertaken a more popular history of Italian literature, the first volume of which has recently appeared in Florence under the title 'Caratteri Fondimentali della Letteratura Medievale.' As the title indicates, it gives a survey of the general mediæval literature of Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To show what the condition of the human mind was during the Middle Ages the author examines what it produced. He considers rapidly, in eleven chapters, the chronicles in prose and verse and historical songs, works with moralizations, legends, religious lyrics, the religious drama, encyclopædic works, the poetry of the vagrant scholars, the *fabliaux* and the romance of Renard, the 'Romance of the Rose,' and Provençal poetry. He avoids all literary discussions, and presents simple facts. In this way he has made a very readable work, which supplements his more learned labor mentioned above.

WALTER BAGEHOT.*

MR. BAGEHOT'S death leaves a void in English literature which will not easily be filled. He was possessed of rare and peculiar intellectual powers, and he applied his talents to subjects which at the present day do not often form the study of men gifted with anything like his genius. The last fifty years have been a period of political change. Curiously enough, they have not in the main been a period of political speculation. Two men of marked originality have, the one in France and the other in England, thrown new light on the theory of politics. De Tocqueville's services to political science have now been fully acknowledged, though they can scarcely receive more ample acknowledgment than is their due. Mr. Bagehot's achievements have scarcely as yet been fully recognized, though students know that he has thrown more light on the essential character of the English Government than can be gained from the works of any other writer who has dealt with that well-worn but little understood subject, the English Constitution, and it will ultimately be perceived that he is, within a limited field, by far the most original political theorist who has appeared, at any rate in England, during the last half century.

Our present object is not, however, to estimate the value of Mr. Bagehot's speculations, but to point out what were the qualities of a genius which may be termed "singular" in the strict sense of the term, and left its peculiar impress on every line of Mr. Bagehot's works. The first and most obvious quality of his mind was originality. By this term we do not mean necessarily either strength or wide grasp of intellect. What we do mean is the power to look at all matters from points of view which are peculiar to the thinker himself. Take, for instance, Mr. Bagehot's whole account of the Edinburgh Reviewers. The subject is one which lends itself to truisms. One would be inclined to think that nothing could be said on the topic which was at once true and new. The moment that Mr. Bagehot takes the matter in hand the reader feels that a considerable subject is never really exhausted. Jeffrey, Horner, Sydney Smith, Lord Eldon, are each set before us in a new aspect. There is no attempt at overstrained paradox, but we feel that the true character of the Toryism which the reviewers overthrew, their own powers and their weaknesses, are made apparent by being subjected to the light of an original genius. The following sentence with reference to Lord Eldon tells, for example, more than can be learnt from half a hundred histories such as that with which the industry and good sense of Mr. Walpole have recently afflicted the world:

"We read occasionally in conservative literature (the remark is as true of religion as of politics) alternations of sentences, the first an appeal to the coarsest prejudice, the next a subtle hint to a craving and insatiable scepticism. You may trace this even in Vesey, junior. Lord Eldon never read Hume or Montaigne, but sometimes, in the interstices of cumbrous law, you may find sentences with their meaning, if not in their manner: 'Dumpor's case always struck me as extraordinary; but if you depart from Dumpor's case, what is there to prevent a departure in every direction?'"

This sentence, which is only one in a thousand examples of Mr. Bagehot's power of suggesting a whole view by a few brilliant touches, is remarkable as showing the close connection between his literary and his political criticism. The essay on the Edinburgh Reviewers happens to unite his interest in literature and his interest in politics. In truth they never seem far apart from each other. From 'Lombard Street' or 'Physics and Politics' may be picked out profound remarks on style, and

*'Literary Studies. By the late Walter Bagehot, M.A., and Fellow of University College, London. Edited by Richard Holt Hutton.' London: Longmans, Green & Co.

the criticisms on Lord Eldon easily suggest the kind of view which Mr. Bagehot was likely to take of the Constitution. The English Constitution with its paradoxes, its anomalies, its basis of sound sense, and (with due reverence be it said) its absurdities, was exactly the topic which suited Mr. Bagehot's powers. And his 'English Constitution' is a masterpiece.

Something, however, more than what is fairly meant by originality was needed for enabling any one to throw new light on a topic which is so well known that, like the character of an old acquaintance, it cannot be understood. This necessary something is freshness, or openness of mind, and this intellectual pliability and readiness to admit new facts and to receive new impressions was precisely the quality which next to originality was the most marked characteristic of Mr. Bagehot's mind. Any reader who wishes to see this particular trait displayed in the strongest light, though not from the most favorable point of view, should read the letters on the *Coup d'État* written in January and February, 1852. They are appended to the first volume of 'Literary Studies,' and form as remarkable a production as any young man of twenty-six ever published. When they were composed all England was filled with denunciations—and, let us add, most just denunciations—of the French President. He was known to be a knave. He was thought to be a fool. His villany was patent, and his success was uncertain. The English press, which a year or two afterwards adulated "our ally," were filled with high-toned indignation at a President who in betraying the liberties of France menaced the peace of England. Public indignation, partly genuine and partly, it may now be feared, factitious, made even calm critics incapable of fairly judging what were the sources of the President's power, and what were the chances of his success.

There was, perhaps, in England but one man except Lord Palmerston who perceived that the triumph of the *Coup d'État* was based on causes lying deep in the state of France and in the character of Frenchmen. This one man was the then unknown correspondent of the *Inquirer*. He went to Paris and studied the *Coup d'État* as a doctor might examine into the symptoms of a new disease, or a lawyer might study a strange case. Mr. Bagehot analyzed the condition of Paris with extreme interest and with impartial calmness. He perceived, what we now all know, that the shopkeepers were panic-struck with fear of socialism; that the workmen hated the middle classes; that the Conservatives were unpatriotic and the Republicans impracticable; and, to put the matter shortly, that the President had a hand full of good cards and the skill to play his own game. Mr. Bagehot, moreover, never lost sight of the fact that the object of government is to protect the lives and property of ordinary men, and that ordinary men, who are the vast majority of any country, will hate any party who menaces their lives and property, and rally round any despot who protects their interests. Hence in 1851 he perceived what was the strength of the President, and wrote of the *Coup d'État* just as ten years later the mass of political writers, taught by experience, wrote of the Empire. His whole theory is summed up in these sentences:

"Mazzini sneers at the selfishness of shopkeepers. I am for the shopkeepers against him. There are people who think because they are Republican there shall be no more 'cakes and ale.' Aye, verily, but there will though, or else stiffish ginger will be hot in the mouth. Legislative assemblies, leading articles, essay eloquence—such are good, very good—useful, very useful; yet they can be done without. We can want them. Not so with all things. The selling of figs, the cobbling of shoes, the manufacturing of nails—these are the essence of life. And let whoso frameth a constitution of his country think on these things."

Of "these things"—that is, of the connection between the commonest facts and the most general principles of politics—our author thought to good purpose, and therefore saw exactly those aspects of truth which generally escape theorists. His defect, to speak quite frankly, was that he "thought of these things" a good deal too much. Something must be allowed for the irony which runs through the attitude of a man who, being himself the cleverest of theorists, is never so happy as when he can show how great are the social benefits arising from commonplace stupidity. A good deal must also be allowed for the natural passion of a youthful author for the maintenance of ingenious paradoxes. But when every allowance is made, it must be conceded that Mr. Bagehot's attitude towards the *Coup d'État*, if it shows the strength also betrays the weakness of his genius. "I have seen so many ghosts," it has been said by a celebrated author, "that I cannot believe in ghosts." We might conceive Mr. Bagehot in like manner saying, "I have formed so many theories that I cannot believe in theories." Certainly his belief in the ordinary facts of life was out of proportion to his belief in moral principles. De Tocqueville, both from position and turn of intellect, failed like other French statesmen to understand the strength of the Empire; but his moral insight pierced through all the trappings of the Imperial system to the rottenness which lay at its core. In conversations with Mr. Senior, De Tocqueville, who died before the Empire showed signs of decay, predicted the very weaknesses which led to the catastrophe of Sedan. If indeed it were still the practice to work out literary comparisons, no more interesting topic could be chosen than a comparison between the French and the English political theorist. De Tocqueville, in beauty of style, in width of generalization, in a kind of moral dignity, certainly rises far above Mr. Bagehot. But the advantage is not all on the side of the French author. Mr. Bagehot was never a slave to his own generalizations. He was never afraid to bring his theories into contact with the commonest facts. He had a far greater knowledge of mankind than seems to have been possessed by a writer who, though he had been a Minister, has always something in his mode of thought which savors of the Professor. Whole sides of human experience which were open to Mr. Bagehot were unknown to De Tocqueville. Religious sentiment, as it exists in Protestant countries, seems to have been hardly intelligible to the man who joined in preparing the French expedition to Rome. The sentiment of nationality, which, for good and bad, has governed the politics of the last thirty years, must have been totally misunderstood by a Frenchman who saw in Garibaldi little more than a desperado leading a band of ruffians. De Tocqueville was so engrossed in working out the result of two or three fertile political principles as hardly to realize what were the motives which guided ordinary men in the political transactions of every-day life. Mr. Bagehot looked so sharply at the actual course of human action that his speculative conclusions were somewhat warped by his excessive appreciation of the influence exerted on what seemed the great issues of politics, by the petty motives and mean interests which govern the acts of vulgar and commonplace human beings. Yet, when this defect is allowed for, he remains, together with the eminent Frenchman with whom we have compared him, one of the few thinkers who in modern times have thrown on the theories of politics the light of originality and genius.

CARR'S ESSAYS ON ART.*

IT appears to be the opinion of a large number of the younger of the literati of the day that nothing is easier to write about than art. The general opinion amongst these self-made critics is that art is purely a matter of individual taste, and that any opinion confidently delivered is as good as any other. As much as can be expected is that they should make acquaintance with some artists, visit all the exhibitions, read Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Ruskin, Leslie's hand-book, and Sir Joshua's lectures, at once to show familiarity with the subject, and learn to justify the most contradictory opinions, and then, if possible, add the crowning grace of good English.

All this Mr. Carr does excellently well, and where it is merely question of condensing and reproducing the opinions to which the world of taste has consented on such painters and art as have been long subjects of study and criticism, what he had to say no doubt filled creditably its page or column in the periodical for which it was written; but whenever anything not canonized is to be treated, whenever the insight of a born critic is demanded, no dismasted ship was ever more hopelessly afloat than he. It is no doubt of high utility that some patient and scholarly student of art literature should redevelop from time to time the orthodox conclusions as to the old art, especially when collections of old masters are offered to people who don't know whether Bronzino was Venetian or Florentine, or whether Francia was earlier or later than Raphael—it may even be permitted to go on repeating that Michael Angelo added to the Greek perfections that of the expression of the soul—none of these things are dangerous to treat of or be mistaken about, and it don't matter whether the critic is wrong or right; only when the art of living men and art that may be developed or stifled by criticism, good or bad as the case may be, is in question, there is need of critics who know as much of the subject as at least a clumsy surgeon knows of the anatomy of a limb he must operate on.

A clever and prudent writer can always make a readable essay on the Greeks and Michael Angelo, using the labors of prior and classical critics; but the men of to-day whom criticism has not yet consented to unanimously are a dangerous theme to one whose opinions depend on other conclusions than his own. In Mr. Carr's essay on "Corot and Millet," though much has been written and was to be drawn on, he shows his utter inability to grapple with the most fundamental technical distinctions.

* 'Essays on Art. By J. Comyns Carr.' London: Smith, Elder & Co.

In this essay we should expect to find something which shows comprehension of the true aims of art, for of all modern painters two could not be selected who are more pronounced in their adherence to the purely artistic side of painting, in contradistinction to the naturalistic. Mr. Carr leads up to the inevitable Constable, whom it is an English tradition to put forward as the father of French landscape art, and whose pictures Mr. Carr would distinguish as "dramatic"—Corot being "lyric." Here is as good a passage of the nonsense uneducated people are capable of writing about art as the essay contains :

"From a single scene he selects only a few of the features important to his design—the rest are left half-concealed or wholly hidden. *And with this desire to select a few things out of many, to summon here and there as he wills the shapes and colors of the earth, the presence of atmosphere and the constant control of mist and cloud are valuable assistants. Behind these clouds the landscape rests under the dominion of the painter.*"

What sense there may be concealed in these oracular words, or what meaning to be extorted from them, we cannot divine.

"M. Jean Rousseau, writing in *L'Art*, has endeavored to claim for Corot the spirit of Greek art, and has boldly defended his position by pointing out in Corot's landscape these very nymphs that we have supposed the painter to have inherited. But the hypothesis is overstrained and will not bear consideration. . . . If Corot's vision of nature had been more passionate and intense, it would not have tolerated the presence of these unreal images of an antique world ; if his sympathy with the spirit of Greek beauty had been powerful, it would have created an appropriate scene in which to enshrine them."

Now, nothing truer could be said of Corot than that he works in the spirit of Greek art, and Mr. Carr only shows that his critical acumen never got to the point of distinguishing "Greek beauty" (*i.e.*, certain types of form which the Greek sculptors evolved through their feeling for beautiful form) from Greek art. Greek art is simply *pure* art, and all pure art is in the spirit of Greek art. It is (in painting, at least, for it is not wise to attempt too broad definition in such subjective matters as æsthetics) the expression of emotions by means of, and by any conceivable use of, the natural objects which excite those emotions, whether directly or indirectly. The sight of Niagara excited in Ole Bull's mind an emotion which expressed itself in a symphony ; to a great landscape-painter it would be a suggestion of pictures in which mist and mystery and the awe of mighty forces would find expression according to his nature. But the art is not in conveying an exact idea of Niagara, but in giving an adequate expression of emotion in harmonious guise. That which above all other things distinguished Greek art was its absolute unity—the subordination of every detail to the central and inspiring emotion ; its beauty was a fortunate accident which depended in some way on the Greek moral nature. If ugliness and a horrible ideal could excite the same exalted emotions as beauty, the art resulting might be equally great *as art*. "If Corot's *vision of nature* had been more passionate and intense," it is probable that his art would have been much more naturalistic ; it was the utter subserviency of nature to his artistic emotions which made him the great artist that he was. And no one has ever painted more entirely in the spirit of Greek art than he. He belonged to the race of Claude, not of Constable, nor has he any tie whatever with the latter except that both painted landscape. Corot's picture was ordered with a classical harmony and a completeness and entire subserviency of every detail to the whole which even Claude never attained. The only modern landscape-painters who in this respect equalled or surpassed him were Turner and Théodore Rousseau. All the facts in the landscape itself are not to him worth one tone in its proper place. He distinctly defied in every work the limitations of the scene—if, indeed, there was any scene implied—and made open profession of unreality ; and his nymphs were but so many tokens of his contempt for the realism of the naturalists. "Even these you shall accept and believe in," he seemed to say ; and no scene could have been more appropriate to shrine the unsubstantial creations of Greek imagination in than these evanescent passages of the world of dreams which Corot delighted in and maybe lived in. Mr. Carr has missed entirely the spirit and failed to appreciate the completeness of Corot's art; he only felt that it was harmonious and grey, and thought it was cloudy, when in fact rarely has a painter made less of clouds in his pictures than he—the unrealistic atmosphere he painted in having nothing in common with clouds except a common relationship to mist.

We forego the analysis of Mr. Carr's criticism of Millet, whose titanic powers fall still less within his measure.

Ocean Wonders : A Companion for the Seaside. Freely illustrated from living objects. By William E. Damon. (New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1879. 12mo, pp. x. 229.)—Mr. Damon is a devotee of the aquarium, and a lively writer. His book is mostly devoted to a description of the more curious and less familiar marine creatures. The sea-anemone, the squid, the octopus, the coral polyp, the barnacle, the sea-horse and the sea-cucumber, star-fishes, and hydroids and medusæ of multitudinous forms, these occupy the greater part of Mr. Damon's pages ; while, in describing corals, edible fishes, sponges, and seals, he touches the same ground, or soundings rather, as that of Mr. Simmonds's book on the 'Commercial Products of the Sea.' He gives an interesting description of how the white whale is caught alive upon the Nova Scotia coast for the public aquaria ; at great expense, he adds, for "a whale even twenty feet long." It can only be done by digging out and staking, at low tide, a basin into which the more playful whales may enter at the flood. At the ebb there is an exciting struggle : the hunters plunge into the mud with ropes and strive to secure the stranded animals, the whales endeavoring to get away to blue water, and knocking their captors to right and left by their plunges, while the vociferations of the pursuers remind one of the pleasant quaintness of the Roman de Rou :

"'Olicrosse,' sovent crioent :
E 'godemite,' reclamoent."

In a few instances, Mr. Damon says, the captors have succeeded in securing their prize uninjured. An enormous box, some four feet wide and high, and as long as the expected captive, they have already brought upon the ground ; this is "carefully padded with whole cart-loads of fucus and other sea-weeds, else the whale would beat himself to death in his struggles from surprise and anger." This box, with the contained animal, is then loaded upon a schooner and sent to Quebec, and thence freighted to any place that may require a whale. During the journey an attendant keeps the surface of the creature constantly wetted with salt water, and sees that the spout or "blow-hole" is frequently supplied from a dipper. "It is astonishing how tenacious of life is the white whale, and the amount of ill-usage and hard treatment it will undergo. Last season one was shipped in a box *without water* from New York to the Royal Aquarium in London, where it arrived alive, but, of course, not well. It was not surprising that it resented such treatment by dying four days after its arrival." Mr. Damon celebrates the intelligence, affection, and docility (for he can be not only tamed but educated) of the common hair-seal (*Phoca vitulina*). With the still more interesting creature, the fur-seal, our author, has had unfortunately no personal acquaintance.

Mr. Damon corrects not a few erroneous notions, as, for instance, about the coral polyp. "We have heard clergymen and others speak of the wonderful labors of the coral insect. In this short phrase are two fundamental errors. The coral-producers are neither laborers nor insects. Their simple and sole business is *eating;* and that a stony structure is the result is no more creditable to them than it is to a maple-tree to secrete sugar." Mr. Damon has succeeded in making the coral animal at home in his aquarium, and thinks that his is the only specimen so domesticated in this country.

There is an interesting chapter upon the octopus, or devil-fish, and its congeners, the cuttle-fish and the squids. The latter are used as food by aboriginal tribes from Alaska to Chili, and largely on the Chinese coasts ; but they have not commended themselves to the European palate. A party of English savants, at a dinner given for the especial purpose, tried to eat squid, but in vain ; not one of the guests could muster the stomach for it. The present writer, however, can testify from experience in the Pacific Islands that the squid's tentacles, roasted and eaten with salt, form an excellent relish. That the squid and the cuttle-fish protect themselves by the free use of their sepia-bags is a fact which Tom Hood learned, it seems, by the system of object-teaching. The poet was angling one day in Love Harbor and caught a cuttle-fish. Unaware that it was what would now be called by the frivolous an "ink-slinger," he "laid hold of it to unhook it, and received its full *jet d'eau* in his face." Being asked what he had on his line, he replied, "that he did not know exactly, but thought he had caught a young garden-engine." After this we hardly see how Mr. Damon can call this creature's manners "decidedly more genial than those of the octopus" ; this is to add a new black to the picture of the devil-fish.

We are told, too, that the latter enemy walks as well as swims abroad seeking whom he may devour. "I can assure the reader," says Mr. Damon, "that I have seen a full-grown octopus, at the Bermudas, spring up out of the water, only a few feet forward of the boat I was in, and run up a perpendicular rocky cliff for more than *two hundred feet !*" pur-

suing and quickly capturing one of those beautiful bright red crabs which are native to the locality, "and which had run up the rocks for safety. As to the speed of the octopus, it appeared to me to travel much faster than I could run." It is a pity to add anything after so lively a story as this, but we must not forget to say that Mr. Damon's abundant woodcuts are generally good, though sometimes a little sensational; that a good "practical" chapter on aquarium-keeping ends his book; and that if one will take it as pleasant reading, and not as scientific zoölogy, he may easily choose a poorer book for seaside enjoyment than these "Wonders."

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME II. 1828–1846.

CHAPTER I.

Page.

THE REIGN OF ANDREW JACKSON, ... 1

CHAPTER II.

THE ABOLITIONISTS AND THE SLAVERY QUESTION IN CONGRESS, . 80

CHAPTER III.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION. I. VAN BUREN'S POLITICAL CAREER. THE CRISIS OF 1837 AND THE INDEPENDENT TREASURY, ... 147

CHAPTER IV.

Page.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION (continued). II. THE SLAVERY QUESTION, ... 219

CHAPTER V.

VAN BUREN'S PRESIDENCY. III. THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1840, ... 330

CHAPTER VI.

TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION, ... 406

CHAPTER VII.

TEXAS, ... 548

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INDEX TO VOLUME XXVIII.

JANUARY TO JUNE, 1879.

The Week.

AT HOME.

Adams, C. F., jr., resigns Government directorship of Union Pacific Railroad, 22—Army Bill, Hewitt's proposed substitute, 59; Army Appropriation Bill's provisions, 93; Army interference at elections, history of act forbidding, 223—Albany *Evening Journal* on Republican failure to reapportion N. Y., 76—Alston-Cox rencontre in Georgia, 173, 224.

Brooklyn bridge, committee report on, 362—Gen. Bragg on Southern claims, 75—H. W. Beecher denounces Tilden, 109—Gen. F. C. Barlow seeing a fair count under difficulties, 142—Judge Blodgett of Illinois escapes impeachment, 191—Cashier Barron's accounts and death, 192—Geo. S. Boutwell on the true Republican programme, 294—Ex-Judge Geo. G. Barnard deceased, 294—Boston *Journal* on Democratic revolution, 327, on the beginning of sectional controversy, 396—Senator Bayard attacked by silver-men, 411, triumphant, 427—J. G. Blaine exposes Ben Hill, letter to N. Y. Chamber of Commerce, 427, 428—Business, 2, 21, 41, 60, 61, 77, 95, 111, 128, 143, 158, 175, 192, 211, 225, 257, 295, 310, 329, 343, 361, 378, 397, 412, 429; funding of entire 5-20 6 per cents, 239; of entire 10-40s, 275, 344.

California, new constitution causing alarm, 240, adopted, 328—Cincinnati *Gazette* and *Commercial* rejoicing over resumption, 21, 40—Chicago *Tribune* on Senator Logan, 94—Rev. Dr. Cooke bull-dozed by *Tribune*, 1, 2, letter to Northern residents' convention, 256—Chinese immigration, House bill to limit, 59—Roscoe Conkling re-elected to U. S. Senate, 60, defeated on Custom-house nominations, 93, mind set free for other questions, 128, 174, speech on Army Appropriation Bill, 293, interchange of abuse with Senator Lamar, 427—Matt. Carpenter elected Senator from Wisconsin, 94—Cheyennes, flight and destruction of, 75, investigation report, 173—Cipher telegrams' investigation, 76, 94, 109—Charters, power of Congress to enlarge those granted by States, 141—Chittenden-Butler test case of reissue of greenbacks, 173—Civil-service rules for N. Y. Custom-house, 174—General T. W. Conway and the colored refugees, 377, 395.

Congress, XLVth, last session, assembles after recess; Edmunds resolutions to enforce Constitutional Amendments; joint rule for closing legislation; Indian Appropriation Bill passed (Senate); Williams and Mary College reimbursement bill defeated; mortality among members, funeral of G. Schleicher (House), 39—Arrears of Pensions Bill passed; debate on N. Y. Custom-house appointments; Democratic resolutions counter to Mr. Edmunds's (Senate); Three per cent. Certificate of Deposit Bill, Greenbacks for Customs Bill, substitute for majority Geneva Award Bill, passed; Potter Committee voted $10,000 to investigate cipher despatches (House), 59—Refunding Bill, Naval Appropriation Bill, Consular and Diplomatic Bill, Patent Bill passed; Hill on Southern claims (Senate); Bragg on Southern claims; Wright's Government Loan Bill defeated; Goode's Land and Education Bill debated; Anti-Chinese Immigration Bill passed (House), 75—N. Y. Custom-house appointments confirmed; Edmunds resolutions debated (Senate); Debate on Southern claims; Post-Office Appropriation Bill passed; Fairfax Seminary claim rejected; Army Appropriation Bill discussed; Sugar Bill, Arrears of Pensions Bill, bill to exchange gold for silver, blocked (House), 93—Edmunds resolutions adopted; Census Bill, bill to admit women to practise before Supreme Court, and Certificate of Deposit bill passed (Senate), 109—Army Appropriation Bill amendments; transfer of Indian Bureau rejected (House), 110—Anti-Chinese Bill passed; tobacco reduction carried (Senate), River and Harbor Appropriation, Pensions Appropriation, and Deficiency Bills passed (House), 127—Post-Office Appropriation Bill, with Brazilian subsidy, and Army Appropriation Bill, with railroad telegraph privilege, passed (Senate); Legislative Appropriation Bill, with abolition of jurors' test-oaths and supervisors of election, Anti-Chinese Bill, and Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, passed; Anti-Resumption Bill defeated (House), 141—Census Bill passed (both Houses); Roach subsidy defeated, veto of Chinese Bill sustained (House); Jeff. Davis debate (Senate); deadlock on Army Appropriation Bill and Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill; adjournment, 157.

— XLVIth, extra session, assembles; Speaker Randall re-elected (House), 191; officers changed, Secretary Gorham's case; Wallace resolution concerning U. S. marshals at November election (Senate); Hull seated over Bisbee (House), 209—Hoar's revolutionary resolution awaiting the pleasure of a caucus committee (Senate); Army Bill debate begun; Garfield's speech, 228, Frye and Chalmers (House), 224—Army Bill passed (House); Hoar's resolution tabled; A. D. White and C. King confirmed; debate on admission of C. H. Bell (Senate), 239—Blaine on the Army Bill; Bell admitted; Thurman chosen President *pro tem.* (Senate); New rules adopted; currency bills introduced as petitions (House), 255—Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill discussion (House), 256, 275—Beck and Hoar controversy; Randolph on Grant's treatment of Hampton (Senate); Blackburn's revised menace; subsidiary Coinage Bill passed (House), 275—Army Bill passed; removal of Senate officers; Pendleton and Morrill on bill admitting Cabinet officers to Congress (Senate), 293—Legislative Appropriation Bill passed (House), 294—Resolution to investigate Kellogg's title (Senate); Failure to pass Army Bill over the veto; bill to prohibit military interference at elections passed (House), 309 (Senate), 327—Kellogg resolution passed; Edmunds on the Government's right to preserve the peace; Legislative Appropriation Bill (Senate); Warner Silver Bill; Eight-hour Bill shelved; Income-tax Bill not passed, nor Army Appropriation Bill; veto of Military interference Bill sustained (House), 327—Legislative Appropriation Bill passed (Senate), 343 (House), 361; Warner Silver Bill amended (House), 343—Yellow Fever Bill passed; bill for redemption of subsidiary coins (Senate), 361, passed (both houses), 377—Warner Silver Bill passed (House), 361—Rhode Island civil-service complaints; Committee on Pendleton Bill (Senate), 377—Bill to repeal jurors' oath passed (Senate); new Legislative Appropriation Bill and Supplemental Appropriation Bill passed (House), 395, (Senate), 411—Army Appropriation Bill passed; bill to prevent political contributions by officeholders; report of Judiciary Committee on President's veto (House), 411—Army Bill and Legislative Appropriation Bill passed and signed; Judicial Expenses Bill passed and vetoed; Bill to recoin trade-dollars passed (House), 427.

Democratic attempt to add new legislation to Appropriation Bill, 110, responsibility in a Congress of their own, 191, resolution, 209—Dunn, of S. C. Returning Board, testimony before Potter Committee, 128—Jeff. Davis pension debate in Senate, 157—John A. Dix deceased, 276—Judge Dundy's decision as to Indian civil rights, 344—Judge Dillon to leave the bench for a professorship, 362.

Elizabeth, N. J., bankrupt, 110—*Evening Post* on peaceful revolutions, 327.

Failures of 1878, 60—Funding of 5-20 6 per cents completed, 239, of 10-40s, 275, 344—Financial schemes before Congress, 343—Four per cents, corner in, 344—Freeman, the Mass. Adventist, case of, 363—Charles Foster nominated Governor of Ohio, 377—Free Religious Association anniversary in Boston, 378—Fall River strike, 412.

Georgia, Alston-Cox rencontre, 173, trial of Cox, 310—Wm. Lloyd Garrison deceased, 362—Geneva Award, Court of Commissioners revived, by House, 59, Senate substitute, 141, shelved, 157—Greenback reissue, test of legality, 173—Secretary Gorham loses his place in Senate, 209—Grant movement, 255, 327, effect of Grant and Hayes on Republican party's success, 328.

Hayes, President, letter to Collector Merritt, 110, 127, vetoes Chinese Bill, 157, Army Appropriation Bill, 293, Military Interference Bill, 327, Legislative Appropriation Bill, 377, Judicial Expenses Bill, 427, interview with General Conway, 377—Senator Howe defeated in Wisconsin by German influence, 94—Mrs. Hull murdered in New York, 412, 429.

Indian management, Sheridan-Schurz controversy over, 22, 39; one-half of Joint Committee favor transfer to War Department, 75, opposing report, 93; Cheyenne flight and massacre, 75, investigated, 173; habeas corpus allowed the Poncas, 344—Insurance superintendence in New York, 158.

Jewelry displays of women on the street, 128.

Kansas repudiators and the National Treasury, 39—Kingston (N. Y.) bull-dozing, 209—John Kelly ordered by Court of Appeals to pay N. Y. quota to Brooklyn Bridge; view of the charges against Police Commissioners, 210—Superintendent Kiddle resigns, 362—Kellogg-Spofford examination, 395.

Louisiana, Young Men's Progressive Association address on outrages, 22; temporary suspension of New Orleans banks, 211; repudiation in the Constitutional Convention, 378—John A. Logan made Senator from Illinois, and described by Chicago *Tribune*, 94—Mrs. Belva Lockwood's flower tribute, 110.

Missouri counties and courts repudiating, 39—Massachusetts women to vote for school committees, 256, 257—Mississippi Valley Labor Convention, 309, refugees not restrained by violence, 377, planters' protest against encouraging removal, 395, Cotton-planters' Association, 412—Memphis, Tenn., bankrupt, 110, withdrawal of charter, 142, 397—Franklin J. Moses, biography in N. Y. *Times*, 1—Hugh McCulloch on European remonetization of silver, 261.

New York Bar Association's charges against Sheriff, Register, and County Clerk, 23, Gumbleton's objections overcome, 40, removal, 256; Gov. Robinson's message, 39; Custom-house nominations confirmed by U. S. Senate, 93; robbery of ear-rings on Fifth Avenue, 128; Insurance Superintendent Smyth's protection of Globe Insurance Co., 158, 174; Police Commissioners called to account by Mayor Cooper, 192, attempt to reply by counsel, 210, Nichols removed, McLean substituted, 276, nominations rejected by Aldermen, 343; Kingston bull-dozing, 209; report of State Assessors, 210; N. Y. City to pay its quota to the Brooklyn Bridge, 210; new rapid-transit routes, 428, 429; rush for vacant judgeships, 256; Legislative Committee to welcome Grant home, special divorce legislation, 276; Apportionment Bill becomes law without Governor's approval, 294; veto of Field-Throop Code, legislative sessions made biennial, 343; Assembly committee's report on Brooklyn Bridge, 362—New-Year moralizing of the N. Y. press, 21—National Board of Health, 191—New Orleans banks, temporary suspension, 211—Negro exodus from South to Kansas, 224, 239, 240, causes, 256, 294, 344, extent, 412, convention at Vicksburg, 309, at Nashville, 328, cessation, 412—New Hampshire Senator's case, 239—Nashville Colored Conference, 328—Newspaper "beats," 412.

Ohio political intrigues, 361, Republican convention nominates Foster, platform, 377, Democrats nominate Ewing, platform, 395, National convention, 396—F. L. Olmsted's designs thwarted in Riverside Park, 3—Wm. Orton and the cipher despatches, 109—Oneida Community, religious crusade against, 128.

Pennsylvania Legislature, corrupt support of Riot Relief Bill, 396—Archbishop Purcell's failure as a savings-bank, 2, liabilities, with no bookkeeping, 158, assignment and suits, 174, public statement, 211, appeal of archbishops and bishops, 378—Polygamy constitutionally prohibited, U. S. Supreme Court decision, 39, 60, Senator Christiancy's bill for suppressing it, 60—Patents, law of, revised by Senate, 75—Pacific Railroad five per cent. cases decided by Supreme Court, 76, land-titles decision, 276—Potter Committee investigate cipher telegrams, 76, 94, 109, majority report, 157, minority, 158.

Resumption, 2, 21—Robeson investigation report, 2, 110, 141, 142, speech on Legislative Appropriation Bill, 293—Repudiating communities and national public works, 39—Gov. Robinson's message, 40—Railroad telegraph privilege conferred by Congress, 141—Judge Rives's procedure against Virginia county judges, 173—Speaker Randall re-elected in new House, 191—Whitelaw Reid offered Berlin mission, 240—"Revolutionists" losing heart, 275.

Southern States defaulting, 94, assassination rife, 224, proposed Congressional investigation into material progress, 428—Gen. Sheridan's reply to Secretary Schurz, 22—Secretary Schurz's reply to Sheridan, 39—Silver dollars, foreign, protection wanted against them, 60, silver international conference again contemplated, 343—Secretary Sherman foresees a deficit, 127, civil-service regulations, 174, Presidential prospects in Ohio, 327, supporters among Southern office-holders, 396—Superintendent Smyth's conduct of Insurance Department, 158, 174—Spanish-American Claims Commission not dilatory, 174—Supreme Court on refusal to confess participation in the rebellion, 294, sustains Thurman Pacific R.R. Sinking-Fund Act, 310—St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* booming for Grant, 309—Mrs. H. B. Stowe on negro progress in Florida, 363—Strike of spinners at Fall River, 412.

Tennessee Bank-note decision of Supreme Court, 2, repudiating legislature, 142, repeal of Memphis charter constitutional, 396—Teller Committee, difficulty in getting money from Comptroller, information from Mr. Blaine, 1, from Mr. Thurman, 21, begins taking testimony in New Orleans, 22, report, and continuance, 158—Senator Thurman's information for the Teller Committee, 21—*Times's* Presidential straw-taking, 255, on quoting trumpery Southern sheets, 362, criticism of Charles Foster, 377, on Sherman's use of patronage at the South, 396, on Thurlow Weed's silver antics, 411—*Tribune* and Rev. Dr. Cooke of South Carolina, 1, 2, 256—S. J. Tilden examined by Potter Committee, 109, extraordinary physical condition, 128, paralytic activity, 224—Telegraph service by railroads contemplated by Congress, 147—Trinity College, revolt of undergraduates, 158, 192—Rev. De Witt Talmage's trial, 240, 310, acquittal, 328—Gen. Richard Taylor deceased, 256.

Union Pacific Railroad, report of Government directors, resignation of C. F. Adams, jr., 22.

Virginia legislature inviting State creditors to a conference, 40, conference with bondholders, 94, debt settlement, 225; resolutions against Judge Rives's action, 60; county judges indicted for non-negro juries, 173; Judge Christian on summoning negro jurymen, 428—Vanderbilt will to stand, 211.

World reporter and Duke of Edinburgh, 3, breaks with its "esteemed contemporaries," 175, criticises *Nation's* position on Army Bill, 309—Western champions of resumption, 40—Senator Windom's negro colonization scheme, 75—Women to practise before Supreme Court, 110; to vote for school committees in Massachusetts, 256, but not otherwise, 257—Fernando Wood wishes deficit paid out of redemption reserve, 127—President A. D. White on political training, 142, 143, appointed Minister to Germany, 224—Walking-match in Gilmore's Garden, 191—Silas Williams exonerated, 329—Vice-President Wheeler in the campaign of 1876, 396.

Yellow fever lingering in the Mississippi Valley, 191.

ABROAD.

(*See also Special Correspondence.*)

GREAT BRITAIN:—Report of delegates to International Silver Conference; Liberal successes at Bristol and Malden; industrial distress and bank failures; death of Princess Alice, 3—Bishops voting for Afghan war; failure of Cornish Bank, 23—Increasing distress, 41—Salisbury-Layard correspondence on Turkish reform, 77—Liberals beaten in North Norfolk; Sir Wm. Harcourt exposes Beaconsfield's policy, 111—Opening of Parliament; defeat of extension of low-borough franchise to Ireland; prohibition of importation of American cattle; Bishop of Gloucester's explanation; Glasgow Bank directors sentenced, 129—Lord Dufferin made Ambassador to Russia, 193—Censure of Sir Bartle Frere defeated in Lords and Commons; commercial and agricultural depression, bank shrinkage, 225—Salisbury's despatch to Lord Loftus, 241—Budget, 257—Beaconsfield hopeful as to the Grecian boundary difficulty, 277—Vote of confidence secured, 295—Sir Wm. Harcourt's Sheffield speech, 310, 311—Rylands's motion against Queen's interference in politics; Sir Robert Peel's contempt of the Court party; John Henry Newman made cardinal, 329—Salisbury on the present condition of Berlin Treaty, 345—Ministry attacked by Argyll; United Presbyterian Synod tolerating heresy, 379—Emma Mine promoters cast in court; press and Parliament on English silver-men; Indian financial statement; Imperial policy giving way, 397—Elliott out-rowed by Hanlan, 413—Weston wins the Astley belt, 429.

INDIA:—Cost of Afghan war; renewal of brigandage; impending famine, 345—Financial statement, 397.

AFGHANISTAN:—Candahar occupied, 41—Negotiations with Yakub Khan, 3, 111, 295, 311, 329, 345, terms of peace, 397.

SOUTH AFRICA: British troops overwhelmed by Zulus, 111, 129, incompetency of Lord Chelmsford, reinforcements, 159, 193, 345, surprise in the Transvaal, 241, Colonel Pearson relieved, 295—Zulu surrenders; courage, 311—Lord Chelmsford superseded by Sir Garnet Wolseley, new plan of campaign, 363—Cost and losses of campaign, 379—Prince Imperial killed, 429.

CANADA:—Goldwin Smith on the regulations of the "court circle," 23—Marquis of Lorne's address to Parliament, 129—Protective tariff introduced by Government, 192, 193—Lord Lorne declines to dismiss Lieut.-Gov. Letellier, 249.

FRANCE:—Waddington on Government's attitude towards Eastern Question, 3—Overwhelming Republican success in Senatorial elections, 23—Dufaure Ministry sustained; Gambetta's position, 61—MacMahon refuses assent to changes in the army commands, 77, resigns; succeeded by Grévy, and he by Gambetta, 95—Retirement of generals and procureurs; defiant Bishop Freppel, 111—Protection appeals; last census, 143—Waddington Ministry tottering; Marcère forced to resign; charges against Léon Say, 159—Marcère succeeded by Lepère; committee report in favor of impeaching De Broglie Ministry; amnesty to Communists, 175—Impeachment defeated; De Broglie Ministry to be placarded, 193—Léon Say stock-jobbing scandal, 193, vindication, 211—Jules Ferry's bill to prohibit Jesuits from teaching; Tariff Committee decides for the renewal of the treaties of commerce, 211—Blanqui elected at Bordeaux, 311, plans for social reorganization, 329—Question of return of Chambers to Paris, 329—Clemenceau's Radical programme; International Congress on the Panama canal, 363—Accumulation of silver in Bank of France; circular note in favor of Greece, 378—Archbishop of Aix to be prosecuted, 379—Paul de Cassagnac suspended for rowdyism; Ollivier's defence of his reply to H. Martin; Panama ship-canal route attracting capitalists, 413.

GERMANY:—Bismarck's tariff views; bill to punish obnoxious members of Parliament, 41, 129—Budget, deficit and direct taxation, 61—Reichstag refuses to permit arrest of its members; commercial treaty with Austria approved; Bismarck's protection views popular, 143, 277—Gagging Bill defeated; death of Marshal Von Roon, 175—Bismarck's speech in Reichstag, 344, 345—Ultramontanes demanding the price of their alliance, 413—Constitution of Alsace-Lorraine, 429.

SWITZERLAND:—Proposed retaliatory tariff, 61.

ITALY:—Papal Encyclical, 95—Nine new cardinals; Cardinal Newman congratulated; Döllinger repels overtures, 379.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY:—Flood at Szegedin, 211—Convention with Turkey as to occupation of Bosnia, 379.

RUSSIA:—Plague in Astrakhan, 95, 129—Definitive treaty with Turkey, and evacuation, 159—Gortchakoff's reply to Lord Salisbury, 241—Czar shot at, 257—Martial law instituted against Nihilism; address on social evils by a Zemstvo, 277; Nihilist mode of propagandism, and special aim, 311—Prof. Nordenskiold's circumnavigation of Siberia, 363—New loans taken, 429.

BULGARIA:—Assembly of Notables at Tirnova, 95, constitution, 175—Army equipped and drilled, 225—Alexander of Battenberg elected Prince, 295.

TURKEY:—Extent of reform conceded to England; Khaireddin Pasha made Vizier, 77—Definitive treaty with Russia; indemnity fixed; no agreement as to Greek boundary, 159, 175, 277—De Tocqueville plan of loan, 175—Joint European occupation of Eastern Rumelia agreed on, 225, abandoned, 257, 295—Refusal to cede Janina to Turkey; Turks migrating from Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, 295—Turkish double dealing about the Greek frontier, 345—Aleko Pasha declines to wear the fez, 397.

EGYPT:—Emeute of army officers; cabinet changes, 143, 193, dismissal of English and French representatives, 241, perplexity of France and England, 257, backdown of the Khedive, 413, refusal to abdicate, 429.

MEXICO:—Border interchange of military courtesies; American commercial mission to city of Mexico, 76.

SOUTH AMERICA:—Peruvian iron-clad *Independencia* sunk, 413.

Notes.

Announcements, 14, 32, 49, 69, 83, 100, 117, 135, 150, 165, 182, 200, 215, 229, 248, 266, 284, 300, 318, 335, 352, 371, 387, 404, 418, 434—Appleton, Dr. Charles, deceased, 183—Augier, Emile, contribution to *Nord und Sud*, 320—Adams, W. H. D., plagiarizing from Prof. Mathews, 337—Atkinson, Ed-

ward, on the economic condition of the Southern negroes, 319—Afghanistan, maps of, 15—Athens Atlas, 120—American lyric poetry and music, 203, American Museum of Natural History, tenth report, 285—Albany Loan-Exhibition hand-book, 230—Astor Library, annual report, 285—*Art, I'*, on American painters at the Exposition, 51, 119, 267—*Art-Interchange* prizes for designs, 419—*American Law Review*, 70.

Burritt, Elihu, deceased, 183—Bonaparte, Mme. Patterson, deceased, 249—Bryant, W. C., Life in preparation, 353—Bigot, Charles, on Renan, 302—Bertillon, Jacques, on second marriages, 388—Bartels, H., report on American R. R. operation, 302—Bartoli's First Two Centuries of Italian Literature, 436—Brinley library sale, 201—Barton Shakspere collection catalogue, 230—Boston Athenæum lists of new books, 371.

Cushing, Caleb, deceased, 33—Couture, Thomas, deceased, 231—Cæsar essays by Fröhlich, 232—Chaucer's Tales for children, 101—Cheever, Ezekiel, biography, 336—Cesnola, Gen. di, appointed Director-General of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 353—Coues, Dr. Elliott, invited to make a Bibliography of Ornithology, 404—Clarke, J. T., on the lighting of Greek temples, 435—Chinese society for the care of MSS., 184—Chicago Loan-Exhibit Catalogue, 50—Cincinnati Public Library's Bulletin, 371—Cambridge, Mass., sewage troubles, 71—Chiswick Press imprints, 69—Congressional journals, Index of, 100—Cercle Franklin, 85—College requirements tabulated, 300—Copyright, Harper's memorandum on, 201—Classics of Painting, 285—Children's books, 101, 335—Contagion from graveyards, 185—*Church Union's* pistol premiums, 248.

Drama:—"Banker's Daughter," 15, "Double Marriage," 33, W. D. Howells's "Counterfeit Presentment" to be brought out in N. Y., 34, English Burlesque in N. Y., 52, "At Last," 71, Wallack's Theatre, 71, John E. Owens, 136, Mr. and Mrs. Boucicault, 137, "Pinafore," 152, W. S. Gilbert's plays, 152, 153, "Spell-bound, 183, 184, "Thro' the Dark," drama, 216, "Scrap of Paper," 249, "Lost Children," 301, "Snowball" and "Delicate Ground," 336, Miss Ada Cavendish as *Rosalind* and *Miss Gwilt*, 405, 406:—Theatrical season in Paris, 184, Richelieu's "Mirame" revived, 287, Comédie-Française in London, 419, Zola as a dramatist, 184:—William Winter edits Edwin Booth's prompt-books, 166, Early drama and dramatic publications in Boston, 84, Italian and French works on mediæval drama, 268.

Dana, Richard Henry, deceased, 101—Dante, older commentators of, 406—De Gubernatis, Prof. A., on Plant Mythology, 85, autobiography, 202—Dumas, A., jr., preface to Manon Lescaut, etc., 69—Duncker and Gutschmid, difference concerning Assyriology, 388—Draper, Dr. J. W., on the decline of faith, 70—Darwinism and Socialism, relations discussed in Germany, 52—Dizionario degli Scrittori Contemporanei, 202.

Espartero, Baldomero, deceased, 53—Emerson, portrait engraved by Schoff, 15—English publications, 287, English Dialect Society's publications, 166, 354, English Plant Names, Dictionary of, 166, English legislation on prices, 102—Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. ix., 354—Extradition, Hoague and Cooley on, 70—Erskine riddle solved, 436.

Frederic II., Political Correspondence, vol. i., 137—Fröhlich, Dr. F., Cæsar essays, 232—Fry, Francis, Testament bibliography, 136—Fiske, John, to lecture in England, 353—Famines, Walford on, 15.

Garrison, Wm. Lloyd, Life in preparation, 405—Glady, Louys, *éditions de luxe*, 69—Goethe, Hempel's new edition of, 52—Gordon riots, 435—Grant's 'Around the World,' 435—Greek temple, lighting of, 435—Germany, over-production of books, 406, German monographs on Roman history and antiquities, 302—Geological survey created, 202—Grasshopper Commission's achievements, 51—*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, American agency, 419.

Howitt, William, deceased, 184—Hodgskin, James Black, deceased, 216—Hegel, C., on Dante's older commentators, 406—Helmholtz on geometrical axioms, 203—Hensel's Mendelssohn Family, 167—Hillebrand, Karl, on gymnasial reform, 217—Haden, Seymour, lectures on etching, 406—Hatfield, R. G., on the Old Mill at Newport, 151—Hoar, Geo. F., on the conduct of business in Congress, 118—Hughes, Judge, decision in the Kinney mixed-marriage case, 372—Harper's memorandum on copyright, 201—Hindu imperviousness to European culture, 85—Harvard College, President's annual report, 69, parallel instruction for women, 151, Harvard Club and non-resident overseers, 418—Health Department of U. S., bill to establish, 51—Historical literature of 1878, 166.

Italian libraries not kept up, 120, Italian Literature, A. Bartoli's, 436—International Literary Congress programme, 387, 388—*Index Medicus*, 118—*International Review* for March, 183, April, 248.

Johnston, H. P., Battle of Long Island, 50—Japan, revelations of shell-heaps, 34—Jacquerie, Flammermont's revolt of the, 420.

Kemble, Mrs. F. A., 'Records of a Girlhood,' 136—Klaczko, Julian, on the history of the Eastern Question, 102—Knortz, Karl, study of Longfellow, 203—Krell's Classics of Painting, 285.

Lieber, Dr. Francis, Life in preparation, 100—Last, Albert, on over-production of books in Germany, 406—Lalauze's etching of Makart's Charles V., 419—Lamb's Tales from Shakspere, 101—Long Island, Johnston's Battle of, 50—Longitude by telegraph in West Indies, 136—Libraries of Boston and Cambridge, co-operative list of serial publications, 118, Library Convention, Fourth, 434.

Music:—Musical publications and news, 16; Cincinnati Musical Festival Association's prize offer, 83; Music of the week, 216; "Little Duke," 216; close of Steinway Hall series, 230, 231, of Italian opera, 249, of Philharmonic Society's concerts, 250, of Chickering Hall series, 268, of Oratorio Society's concerts, 286; Wilhelmj chamber-concerts, 286, 301, 319, 336; Mr. Sherwood's recital, 286; "Fatinitza," Mr. Bergner's concert, 301; Szegedin benefit, 319; Mr. Rummel's piano-forte recitals, 336, 354; Twenty-third Street Summer Garden, 336; Aimée opéra bouffe, 388:—Saint-Saëns's musical tour in Germany and Austria; Hanslick & Co.'s pursuit of Wagner, 286; German musical news, 372; Ninth Symphony in Rome, musical censorship in Germany, 373; Bülow, Hans von, on Russian composers, 85, Fink's collection of German songs, 203, Flute *versus* violin, 389.

Moltke, General, survey of the Campagna, 320—Mendelssohn Family, Hensel's, 167—Makart's Charles V., etching of, 419—Martin, Henri, reception by Emile Ollivier at the French Academy, 406—Molière, recent French works on, 354—Morse, Prof. E. S., on a pre-historic race in Japan, 34—Mathews, Prof., plagiarized and plagiarist, 387—Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings (1790-1835), 335, (1878) 405, Massachusetts Board of Health, tenth report, 418—Metropolitan Museum of Art, appeal for support, 285—Meteorological log of the Hydrographic Office, 319—Migration of birds explained, 185—Magazines for February, 83, 84, 101, March, 136, 151, April, 201, 215, May, 285, 286, June, 353, 371, 387, July, 436.

Necrology of 1878, 32, 33—Nightingale's Hand-book of College requirements, 300—New York State Survey, third report, 405—Niagara as an international park, 101—National Surveys consolidation, fate of, 202—*North American Review*, a monthly, 15, for February, 118.

Ordway, Albert, Index to Journals of Congress, 100—Ochenkowski, Dr., on English economical legislation, 102—Old Mill at Newport a baptistery, 151.

Peters, Prof. C. H. F., on intra-mercurial planets, 355—Poggio Bracciolini's Facetiæ, 53—Pedestrianism, male and female, 152—*Princeton Review*, 70—*Petermann's Mittheilungen*, new editors, 15.

Quincy Public Library Catalogue, 267.

Ruskin's 'Modern Painters,' Compend in preparation by Messrs. Norton and Moore, 230—Runeberg's Lyrics and "Nadeschda," 250—Renan and Mézières, 302—Roach subsidy, consular view of, 183—Russian educational progress, 167—Roman history and antiquities, German monographs on, 302, Roman public worship, Marquardt's, 420, Roman Senate, Willems's composition of the, 420.

Spiegel, Friedrich, Iranian Antiquities, 231—Schmidt, Julius, medallist of the Académie des Sciences, 320—Schrader and Gutschmid, debate on Assyriology, 388—Smyth, Piazzi, predicts a hot summer, 372—Shakspere anniversary celebration at Stratford-on-Avon, 287—Swedish excise laws, 101—Scholarships at Harvard, 70—Society for archæological and artistic research, 267—Second marriages defended statistically, 388—Southern feeling towards the North, 435—*Scribner's Magazine* and editorial responsibility, 166.

Treadwell, Prentice, art hand-book, 230—Turgeneff's reported banishment from Russia, 371, 387—'Tennysoniana,' 267—Tornadoes in Wisconsin, 335—Truancy in New York, 230—Telegraphic determinations of longitude in the West Indies, 136—Tenement-house improvement in N. Y., 34, Tenement-house Committee report (N. Y.), 230—*Tribune* and *World* unpleasantness, 71—*Theatre*, monthly, 118.

United Service, No. 1, 50.

Villemessant, deceased, 319—Vedder, E., and *l'Art*, 51, 119, 257—Vezin, H. A., on intramural cemeteries, 185—Virginia mixed-marriage case, 372—Vulcans, supposed observations of several, 355.

Whistler, J. A. McNeill, on art-critics, 119—Walford, Cornelius, on famines, 15—Weissmann, Dr., on the migration of birds, 185—Wisconsin tornadoes, 335—Women, private instruction for, at Harvard, 15—*World's* prize-questions, 71.

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, 217.

Editorial and Miscellaneous Articles.

Afghanistan, First Invasion of 44, 64
Bi-metallists and the Commercial Crisis 346
Blaine's Defence of his Anti-Chinese Speech 145
Bull-dozing in 1844 146
Burnside Army Bill 42
Cabinet Officers in Congress 243
California, Proposed New Constitution 227
Chinese Debate 130, 145
Cipher Telegrams Investigation 112
City Politics, A Study in 365
Colleges and Legislation 279
Congress and Inter-State Commerce 79
Congressional Control of Federal Elections 226
Crisis at Washington 296
Crown in British Politics, Interference of the 414
Democratic Caucus 212
Educational Crisis in France 313
English Farmers, Plight of the 212
Entries for 1880 131
Extradition of Criminals 25
Federal Government and Colored Voters 113
Federal Judiciary and the Repudiators 5
Fitz-John Porter's Case 260
Flight of the Negroes 242
Forty-fifth Congress Reviewed 160
Foster's Nomination, Significance of 380
France, New Régime in 97
France, Republican Burden in 43
French Imperialism, End of 431
Garrison, William Lloyd 381
Genesis and History of "A Story" 26
Germany, Reaction in 381
Grant Dilemma 347
Grant, Rehabilitation of 258
Greenbacks, Future of 62
Hoosier Notions of a Republican Chief-Magistrate 314
Land and Scientific Surveys, Proposed Reform in Our 27
Last Trace of the War 4
Legal-Tender Question, Present Aspect of 364
Legislative Coercion 144
Legislative Courts 258
More "Revolution" 176
Municipal Reform, Last Attempt at 381
Negroes, Flight of the 242
"New Deal" 365
New Kind of Constitution 227
Newspaper, Future of the 432
New York Legal-Tender Law 195
New York Senatorship 63
Optimistic Pessimism 6
Politicians and State Rights 430
Presidential Campaign, Preparations for the 24
Protectionist Revival in Europe 161
Pulpit Bouffe 196
Purcell's, Archbishop, Failure 177
Railway Delusion of Wholesale and Retail 132
Reform Within the Party 78
Religious Belligerence 398
Republicans Hopeful? Why are 330
Roach Subsidy 114
Sand-lot Ratiocination 145
Sham Political Warfare 312
Silver Prophets, Impending Trouble of the 414
Silver Question in England 297
"Smartness" in Politics, Need of 398
Some Noteworthy Facts about the Late Congress 160
State Taxation 278
Theiss, Inundations of the 244
Third-Term Plan 194
Who is Responsible for the Custom-house? 96
Why are Republicans Hopeful? 330

Occasional Correspondence.

Alston, Colonel, The Late 370
Arrears of Pensions Bill 135, 148
Art's, L', Treatment of Mr. Vedder 163
"Banker's Daughter" 68
Barnard, Judge, and the Bar 318
Biennial Sessions of the Legislature 300
Brazilian Steamship Subsidy 98
California Constitution, The New 350
Chinese Question 316
"Comparisons are Odious" 264, 300
"Conviction" 349
Co-operative Study of Political Science 386
Cost of Living in Germany 99
"Court Circles" and Good Neighborhood 67
Crow Indians and their Neighbors 116
Custom-house Practices 433
Democrats and Supervision of Elections 199
Dreadful Brigadiers 369
Emporia (Kansas) Bonds 282
Federal Judiciary, Encroaching on the 68
Final Philosophy, New Volume of the 30
France and Silver 12
Fraser, Bishop 48
Gegenbaur's Anatomy 402
Germany, Cost of Living in 99
Grant and the Rascals 299
Grantism, Cure for 249
Hard-Money Candidate 432
Indians, How to Civilize the 31
Inter-State Extradition 98
Jewish Office-holders in Germany 402
Kansas City 81
Lalor's Translation of Roscher 135, 385
McClellan-Porter Despatch 282
Mississippi, Whites and Blacks in 386
Negro Controversy, Some Aspects of 370
Opening the Federal Courts to Women 247
Open Scholarships in American Colleges 148, 163, 181, 265
Orton, Wm., and the Cipher Despatches 116
Our Political Education 233
Pardoning Power, Abuse of the 30, 317
Porter, Fitz-John, and T. C. H. Smith 349
Pure Line 402
Secret Ballot? Shall We have a 82
Sectional Division, Permanent Causes of 403
Shelley's Religion 30
South American Trade, Our 31, 47, 81, 98
Spanish-American History, Sources of 265, 403
State Taxation 300
Steel Rails on the Union Pacific 47
Stieler's New Map of the U. S 434
Story, W. W., on Latin Pronunciation 317
Syracuse Conference 163
Taylor's, Bayard, Novels 11
"Traduttore Traditore" 135, 385
Tribune, Case of the 247
Women Admitted to Federal Courts 247
Wholesale Rates on Railways 180
Yellow Fever on board the *Plymouth* 264
York and Antwerp Rules of General Average 13, 48

Special Correspondence.

Domestic—The Indian Bureau Transfer 7
England—New Year 65
Winter Exhibitions in London 115
Birmingham Caucus 161
Reassembling of Parliament 197
English Watering-Place 228
Politics and Society in England 245
Scottish Politics and Law 262
Liberal Prospects in England 280
Stratford Memorial and the English Stage 332
Royal Academy and the Grosvenor Gallery 366
London Theatres 400
France—Les Mirabeau 29, 66
National Library's Exhibition 80
Republic Begun 134
How Paris is Governed 147, 178, 214
Municipal Instruction in Paris 263
Finances of Paris 231, 315
Election of Blanqui 333
Newest Phases of the Eastern Question 348
Clerical Feeling in France 368
French Educational Law of 1849 383
Didot Sale 416
The Paris Exposition:
XVI.—French and English House-furniture 44
Germany—Emperor Wilhelm's Return 8
Popular Science in Germany 179
Rubinstein's "Feramors" 246
Railroad Ownership and Regulation 298
Some Recent Pessimistic Theories 401
Vivisection Question in Germany 417
Italy—Parliamentary Government in Italy 9
Egypt—The Late Emeute at Cairo 199
The Coup d'Etat 384

Reviews.

Allen's Color-Sense in Man and Animals 373
American Forestry 87
Argyll, Duke of, on the Eastern Question 407
Bagehot, Walter 436
Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates 234
Bismarck and Dr. Busch 85
Blanc's Fine Arts at the Paris Exposition 268
Carr's Essays on Art 437
Conway's Demonology 203
Dobell's Life and Letters 289
Drone on Copyright 303
Extradition, Law of 250
Final Philosophy 18
Fine Arts of the Italian Renaissance 389
Forestry, American 87
French Protestantism 187
Geikie's English Reformation 370
Grant Duff's Miscellanies 270
Haeckel's Reply to Virchow 320
Hageman's Princeton 408
Hamerton's Life of Turner 217
Hartmann's New System of Pessimistic Ethics 102
Hodgson's Memoirs 72
Hodgson and Ball's Tour in Marocco 232
King's Systematic Geology 73
Lessing's Dramas 154
Linguistic Palæontology 167
Malleson's Indian Mutiny 218
Mozley's Essays 167
Music, Two Short Histories of 37
New York Tory during the Revolution 420
Novels, Recent 104, 187, 290, 391
Our Best Society 34
Poetry, Recent 36, 322, 409
Political Foresight 120
Read's Theory of Logic 234
Rhetoric, Recent Books on 138
Roscher's Political Economy 53
Sherman's, John, Speeches 337
Stubbs's Constitutional History of England 233
Taylor, Gen. Richard, Reminiscences 287
Thiers 355
Turkey, European, Races of 17
Tyler's American Literature 16
Von Holst's Constitutional History of the United States 185
Weisse's Origin of the English Language 153

Titles of Books Reviewed.

(The Italics indicate the Shorter Notices, for which also see the Notes.)

Airy Fairy Lillian 391
Alston 219
American Literature, (Tyler's) History of 16
Archäologie der Kunst (Stark's) 424
Army Sacrifices (Fry's) 305
Artists of the Nineteenth Century (Clement and Hutton's) 306
Astronomy (Ball's) 89
At a High Price 391
Aucassin et Nicolette 236
Bacon's Novum Organum (Fowler's) 220
Barque Future 391
Beaux-Arts à l'Exposition (Blanc's) 268
Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates (Blunt's) 234
Birds of the Colorado Valley (Coues's) 206
Bismarck und seine Leute (Busch's) 85
Bohemian (De Kay's) 188
Bonne Marie 291
Briefs by a Barrister (Johnes's) 409
Bunsen, Baroness, (Hare's) *Life of* 391
Canada, (Goldwin Smith's) *Political Destiny of* 271
Castle Hohenwald 291
Cévennes, (Stevenson's) *Travels with a Donkey in the* 423
Change (Leighton's) 36
Christians and Moors of Spain (Yonge's) 57

Coal (Thorpe's) 122
Colored Cadet at West Point (Flipper's) 57
Color-Sense (Grant-Allen's) 373
Commercial Products of the Sea (Simmonds's) 236
Comparative Anatomy (Gegenbaur's) 358
Constance 322
Conversations with M. Thiers, etc. (Senior's) 120
Copyright (Drone's) 303
Culturländer des alten Amerika (Bastian's) 357
Dante (Church's) 340
Decisive Events of History (Archer's) 325
Demonology and Devil-lore (Conway's) 203
Destruction and Reconstruction (Taylor's) 287
Deutsche Literaturgeschichte (Koenig's) 307
Disturbing Element 290
Dobell, Sydney, Life and Letters 289
Doric Temples, (Burr's) *Twenty-seven. Dramatic List* (Pascoe's) 189
Dramatic Lyrics (Browning's) 89
Dream of Arcadia (Thomas's) 409
Dress (Oliphant's) 322
Drift from York Harbor (Houghton's) 324
Drift-Weed (Mrs. Thaxter's) 322
Du Plan, Benjamin (Bonnefon's) 86
Eastern Question (Argyll's) 187
Echoes of Song (Mrs. Washington's) 407
Elements of Rhetoric and Composition (Hill's and De Mille's) 86
England, (Stubbs's) Constitutional History of 138
English Actors (Baker's) 233
English History in Short Studies 339
English Plays (Morley's) 273
English Reformation (Geikie's) 122
Essays (Mozley's) 338
Essays of To-Day (Newton's) 169
Essays on Art (Carr's) 424
Etats-Unis d'Amérique, (Nolte's) *Histoire des* 437
Extradition, (Spear's) Law of 205
Eye for an Eye 250
Fairy-Land of Science (Buckley's) 290
Falconberg 324
Famous Stories 391
Final Philosophy (Shields's) 291
First Violin 18
Forestry, (Hough's) Report on 56
Forty-six Social Twitters 87
Fourteen Weeks in Botany 190
Francesca of Rimini 324
Freie Wissenschaft (Haeckel's) 36
French Poets, (Pollock's) *Lectures on. French Revolutionary Epoch* (Van Laun's) 320
Fuller, Richard, (Cuthbert's) *Life of.* 88
Gamekeeper at Home 328
Genevieve of Brabant (Willing's) 205
German Literature, (Hosmer's) *Short History of* 36
Goethe and Schiller (Boyesen's) 124
Gwen (Morris's) 189
Habitual Drunkenness (Bucknill's) 221
Heine, Selections from Poetry of 171
High-Water Mark 57
His Heart's Desire 391
Hodgson, Rev. F., Memoir of 188
Holiday Tour in Europe (Cook's) 72
Hours in a Library (Stephen's) 236
Humanity and the Man (Sharpe's) 252
Idée, l', de Jean Téterol 322
Indian Mutiny, (Malleson's) History of 105
Indians of Ohio, (Force's) *Early Notices of* 218
Iphigenie auf Tauris (Goethe's) 357
Iris (Toland's) 340
Irving, Washington (Hill's) 36
Jarl's Daughter 140
Jean 188
Jean Téterol's Idea 106
Joan the Maid 106
Keilinschriften (Schrader's) 105
Lady of the Aroostook (Howells's) 291
Lautrec (Payne's) 155
Law of Property in Intellectual Productions (Drone's) 205
Leisure-Time Series (Wilson's) 322
Lessing's Dramatic Works (Bell's) 124
Libraries of California (Apponyi's) 154
Life Questions (Savage's) 235
Lindsay's Luck 425
Literary Essays (Shedd's) 104
Literary Studies (Bagehot's) 124
Locusts and Wild Honey (Burroughs's) 436
Logic, (Read's) Theory of 340
London, (Dickens's) *Dictionary of* 234
Lord Strahan 394
Madeleine (Sandeau's) 191
Magazine of Art 104
Manuel du Voyageur (Kaltbrunner's) 155
Marocco, (Hooker's) Journal of a Tour in 220
Martyr, Petrus (Schumacher's) 232
Masque of Poets 393
Miscellanies (Chr. Wordsworth's) 36
Miscellanies (Grant Duff's) 324
Modern Rhymes (Bailey's) 270
Montaigne (Collins's) 322
Motley, John Lothrop (Holmes's) 409
Music, (Hunt's) Concise History of 139
Musikgeschichte (Langhaus's) 37
Nadeschda (Runeberg's) 409
Natural Resources of U. S. (Patton's) 392
New Puritan (Pike's) 272
New York during the Revolutionary War (Jones's) 430
Normans in Europe (Johnson's) 221
Notes by a Naturalist on the "Challenger" (Moseley's) 271
Novum Organum 220
Ocean Wonders (Damon's) 438
Odyssey of Homer (Butcher and Lang's) 305
On the Plains (Dartt's) 89
Origines Indo-Européennes (Pictet's) 167
Origin of the English Language (Weisse's) 153
Out of His Reckoning 391
Palissy the Potter (Morley's) 187
Paper City (Locke's) 106
Pascal's Thoughts, Selections from 340
Patagonia, (Beerbohm's) *Wanderings in* 339
Patchwork (Locker's) 236
Paul Faber, Surgeon 188
Pearls for Young Ladies 74
Personal Memories (Mansfield's) 304
Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins (Hartmann's) 102
Philomène's Marriages 291
Pizarro (Towle's) 273
Poems (Holmes's) 409
Poems (Laighton's) 35
Poet and his Master (Gilder's) 36
Political Economy (Roscher's) 53
Pretty Little Countess Zina 188
Princeton and its Institutions (Hageman's) 408
Principles of Rhetoric (Hill's) 138
Profile (Hillebrand's) 170
Quaker Cousins 290
Races of European Turkey (Clark's) 17
Recorder of Birmingham 421
Red Eagle (Eggleston's) 19
Remorse (Bentzon's) 105
Renaissance in Italy (Symonds's) 389
Researches into the Early History of Mankind (Tylor's) 170
Return of the Native (Hardy's) 155
Roderick Hume 104
Russie, (Rambaud's) *Histoire de la... Russlands Geschichte und Politik* (Kleinschmidt) 123
Sanitary Examinations of Water, Air, and Food 107
Scientific Memoirs (Draper's) 55
Secret of Success (Adams's) 358
Secret of the Andes 391
Selected Speeches on Finance (Sherman's) 337
Signing the Contract 391
Signor Monaldini's Niece 187
Sir Gibbie 290
Six Months in Ascension (Gill's) 121
Sketches of Animal Life and Habits (Wilson's) 124
Social Etiquette of New York 34
Socrates 236
Soldier and Pioneer (Anderson's) 358
South Africa, (Cunynghame's) *My Command in* 252
Speaking Telephone (Prescott's) 155
Sport and Work on the Nepaul Frontier 122
Stock-breeding (Miles's) 237
Systematic Geology (King's) 73
Tales from the German (Heyse's) 188
Theophrastus Such, Impressions of... 422
Thiers, (Simon's) Government of. 355
(Le Goff's) Life of 355
Thirty Years at Sea (Shippen's) 54
Thorns and Flowers (Belrose's) 322
Thorough Bohémienne 391
Turner, J. M. W., (Hamerton's) Life of 217
Turner's Liber Studiorum (Rawlinson's) 169
United States, (Patton's) *Resources of* 392
Verfassung und Demokratie der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika (Von Holst's) 185
Vicar of Morwenstow (Baring-Gould's) 374
Voyage with Death (Welcker's) 322
Wanderings in South America (Waterton's) 139
Wild Life in a Southern County 323
Wollstonecraft, Mary 106
Young Folks' History of Germany (Yonge's) 375
Zóphiël (Brooks's) 322

Books of the Week.

58, 74, 90, 107, 124, 171, 190, 206, 222, 273, 307, 325, 359, 394, 425, 427.

Fine Arts.

Tanagra Figurines 90
American Water-Color Society's Exhibition 107, 171
Exhibition of the Society of American Artists 207, 237
Fifty-fourth Exhibition of the Academy of Design 341, 359
Uses of a Museum of Art 425

ERRATA.

Page 4, col. ii, line 13. Insert "no" before "more."
Page 23, col. ii, line 33. For "ministry" read "minority."
Page 27, col. i, line 39. For "1878" read "1879."
Page 37, col. i, lines 12, 31. For "chronometrical" read "chromometrical."
Page 39, col. i, line 13 from bottom. For "Kansas" read "Missouri."
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Page 395, col. ii, line 23 from bottom. For "T. B. Conway" read "T. W. Conway."

REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED DURING THE HALF-YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1879.

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Hylton (J. D.), The Bride of Gettysburg.....(Palmyra, N. J.)
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